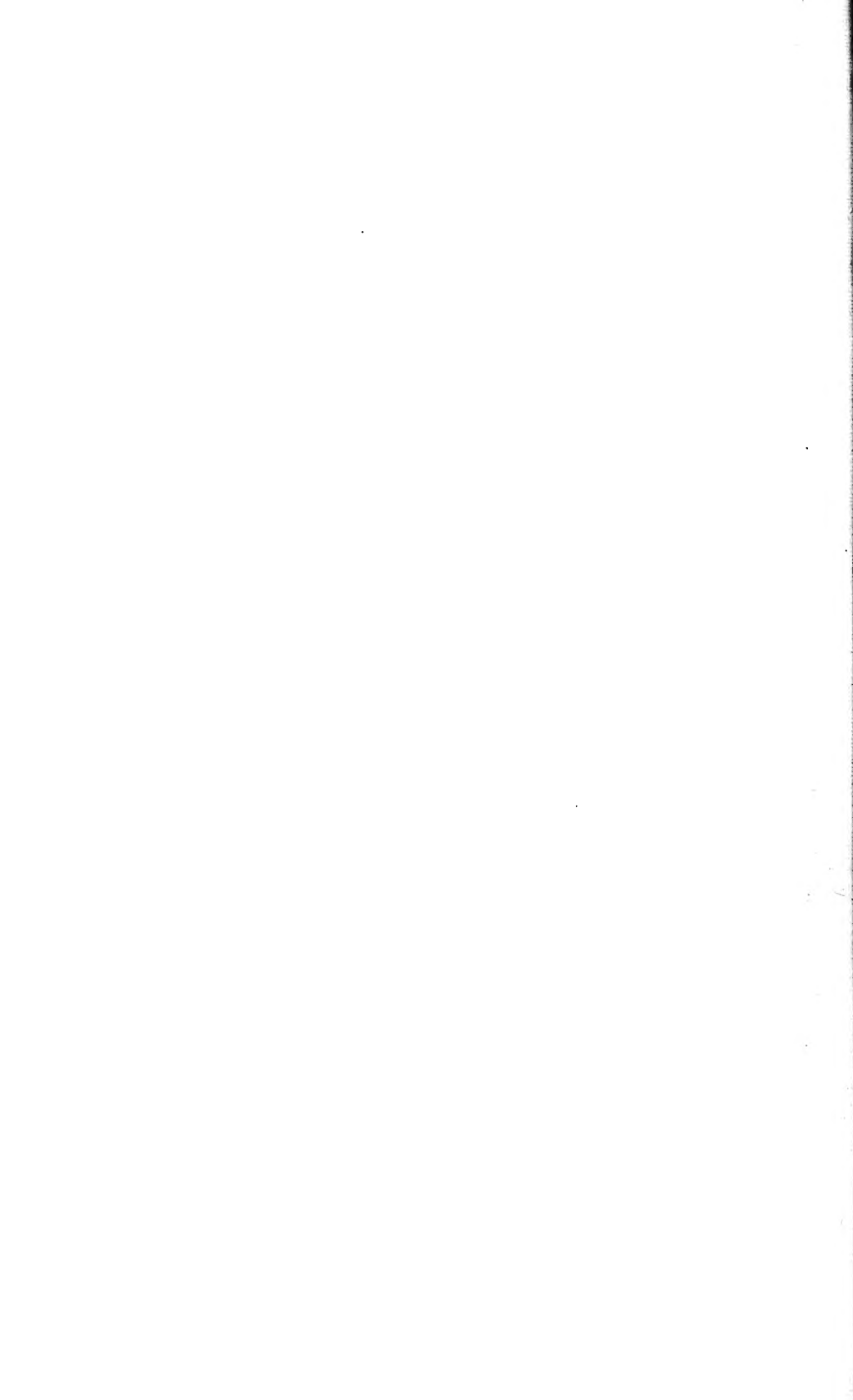


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THE
ANNUAL REGISTER,
OR A VIEW OF THE
HISTORY,
POLITICS,
AND
LITERATURE,
For the YEAR 1795.

THE SECOND EDITION.



L O N D O N :

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ANNUAL REGISTER

HISTORY

POLITICAL

STATISTICS

FOR THE YEAR 1881



P R E F A C E.

THE most distinguished feature of the Revolution in France, the prolific parent of changes and innovations in other countries, already noticed in our volume for 1792, has been verified by the events that have taken place from that to the present period. The revolutionary spirit of the French Republic, like a lighted torch, moved rapidly round, scarcely leaves room for the contemplation of its particular phases, in the different stages of its progress, and is seen as one circle of fire.

The constitution of 1795 contained, indeed, certain principles, which seemed to promise some degree of both strength and duration; and to be more favourable, than any of the preceding, to the interests of humanity, by guarding not less against the wildness of democracy than the chains of despotism. Subsequent changes, however, and particularly the late metamorphosis of the Republic into a dictatorial or military government, (which will of course be noticed in its proper place and time) shew how little is to be expected from any forms, where simplicity of manners, and other requisites to the existence of a genuine Republic, are wanting.

These

These defects, in the constitution of 1795, appeared in the very moment of its birth; and became more and more glaring during the short period of its existence. The History of France has, for too many years, been a severe illustration of the maxim, that Nations, in order to be free and happy, must be just and moderate. To describe and record whatever may impress on the mind this solitary lesson, is a task attended with a mixture of pain and pleasure; pain, in contemplating the miserable effects of vice and folly; pleasure, in the reflection, that such warnings may prevent misery to the present and future ages.

In making these selections, out of that vast variety of materials which is presented to the Annalist, at a period of such extended intercourse among men and nations, our Readers will perceive and acknowledge, that we are guided, not by any prejudices in favour of particular subjects, but, by a regard to the general views and conduct of the human understanding, and the common sentiments of the human heart. In the present volume there is an extraordinary occasion for the exercise and gratification of both: in the fall, and final dismemberment and dissolution, of the Commonwealth of Poland; a very affecting, as well as instructive, Episode in the History of Europe.

THE
ANNUAL REGISTER,
For the YEAR 1795.



THE
HISTORY
OF
EUROPE.

CHAP. I.

Effects of the new Constitution established in Poland.—External and internal.—Notice to all the European Powers of the New Changes in Poland.—Schemes of the courts of Petersburg, Berlin, and Vienna, for the complete Subjugation and Dismemberment of Poland.—Patriotic Associations in that Kingdom, in support of the New Constitution.—Difficulties and Perplexities of the Poles.—Plan of Defence against an expected Attack by Russia.—Opposed by the Nobles:—Interference of Russia, and Declaration of the Russian Ambassador to the King and Polish Diet.—The Nobles desist from their Opposition to the Plan for National Defence.—A cordial Union between all Individuals and Parties.—The King of Poland invested with the Command of the Polish Armies.—The Russian Army enters the Frontiers of Poland.—Various Actions between the Russian and Polish Troops.—Application of the Poles for the stipulated Succours to the King of Prussia.—These refused.—Signal Victory obtained by the Poles over the Russians.—Inefficacy of this for the great End for which they had taken up Arms.—Prevalence of the Russian Power.—Submission of the Polish Nation.—Protest in the Diet against this Submission.—Popular Dissatisfaction and Indignation at the Proceedings of the Diet.

THE establishment of the new constitution in Poland excited very different sensations among its
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various neighbours. Sweden and Denmark, whose dread of Russia inclined them to wish for a diminution

tion of that influence which she exercised with so much despotism, could not fail to behold with satisfaction a people eminent for their long attachment to liberty, and once of the first consequence in the north of Europe, in a way of recovering their former importance; and setting bounds to the ambition of the court of Petersburg. The Turks, lately humbled by the Russian arms, and whose preservation was entirely due to a fortunate concurrence of accidents, were well pleased to see that rapacious power checked in her restless progress to aggrandizement. The powers at a distance from the scene of action, could not be altogether dissatisfied that the balance of Europe should promise, by this great event, to regain that poise it had lost for some years in those northern parts. The only consideration that could possibly obstruct this sentiment, was the apprehension that Poland, in order to resist that combination, of which she had been the victim, would have recourse to the assistance of France: and, rather than submit to the tyranny which she had so long experienced, enter into the strictest bonds of union with that power; now become odious to all crowned heads, and aiming at a dissemination of its principles, wherever it could procure them acceptance.

This, indeed, was the sole reason that could be alleged for the surprising inactivity and indifference that prevailed in so many courts; which, as in times past, would have felt themselves deeply interested in the transactions relating to Poland, had not events of a more pressing importance confined their views nearer

home. This was visibly the case in every country bordering upon France. In Spain, ever since the meeting of the States-General at Paris, and their converting that denomination into another more apposite to their wishes and designs, the celebrated name of National Assembly, the public had assumed a liberty of speaking that greatly alarmed the court. The example set before the subjects of all absolute governments was of a nature to fill them with the most serious apprehensions, and to engage them to unite together for the suppression of all attempts similar to those that had succeeded in so sudden and unexpected a manner in France, and changed it from the most absolute to the most limited of monarchies. Hence it happened, that those powers excepted, of which the immediate safety required the depression of Russia upon any terms, all the others concurred unanimously in hoping that no power would start up of which the interest should lead it to espouse the cause of the French; whom, in the cabinets of the European potentates, deep schemes were laid to crush with all speed.

Little more than two months after the revolution in Poland, was held the famous convention of Pilnitz, in which it is said to have been strictly stipulated or understood by the contracting powers, that Russia should be at full liberty to pursue her schemes in Poland, while they were occupied in the pursuit of their own. This satisfactorily accounts for the inactivity of the crowned heads in Europe, during the transactions that followed, in consequence of the alterations introduced into the Polish forms of government, by the new constitution.

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In the mean time, that country was filled with universal exultation at the late changes; these were evidently so beneficial to all conditions of society, that they all unfeignedly agreed in testifying their cordial acquiescence. The principal opposers of the revolution soon were convinced that it was too popular and desirable a measure to be resisted. Count Braniki, grand general of the kingdom, and Malachowski, great chancellor, both of them sincere patriots, had however been the leaders in that opposition; possibly from an apprehension that the measure proposed was too hazardous. Reflecting, however, on its justice and propriety, they acceded to it, and were followed by all their adherents. The hereditary succession to the crown was the chief, and indeed the only motive assigned for their non-compliance. An attachment to usages, confirmed by the practice of centuries, could not easily be eradicated; and the dread of those abuses of power, so prevalent in monarchies ruled by successors of the same family, operated on the Poles too forcibly to permit the idea of inheritance in the crown. It was not therefore until they were completely convinced that the liberties of the nation would not suffer by hereditary royalty, that they were prevailed on to unite their assent to that of the vast majority against which they had acted.

The fact was, that they had been particularly instructed by their constituents, to resist this dangerous innovation, as it was termed, by that portion of the Polish nation which disapproved of it; but when they saw with what applause the new

system, after being carried so triumphantly through the diet, was received by the people; when they considered the limits within which the power of the crown was circumscribed, and that the sovereignty of the nation was maintained in the diet, they thought it their duty to desist from opposing what appeared manifestly the will of the nation. They frankly, therefore, declared their concurrence in the revolutionary measures adopted, and their determination to adhere with fidelity to a constitution established by such a plurality of votes, as amounted to an almost unanimous assent of the legislative body of the nation.

All parties being thus happily agreed, a day of public thanksgiving was appointed throughout the kingdom, and an annual commemoration on the third of May. And it was also decreed, that a magnificent church should be constructed at the public expence, with an inscription, purporting that it was erected in gratitude to Divine Providence, in order to eternize the remembrance of a revolution effected almost unanimously, and without the loss of a drop of blood. This was accompanied by a solemn declaration of the states, by which they bound themselves to defend the constitution to the utmost of their power; and enjoined the magistrates and military at Warsaw to take an oath to the same intent immediately, and all civil officers and individuals belonging to the army, in every part of the kingdom to do the same.

In order at the same time to impress the public and all Europe with a due sense of the resolution they had taken, to maintain their new

system at all hazards, and against all opponents, they formally declared, that whoever opposed it, by forming confederacies or planning insurrections for that purpose, or by exciting mistrust either openly or secretly, should be reputed enemies and traitors to their country, and punished with the utmost rigour of the law. The more effectually to intimidate persons disposed to offend, a tribunal was erected, with orders to sit constantly at Warsaw, and to try all persons accused before it, by any citizen of repute and property.

The next step taken by the government, was to dispatch a notification to every European power, of the alterations in the constitutional system of Poland, and of the motives which had prompted them. Of all the sovereigns and states, to whom intelligence of this great event was regularly communicated, none replied to this communication with a stronger appearance of satisfaction than the king of Prussia. He expressed himself in terms of the highest approbation and applause at every thing they had done upon this occasion. If they had not been taught by experience to place little reliance on that prince, his protestations of friendship and attachment to Poland were so strong and fervent, that the most cautious statesman might have easily been deceived. But the grounds on which the Polish government relied, with some reason, were, that the interests of Prussia were, if rightly understood and pursued, intimately connected with those of Poland. This chiefly induced them to place a degree of confidence in the warmth with which the court of

Berlin seemingly entered into their views. Nevertheless, the more doubtful and wary politicians pronounced its conduct to be influenced only by the circumstances of the moment; duplicity was requisite to cover the measures it was at that instant forming in concert with the courts of Petersburg and Vienna.

The Russian court, accustomed for a length of years to a humble deference to its mandates, from the Polish government, considered these transactions in Poland in hardly any other light than open rebellion. It was at this hour busily occupied in putting a final termination to the Turkish war, and the manner in which this was concluded, evidently proved that other motives than those of moderation accelerated the decision of that business. It was not till the middle of August, 1791, that a treaty of peace was concluded between the Porte and the court of Petersburg: and the remainder of the year was consumed in the necessary operations subsequent to a pacification. It was not for this reason, till the return of the Russian armies from the theatre of war, and after they had rested in their winter-quarters, that a resolution was formed to employ them in the prosecution of the designs against Poland.

In the mean time, the three partitioning courts, as they have been justly styled since the first dismemberment of Poland, in 1773, were conjointly devising in what manner to accomplish the ultimate object they had long proposed: the utter subjugation of the Poles, and the division of their country. These three ambitious powers had seen enough of the reviving spirit of liberty

liberty in that nation to fear its future consequences, should the arrangements that had taken place in that country be permitted to endure any length of time. They were persuaded that a short space would suffice to produce effects of great importance. The Poles, it was notorious, had resolved to sacrifice every consideration to that of establishing their independence on the most solid foundation. All classes unanimously concurred in this determination: that independence once firmly secured, they might gradually proceed in those improvements of their country, which, from its natural goodness and fertility in productions of the first use and consequence, would, in a few years, raise it to a state of great power. Notwithstanding its dismemberment, it still consisted of spacious provinces, and contained upwards of eight millions of inhabitants—a population which, under skilful management, might be rendered amply sufficient for the purposes of national industry and defence; especially as all descriptions of people were firmly prepared to undergo all domestic hardships, and to deny themselves all superfluities, in order to set on foot and maintain such an army as might repel the aggressions of their neighbours.

Such, indeed, was the fixed resolutions of all the people of Poland. There was no district, no town of the least note, of which the inhabitants did not form themselves into associations, for the purpose of forwarding every patriotic scheme of which they were capable. The rich contributed their money, and the poor their personal exertions. Nothing, in short, was wanting in this general combination of the pub-

lic and private energies of the nation, but to have resorted to them at an earlier date.—The powers inimical to Poland kept so watchful an eye upon all its proceedings, that not the least transaction escaped them, wherein they could be concerned. They were particularly attentive in preventing the importation of arms and warlike stores into Poland. Previously to the revolution, the king, aided by the patriotic party, had endeavoured to establish manufactories of arms, and foundaries of cannon: but these were objects so entirely new, that they proceeded very slowly. Expecting shortly to need them in a very extensive degree, the government directed large purchases to be made, wherever they could be found. But it was daily more difficult to procure them upon any terms. Germany, the great mart for all works in iron and steel, was in possession of their enemies. The armourers of Brandenburg, and of Saxony, were formally prohibited from supplying the Polish agents. The fabricks of other parts were almost exhausted, or too remote. The trade of Dantzic was under the controul of Prussia; and little, or rather nothing, could be transmitted through its territories into Poland, without the inspection and permit of the Prussian toll-gatherers, who were uncommonly strict in the execution of their official duties, and suffered no article to pass that appeared of a suspicious nature, or which they deemed contrary to the intentions of their government.

In this state of pressure and perplexity, the Poles were compelled to have recourse to every medium that ingenuity could devise. The old fire-arms, long laid aside as

useless, were now sought after, and furnished a-new with the utmost care and dexterity; and no means were omitted to supply the multitudes that daily offered their services, with a readiness and zeal that shewed they would want very little tutoring to become excellent soldiers. No time, in truth, was to be lost in training them. Though the armies of Prussia and Austria were at this time in preparation, for the execution of those designs that had been formed by the emperor Leopold, and the king of Prussia, yet the power alone of Russia was sufficient, at this juncture, to carry on the designs concerted by those three potentates against the Polish nation.

If the difficulties to be surmounted in the providing of arms, were great, those that were encountered in the raising of money, were not less, if not greater. Notwithstanding the sincerity of the people at large, in their attachment to the new system, it was incumbent on the government to add as little as possible to the existing taxes, the weight of which was severely felt, in a country not possessed of many pecuniary resources. The method which appeared the most judicious, and least burdensome, for the procuring of the large supplies that were wanted, was the sale of the starosties, the name given to those lands and estates bestowed by the crown upon individuals, for their public services or expences. These were held for life, with the privilege of disposing of them to others, who remained possessors during the life of the seller. These starosties were very numerous and considerable: a loan was accordingly proposed, with security for the sums advanced on the sale of those

benefices. The secret emissaries of the three partitioning powers, were exceedingly active in obstructing this measure, and the lenders were few, in proportion to the many that had been expected, considering the reasonableness and value of the purchases. But the terror propagated through the kingdom, by the agents of Russia, deterred the monied people. The securities, however good in themselves, appeared insufficient, when they were weighed against the dangers threatened from Russia. Thus, that resource from which, at any other season, the expectations formed would have been abundantly answered, did not, at this perilous time, serve the purposes for which it had been so confidently held out.

It was now daily becoming manifest, that a desperate struggle would very soon ensue with Russia, and that the independence of Poland must be maintained at a heavy charge of blood and treasure. In order to meet this formidable enemy, the king had early laid plans of defence before his council, every member of which concurred in its approbation. It included all persons proper to be trusted with arms. The burghers in all the cities and towns in the kingdom were included in the list; by which means it afforded a prospect of a numerous and respectable militia, which would in a short time, through the patriotic zeal of every man for the common cause, be rendered able, by constant and assiduous discipline, to face a hostile invasion, with well-founded hopes of resisting it. This plan was digested in such a manner, as to put arms in the hands of every citizen in his turn, and, by a continual rotation, regularly train all people

people indiscriminately to the use of arms and military exercises, and thus to convert every able-bodied man into a soldier.

Had this plan been adopted, at the time when it was proposed, it is highly probable, that the knowledge of tactics which would have been acquired, when added to the warlike disposition of the Poles, and the patriotic spirit that animated all men, must have thrown many more obstacles in the way of their enemies than those, unfortunately for Poland, they had to contend with. The plan itself was unobjectionable; but the spirit of selfish pride, so long and so rootedly the character of the Polish nobility, frustrated this wise and patriotic scheme. To confide in an army of citizens was repugnant to the principles in which that order had been bred. Terrified at what had happened in France, they protested against the project of arming the nation, lest, when having arms in their hands, the people should claim more authority than became them, and conscious of their strength, should refuse obedience, and challenge an equality of rights and power.

Fatally for Poland, the prudence and patriotism of the king were unable to surmount the prejudices of the Polish nobles. They continued, notwithstanding his remonstrances and expostulations on the temerity of their conduct, immoveably fixed in the determination to expose their country to all hazards, rather than part with those privileges, that enabled them to tyrannize over their countrymen.

It was in the midst of this opposition to the just and salutary views of the king, that the court of Petersburg, having completed its pre-

parations against Poland, ordered the Russian ambassador at Warsaw to declare its intentions to the king and the diet. This declaration asserted a right and an obligation, on the part of Russia, to take part in whatever related to the government and the affairs of Poland. It complained, in violent terms, of the change that had taken place in the constitution, which it represented as a total subversion of the ancient Polish liberty; and as effected chiefly by factious violence, and supported by an outrageous mob. It charged the diet with countenancing opprobrious language, respecting the conduct and intentions of the empress. It recapitulated a variety of particulars, tending to criminate the Poles, as guilty of oppression and barbarity towards the subjects of Russia. It asserted the new government to be a tyranny, established against the sense of the nation, the most respectable part of which had applied for protection, and a restoration of the former government, to the court of Petersburg. Induced by these motives, the empress had determined to take an active part in their behalf; and, at their request, to restore the ancient order of things in Poland; and to treat as enemies all those who should oppose her endeavours to accomplish that object.

Such was the substance of the declaration, delivered on the 18th of May, 1792, by M. Bulgakow, the Russian ambassador at Warsaw, to the Polish government. A notification of this kind had been some time expected, and excited, therefore, no surprise. On laying it before the diet, the king observed, in explicit terms, that the design of the court of Petersburg was evi-

dently to subvert the constitution they had established, and to bring the king under subjection. He warmly exhorted the diet, never to submit to such ignominious treatment, but manfully to support the system they had adopted. He advised them, at the same time, in addition to the efforts of the Polish nation to repel this unjust aggression, to apply to that ally on whom they had the clearest right to depend on this exigency. This was the king of Prussia. That prince had, in the face of Europe, openly concurred in the measures pursued by Poland, particularly those which had been embraced with the view of shaking off the influence of Russia, and in the negotiations with the Porte; but especially in the forming a government, with which he could contract a firm and durable alliance. That government had been framed, and this alliance had been contracted accordingly; and he had thereby engaged to assist Poland in maintaining its independence and dominions against all hostile attempts, first by mediation, and, were that to fail, by employing a force sufficient, in conjunction with that of Poland, to resist the attempts of its enemies.

The king's address was received with unanimous satisfaction. He was invested with the supreme command of the Polish armies; and it was resolved, that for all the damages sustained by private individuals, in consequence of the entrance of Russian troops into Poland, indemnification should be made to the sufferers, at the expence of the public. The Polish nobles, convinced of the danger their country was in, desisted from the opposition they had so imprudently made to the arming of the nation. They

universally agreed, that the forces already on foot should be augmented by one hundred thousand men, and that arms should be distributed among the people. The Polish nobility displayed great patriotism on this occasion: some sent all their plate to the mint, others made large donations in money; many raised and maintained companies of horse and foot, and even whole regiments; warlike implements and stores, in large quantities, were provided by numbers; several trains of artillery were furnished in the same manner. Prince Radzivil, reputed the richest nobleman in the kingdom, presented it with ten thousand stand of arms. No efforts, in short, were omitted to put the nation in a posture of defence. All family feuds and private altercations were now laid aside, and a cordial union succeeded between all individuals and parties.

Had this spirit, and these measures, been adopted a year before, Poland would probably have found itself in a situation to meet its invaders on a footing of some parity. Numbers of resolute men abounded in every part of the country; and, had the scheme of forming them into a regular militia taken place, it was computed, that more than four hundred thousand might with facility have been embodied. Prepared for action by the constant training of a whole twelvemonth, and animated by the love of their country, and that hatred to the Russians, long implanted in the poles, the contest between them would not have been easily decided, and might have lasted long enough to produce some movements in favour of the latter, by those who could not be deemed indifferent spectators of their fate.

It had indeed, shortly after the revolution, been suggested; by some of the soundest politicians, and truest friends of Poland, to follow up the decisive step that had been taken first, by every domestic exertion that could possibly be made; to invigorate and strengthen the nation internally; and next, by forming connexions with those powers that would naturally be glad of an opportunity to secure themselves from the domineering influence of Russia. Denmark and Sweden were pointed out as powers with whom an alliance might be formed, highly beneficial to both the contracting parties; the latter, especially, was governed by a prince who, though driven by necessity into a pacification with Russia, had incessant provocations to plead against it, from its continual machinations in Sweden to excite or foster variance between him and the Swedish nobles. Nor was Turkey forgotten in this plan of opposition to Russia. Peace, it was true, was restored between these powers; but the ambitious views of the court of Petersburg were well known; and the undeniable necessity of self-defence would have amply justified the Porte in forming a league with Poland, reciprocally defensive of their dominions. It was obvious, that were this country added to that immense empire, so formidable an increase of power would enable it to give the law to all its neighbours, and extend its influence through all Europe.

These admonitions were founded on the discernment of all sensible persons in Europe. Support from Prussia could not, with any prudence, be depended on. Engaged with Austria in the invasion of France, its attention was too deeply

taken up with their joint projects in that kingdom, to be employed in any others; and they were both justly considered as willing to accede to whatever Russia might propose respecting Poland. It was, therefore, with much disapprobation, that the judicious viewed the readiness of the Polish government to continue its negotiations with the courts of Berlin and Dresden; from neither of which any positive determination could be procured. As to the court of Vienna, it retained too much of its characteristic haughtiness to assume dissimulation; and the Poles were at no loss, after the uncordial treatment of their ambassador at Vienna, to conjecture its real intentions.

In the mean time, the Russian army, destined for the invasion of Poland, had entered its territories. It consisted of sixty thousand men, and near one hundred thousand more were in readiness to support it, if necessary. This army was accompanied by a few Polish noblemen, personal enemies to the king, and to all his measures. The principal among these were, the counts Branniki, Potocki, and Rezewuski, with a small number of their respective dependents. The presence of these noblemen in the Russian army was intended as a sanction to its proceedings in Poland. The court of Petersburg affected to consider them as the representatives of the majority of the Polish nation. It was on that pretence the empress founded the right of interfering in the settlement of its affairs. But the falsity of these pretensions was of universal notoriety. These noblemen were held in little estimation in their country; and their adherents were extremely inconsiderable, both in regard

regard to their numbers and their circumstances. They were hardly more than the servile attendants of a broken faction, unable to make a stand by any other means than that of enslaving their country to a foreign power.

The difficulty, or rather, indeed, the impracticability of withstanding the prodigious number of troops that were assembling from all parts of the Russian frontiers, did not deter the Poles from making every sort of resistance yet in their power. Notwithstanding the selfish opposition of the Polish nobles, to the endeavours and representation of the king, through his patriotic zeal and efforts, the army, from less than twenty thousand men, had been augmented to near sixty thousand. One half consisted of gentlemen, excellently mounted and accoutered, and the other half of infantry, well armed and exercised; but they wanted appurtenances for encampment. Nevertheless they took the field under these and many other disadvantages, with an alacrity and resolution, which no hardships could impair. The command of the Polish army was entrusted, by the king, to his nephew, Prince Joseph Poniatowski. The prince, when the king invited him to take this command, addressed himself to his majesty as follows: "Where are my magazines? Where all those necessary supplies, the replacing of which, a war, even the most fortunate, continually requires? Where, through the Ukraine, am I to be in possession of a place of security? In what place can my military hospital be established with safety? Where are my surgeons and my medicines? From whence am I to be furnished with my artillery of re-

serve? With horses, with harness, and spare mountings for the guns? Who has been appointed my commissary for provisions? Or has there been any nomination of my quarter-master-general? And without two persons of this description, it is well known that no commander takes the charge of an army." To all these questions he was answered, "Although none of these requisitions can at present be supplied, the equipment of every thing shall be immediately forwarded, and no time shall be lost in sending them to you as soon as they are ready. Be your own commissary and quarter-master-general; exert yourself as indefatigably as we have done, who, in the space of two years, have augmented the army from eighteen to fifty-five thousand men, and almost half of these cavalry. It must be confessed, that much the greater part of this cavalry are ignorant of one single manœuvre; that the saddles, bridles, and fire-arms, of this corps are all without uniformity, and the whole so totally without arrangement, that to form them in order of battle is impossible. This is no time, however, for these objections: march directly to the frontiers, assemble what troops you can, and defend yourself to the best of your abilities. Courage, military talents, and the love of your country, will supply every deficiency." It was thus the king spoke to his nephew, in devoting him to the service of the nation. And thus the prince replied: "I will go, for I love my country; but I go to my death; and, what is infinitely more distressing, to the probable sacrifice of my reputation." The Polish army was widely scattered in different parts of the kingdom. The different corps that marched

marched to the frontiers, though for the most part without tents, did not arrive at the place of general rendezvous, Tulczyn, till the Russians had passed Ostrog, in Volhinia, and Vilna, in Lithuania. When prince Joseph Poniatowski, who left Warsaw on the twenty-sixth of May 1792, arrived at Tulczyn, his muster fell short of 20,000 men. The troops by which he was joined were to be assembled from a distance of fifty German, that is, two hundred English miles. The length of the frontier, the defence of which was entrusted to the prince, extended from Mohilow, in Podolia, as far as Lojow, a distance of one hundred German miles: for the protection of which he had the command of no more than about 24,000 men, at a time when the Russians were marching against him in three bodies, each of which was equal to the whole of his force.

The first meeting of the Poles and the Russians took place on the twenty-fourth of May. A large party of the Cossacs advanced into the open field, to reconnoitre the disposition of the Polish forces. Desirous of signalizing the commencement of hostilities by some action that might impress the Russians with a better opinion of Polish prowess than they seemed to entertain, the Poles marched boldly out of their encampment, and attacked them with such unexpected vigour, that they were put to flight, and pursued to their own camp. Encouraged by this auspicious beginning the Poles, two days after, attacked a larger body of Cossacs, which they also defeated; but in the ardour of their pursuit, they were suddenly arrested by a strong body of the enemy, ambuscaded in a wood, from which

they issued out upon the Poles, and surrounded them. In this extremity, they had no other resource than the most desperate exertions of valour. Drawing up in the compactest order, they forced their way through the Russians, who were near five to one, and regained their quarters, after making a considerable slaughter of the enemy with a much smaller loss on their own side. These two actions did great honour to the Poles; it was their first essay in the field, and did not fail to convince their enemies, that they had to deal with men, whom only their own superiority in number, and in other advantages, would enable them to overcome.

The intelligence brought to Warsaw of these two brilliant actions filled the public with exultation. They were of no other importance than as they proved the innate bravery of the Poles, and that with the aid of some experience and timely succours, they might prove a match for the Russians. But this alone was important in the critical situation of their affairs, and encouraged all men to come forward with their warmest efforts to serve the public. The king in particular seized this opportunity of addressing himself to the nation, and of reminding it of the many glorious actions performed by the Poles in former days, especially in Russia itself. He exhorted it to unite firmly in every possible endeavour for the common cause, and to look on the present period as decisive of their future happiness or misery. If they could now stand their ground, their liberty would be secured for ages; if on the contrary, through their own remissness, or the superior exertions of the foe, Poland were compelled to submit to the enslavement

enslavement intended for it, numbers of years would probably elapse before a fortunate concurrence of circumstances might enable their posterity to recover their freedom.

On the thirty-first of May the diet was prorogued, after it had provided to the utmost of its power for the numerous demands made upon it by the necessities of the public. The parting of the king and of the members was suitable to the seriousness of their situation. Placing the utmost confidence in his prudence and patriotism, they cheerfully committed to him the defence of the kingdom; and he fervently requested them to circulate a spirit of resistance to the enemy, and of unanimity among the people, and to sacrifice all considerations to that of saving their country, by serving it on this pressing occasion; every man to the full extent of his respective powers and abilities. His appeal to the military was remarkably forcible and pathetic. He recalled to their remembrance the many misfortunes, injuries, and humiliations, heaped upon Poland by Russia; and called upon their resentment and courage for vengeance. They were selected by their country as the avengers of its wrongs, and the protectors of its honour and freedom against ambitious invaders, who could claim no other right to their usurpations than that of barbarous force and violence. The only superiority of the Russian troops over the Polish, was a longer practice of discipline; but a brave people fighting for all that was dear to them, must shortly attain an equality. By the laws they were called upon to maintain by their valour; they had been emancipated from an abject state of sla-

very, to which, if conquered, they must again return. He was ready in their company to lay down in the field of honour the few years he might have to live. And he concluded, by telling them, that as their father, their king, and their general, his last words of command would be, to live free and respected, or to die with honour.

From the warm and sincere affection borne to the king, by all classes of his subjects, this admonition was received with the highest marks of approbation and respect. They considered him, what he was in reality, as unfeignedly interested in the common cause of his country; with the prosperous or evil destiny of which his own fortune was inseparably bound. The jealousy of a secret correspondence, and a leaning on the part of the king towards Russia, was entirely groundless. There was no bribe in the power of the empress to bestow, equal to the crown and the independence of Poland; nor can it be supposed that gratitude for the possession of a crown would incline him to lay it down. The king standing in this light, and his public and private character being equally irreproachable, his words never failed to make a profound impression.

Pressed in the mean while by the continual irruptions of the Russian troops on every side of Poland, the king applied to the court of Berlin for the succours stipulated, by which it was specifically bound to assist Poland against all attempts on its independence, on whatever pretence they might be founded. The answer from the king of Prussia was a positive denial of any obligation on his part to fulfil the terms of that treaty; which had been made with Poland

Poland previously to the changes that had since happened in its government: as these changes had been made without his privity or concurrence, and had totally altered the state of things, he held himself discharged from the connexion he had then formed. Notwithstanding this explicit refusal of the Prussian monarch to abide by his treaty, and the reasons alleged for this refusal, he was strongly suspected of having advised those very measures of which the empress so bitterly complained. He never had signified any averseness to the new constitution, at the time of its passing, or that he considered it as an infringement of the treaty. His minister at Warsaw, had, on the contrary, been directed to announce in a formal manner his approbation of the proceedings on the third of May.

This conduct, in the court of Berlin, opened a new scene in Poland. The generality of the people had firmly relied on the co-operation of Prussia, in the defence of the new constitution, which had visibly placed the Poles on a footing of more strength and importance than they had experienced for many years, and rendered an alliance with them of sufficient weight to be courted by those who might need such a support. The house of Brandenburg, feeble in its origin, had not till of late years, become possessed of considerable power: the dispersed situation of its dominions had long obstructed its aspiring views: but the acquisition of Silesia, and afterwards of all Prussia, by the partitioning treaty that dismembered Poland, had given it a consequence, which it was now more solicitous than ever to increase by fresh accessions of territory. Conscious that its power was chiefly

founded on usurpation, it studiously sought to maintain by arms, what it had obtained by force. Russia had hitherto acted a joint part in usurping whatever lay most convenient for its ambitious purposes: and Austria was not backward in acceding to their rapacious schemes, by means of which she found means to indemnify herself in some measure for the loss of those provinces in Germany, wrested from her by the celebrated Frederic. But as their triple alliance was founded upon manifest injustice, it was not expected to last longer than these three powers found it necessary for the accomplishment of the objects they had unitedly in view. Poland once divided between them, it never was doubted that Austria and Russia, of which the mutual regard for each other had long been conspicuous, would readily confederate against the house of Brandenburg; which neither of them, from various motives, ever considered in a respectable light. The recovery of Silesia would always occupy the councils of Austria, and the insatiable ambition of Russia would lead her to extend her acquisitions in Poland by every means that offered. Thus resentment and rapacity would jointly contribute to produce an union of those mighty powers against the former partner of their usurpations, who then would be too feeble to resist their united efforts.

Such was the reasonings of those who looked forward to the probable course of events. They were certainly justified by long experience. Relying on precedents of this nature, they presumed that the court of Berlin would also be governed by them, and prefer an union of interests, with a powerful ally, to the temporary

temporary enjoyment of part of his spoils, in conjunction with associates more powerful than himself, and who certainly would sooner or later strip him of that share they had at first found it convenient to allow him. Others, however, thought, differently. Consulting that strong propensity to immediate gain, whatever may be the aftercast, which governs princes as well as other men, they hesitated not to predict, that the court of Berlin would seize with avidity that portion of Poland which Russia would offer to it, as the price of its dereliction of the Poles. These, unhappily for Poland, conjectured rightly.

When this fatal decision was laid before the king and his council at Warsaw, though fully satisfied in their own minds, as to the consequences that must in all likelihoods ensue, from this renunciation of all friendship on the part of Prussia, they nobly determined not to abandon the defence of their country, and to persist, to the very last extremity, in every trial and exertion to save it, that bravery and skill could suggest to men who were resolved to bury themselves under its ruins.

Hostilities were now carried on with great animosity between both parties; the Poles fought upon every occasion with a fury that often disconcerted their enemies, and the fortune of war was continually balanced by alternate successes and defeats. This created no little astonishment in the many veteran officers that commanded the Russian troops, and who had not expected to meet with so obstinate a resistance.—When the Russians first entered Lithuania, which was now the theatre of war, they entertain-

ed no doubt of being before this time masters of Warsaw, but obstructions rose before them every day: the Polish peasantry was universally against them, and refused to supply them with provisions and forage at any price. These they reserved wholly for their own troops; and most of those peasants, that could in the least afford it, furnished these articles, and many others, without exacting payment.

The patriotism of the people, and the bravery of the soldiers, retarded in a considerable degree the progress of the Russians, who were, exclusively of their baggage and artillery, compelled to load their horses and waggons with all manner of necessaries: this greatly incumbered their motions, while the Poles, on the other hand, exempt from those incumbrances, were able to march and act much more expeditiously. The knowledge of the country frequently enabled the Polish troops to way-lay the Russians; who being, in many places, destitute of guides, fell into ambuscades, from which they found it extremely difficult to extricate themselves, without suffering considerable loss.

In this species of warfare, much time was consumed, and many lives lost. It was not till the tenth of June, that any action worthy of notice took place. General Judick, a Polish officer, noted for his personal bravery, was attacked on that day, by a large body of Russians: his own was not considerable; but after sustaining several discharges of musketry, they rushed with such impetuosity upon the Russians, that they were thrown into disorder, and compelled to abandon the field, after a combat of four hours, during which more than five hundred of them

them were slain. The Polish general, emboldened by this success, attacked the enemy on the succeeding day. The Russians had been reinforced during the night. Availing themselves of their superior numbers, they extended their line, and completely surrounded the Poles: these, however, stood their ground, with the utmost valour; but after a contest of some hours, found it necessary to make a retreat. Those who were present at this action, were less astonished at their giving way, than at their being able to retire from the force that almost encompassed them.

Another conflict took place on the fourteenth. Prince Joseph Poniatowski had received intelligence, that a strong detachment from the Russian main army was on its march to seize a large magazine belonging to the Poles. He dispatched instantly a chosen party of his cavalry, which quickly came up with the enemy. The engagement was long and severe, and terminated wholly to the advantage of the Poles. The prince advanced immediately with all the troops under his command, intending to follow up the blow with the capture of the whole Russian detachment; but on reaching the ground, and reconnoitering the enemy's position, such numbers were discovered to have poured in to their assistance, that it was judged impracticable to attack them with success. Their strength increasing hourly, the prince broke up his camp, and retired with all expedition. The Russians followed with equal speed, and came up with his rear, while it was crossing a bridge, which unhappily breaking down with the weight of the waggons and artillery, a considerable number

of those who formed the rear of the Polish army were left exposed to the Russians, who assailed them with both cannon and musketry. They made a gallant but ineffectual defence, and with difficulty retreated from Völlonna toward Zielim, after losing many of their bravest officers and soldiers.

During the retreat of the army from Völlonna, five hundred Poles, like the Greeks at Thermopylæ, in order to stop the progress of the enemy, devoted their lives and covered with their dead bodies the ground they had disputed with their arms. Many were the instances that now appeared in the Polish nation of that generous and undaunted spirit of liberty and patriotism that raises the human soul above all low and selfish desires, and even the love of life. Patriotic contributions were made in every district; the soldiers displayed a fearlessness of death in every action.

Prince Joseph Poniatowski continued to retreat during two days. On the third he met with a considerable reinforcement. This determined him to halt and hazard a general engagement. The Russians were seventeen thousand strong, and had between twenty and thirty field-pieces. Notwithstanding that they were much inferior in number, the Poles charged this veteran army with a vigour and spirit that supplied every want of military skill and experience. In order to cope with the Polish cavalry, which consisted almost entirely of gentlemen, full of the highest sentiments of honour and patriotism, the Russian generals had collected a numerous and chosen body of horse: it amounted to more than eight thousand men; but with all these advantages on
their

their side, they were not able to stand the impetuous valour of the Poles. After a bloody combat of more than twelve hours, every part of the Russian army was completely defeated, and obliged to retire from the field of battle, covered with upwards of four thousand of their dead. The loss of the Poles did not much exceed 1200 men.

The news of this signal victory, gained by an inferior number of men inexpert in war, and inspired solely by patriotic courage, over a superior number of troops, excellently disciplined, and long inured to war and victory, filled all Europe with astonishment and admiration. But those members of the diet, who, in concert with the king, had so strenuously insisted on the formation of those plans that would have given to Poland a powerful and well-regulated military, could not contain their resentment and indignation at that numerous but contemptible majority of Polish nobles, who had, from the basest motives, rejected them. Had they been accepted, it was evident that Poland might have been saved. If the handful of men now opposed to the Russians, could perform such wonders, what would hundreds of thousands have done, all animated with the same spirit, and with far greater hopes of success! These complaints of the patriotic party, in the diet, were taken up and urged with unrestrained violence by the public at Warsaw. Never, it was said, had the spirit of aristocracy, displayed its malignity so fatally as in the present instance. The king and his faithful people would have saved the country; but the haughty nobles, rather than part with the privilege of lording it over the nation, had delivered it into the hands of the enemy.

Unfortunately for Poland, there was too much of truth in these complaints. True it was, the nobles had repented of their error; but the day of repentance came too late. The enemy was in the bowels of their country; and to the sorrows they must feel, at the destruction impending over it, was now added the poignant reflection, that it might have been saved, had they been willing in time to save it.

In the mean time, the great victory over the Russians, though it did the highest honour to the Poles, was of no service to their cause. The Russian armies continued their irruptions into all parts of Poland. They were masters of the principal cities in Lithuania, and advancing gradually towards Warsaw, Prince Poniatowski, assisted by the celebrated Kosciuszko, made many a desperate stand! but the vast superiority of numbers, discipline, and military knowledge and experience, proved ultimately irresistible. The courage displayed by the Poles, in the many obstinate engagements daily taking place, was the more heroic, that they fought merely to preserve the honour of their country, and that its liberty might not expire unrevengeed.

The virtues of the Poles, overborne by injustice and a combination of despots, contrasted with the polluted triumphs of the French republic, awakened throughout Europe a generous sympathy with that noble nation, and indignation against their oppressors. A subscription for their relief and support, set on foot in the metropolis of the British empire, and which was carried on with unexampled and rapid success, afforded to the Poles the consolation, that their misfortunes were not beheld with insensibility by their neighbours; and that, with whatever

whatever unconcern their struggle against despotism and ambition was viewed by sovereign princes, had they been able to continue their resistance they would have met with all that support, from the generosity of Britons, which it was in their power as individuals to bestow. At the same time that the Russian forces poured into Poland, Stanislaus received a letter from Catharine II. written with her own hand, in which she informed him that it would be vain to make farther resistance, as she was determined to double and even triple her army, in case of necessity, rather than abandon the cause she had undertaken. She intimated, besides, that the sentiments of the emperor and the king of Prussia were in unison with her own, and that a farther opposition; on his part, would induce those powers to give her the most effectual support.

The king now saw the inevitable necessity of yielding to superior force. He had applied to the court of Vienna for its interposition, but was answered in a style that shewed it acted in conjunction with those of Petersburgh and Berlin. Finding all his endeavours to resist the power of Russia ineffectual, and that all its neighbours either abetted or did not dare to oppose it, he consulted with himself, it is said, in this sad extremity, whether he should not, in imitation of illustrious precedents, disdain to survive the destruction of his country; and expire sword in hand in its defence. Certain it is, that his words and behaviour indicated such an intent: but those who were most in his intimacy, represented to him that such a sacrifice of himself, though it might contribute to render his name fa-

mous to posterity, would by no means conduce to the good of his country. It would not soften the disposition of the three partitioning potentates, who, though unwilling to embrace their hands in his blood, would not abate any thing of their pretensions in consideration of such a deed; which either bigotry or hypocrisy would represent as criminal: the most prudent part he could act in this difficult juncture, would be to terminate a contest to which Poland, in its present circumstances, was evidently inadequate, by yielding to the demands of the empress; who might be prevailed upon, by a timely submission, to grant more favourable terms than she would probably listen to, were the resistance to her arms protracted until they had made an entire conquest of the kingdom: an event absolutely unavoidable, and that must put an end to all treaty and compromise.

The inutility, or rather, indeed, the detriment that would hence result to his country, from the desperate resolution of perishing in battle, at the head of his army, were laid before him so forcibly, that he resolved, however it might prove mortifying, to yield to the irresistible destiny that awaited his country, and to mitigate its rigour, if possible, by acceding to the imperious requisitions of the empress, whose pride, by submitting to them with some degree of acquiescence, might be soothed into measures of less severity than was now threatened. In compliance with the advice of the coolest heads in his council, who were of opinion, that no time should be lost in a fruitless and ruinous resistance, all the members of the diet, that could conveni-

ently repair to Warsaw, were summoned to attend on the twenty-third of July. He informed them of every particular relating to the melancholy situation of their country. The total dereliction of the king of Prussia and the emperor, and the immediate submission required by the empress, left them, he observed, no alternative between obedience to her dictates, and extermination by the sword.

The only means remaining to preserve Poland from a total dismemberment, were, to give way to the inauspiciousness of the times, and to appeal to the protection of the empress herself.

The high spirit of the Polish nation was severely hurt by these mortifying representations, which, though proceeding from indispensable necessity, were construed by those who had more resolution than prudence, into disgraceful, and unworthy the character and dignity of a great and free people. But after violent altercations between those who adhered to the advice of the king and those who opposed it, the latter were out-voted by a numerous majority, that plainly saw the folly of devoting their country to destruction through unseasonable and ill-understood magnanimity. The mandates of the Russian court were complied with to their full extent. The new constitution was annulled, the former one restored, and what completed this cruel humiliation, the Polish army was required to lay down their arms, and surrender to the Russians.

In the mean time, a confederation had been formed, known by the name of Targowitz; (the place where it was set on foot), on the

fourteenth of May. To this confederation the king and his adherents were obliged to accede. It was entirely under the controul and direction of those noblemen who had emigrated to Russia, on the establishment of the new constitution, and at whose instigation, in a great measure, the empress had resolved to employ coercive measures against Poland. As they were in the interests and pay of Russia, they acted subserviently to all its designs, and, under the pretext of restoring the ancient order of things in their country, subjected it entirely to the will of the court of Petersburg.

Liberty did not expire without indignation and loud complaint, nor the existence of the Polish nation without a tear. The proceedings of the diet were so disgusting to the public, that numbers flocked from all parts to oppose them. Four noblemen had the courage to put themselves at the head of this opposition, and resolutely protested against them; these were count Malachowski and the princes Radzivil, Sapieha, and Soltoki. They had every one, the first especially, distinguished themselves, on various occasions, by the most undaunted patriotism. The firmness of their behaviour on this critical occurrence so much revived the spirits of their countrymen, that upwards of four thousand of the Polish gentry, and reputable citizens, waited upon them with loud and solemn thanks for not despairing of their country, and with offers to stand by them to the last extremity. They carried them in triumph through the city, which resounded with acclamations. Numbers who disapproved of the king's conduct, as too submissive, took

took this opportunity of condemning it, by repeatedly exclaiming, the constitution without the king!

The protest or manifesto of Malachowski, dictated by the liveliest grief and indignation, concludes in the following manner. "Fortified by the purity of my intentions, I submit to the divine justice, the destinies of my country, and the proceedings of those whose pleasure it has been to do hurt to the republic. Oh! nation that I bear in my bosom! Oh my dear compatriots! I partake of your misfortunes, but I cannot soften them! Alas! there only remains for me to offer you tears. My fidelity and my attachment are known to you. Nothing can diminish or destroy them. But I cannot give you any more proof

"of them; as they have deprived me of the means."

But this popular effervescence of the Polish nation, however bold and extensive, lasted only some days, during which the arrangements made by the enemy to suppress all resistance, rendered it wholly impracticable. A silent and sullen acquiescence in the measures enforced upon them, succeeded to those lively sentiments of national honour and freedom, which had roused the Poles to such extraordinary exertions for their independence. The whole country was now under the government of Russia, which ruled with undisputed sway. Every town of consequence was garrisoned with Russian troops, and the Poles now completely experienced the divers insults and mortifications incident to a conquered nation.

C H A P. II.

Continuation of the Partitioning System of Policy.—Prussian Troops entering Poland, take possession of Dantzic and Thorn.—A second Partition of Poland avowed and declared by the Partitioning Powers to the Polish Diet.—Remonstrances of the Diet.—And Means employed for the Prevention of that Partition.—Violences of the Russian Ambassador at Warsaw.—The Polish Diet compelled by an armed force to sign a Treaty of Peace and Alliance with Russia.—And one of a like Nature and like Conditions with Prussia.—A Spirit of Opposition in the Diet to Russia.—Revival of an Order of Knighthood that had been suppressed by Order of the Czarina.—Fatal Consequences of this Step.—Insolence and Tyranny of the Russians.—General Insurrection of the Poles.—Headed by Kosciusko.—Successes of the Poles.—Junction of Russian and Prussian Forces for the Reduction of Warsaw.—Siege of Warsaw.—Brave and resolute Defence by the Poles.—The King of Prussia raises the Siege.—An immense Russian Army under Suwarrow, advances against Warsaw.—Decisive Action.—Defeat and Capture of Kosciusko.—All Hopes of Poland at an end.—Final Dismemberment.—Tyranny of the Russians.—Reflections.

THE re-establishment of the ancient system of government, and the universal submission of Poland to the powers and dictates of the court of Petersburg, was followed by a dead calm of silent discontent. Conscious of their inability to throw off the yoke, the Poles now waited with patient but indignant resignation some auspicious opportunity of doing themselves justice. They were not without hopes that the restless ambition of the court of Petersburg would soon or late involve it in some altercation, from which it would not be able to extricate itself with success. This might prove an opportunity of humbling it so effectually, as to enable some of those powers, whom, in the intoxication of prosperity, it

had offended, to unite for the restoration of those countries (through the unjust acquisition of which the power of Russia was become so formidable to its neighbours) to their former owners.

From the commencement of August, when the submission of Poland to Russia was completely effected, to the close of the year, no event occurred to disturb the arrangements that were making by the court of Petersburg in the Polish governments and provinces. The Poles were beginning to enjoy some repose, and to flatter themselves that, provided they remained peaceable, they would be suffered to retain that portion of their country which they still possessed, unmolested by any future pretensions.

sions. But, in the beginning of 1793, the system of the partitioning powers began farther to unfold itself. A body of Prussian troops marched into Poland, where they seized upon Thorn and Dantzic, neither of which cities were in a state of defence, but relied for their security on the treaties subsisting between Prussia and Poland. The court of Berlin accompanied these hostile measures with a manifesto, purporting, that the king was induced to take them, by the apprehensions of the danger to which his own dominions were exposed, from the proceedings of the jacobinical party in Poland, and the seditious and revolutionary opinions they had infused into the inhabitants bordering on his own territories. Being on the eve of a campaign in France, the two imperial courts concurred with him in opinion, that he ought, in good policy, to secure himself from an attack by the factious party in Poland.

There is nothing more certain, than that ambitious governments have frequent recourse to little diplomatic stratagems and intrigues; nor was there any court more, if so much addicted to these, in the present period, as the court of Berlin. It is an absolute fact, that emissaries, certain Italians, were sent from the court of Berlin, with the truly diabolical intent of forming jacobin clubs in Poland, in order that the proceedings of those rascals or fanatics might furnish pretexts for the introduction of new armies, and farther oppressions. A similar device, for a similar purpose, had been practised by the same court, in 1787, in Holland, in the arrestation of the princess of Orange.

The Prussian manifesto, which

was dated the sixth of January, 1793, was answered on the third of February, by the Polish confederation, assembled at Grodno, in Lithuania. They protested against the entrance of the Prussians into Poland, as a violation of treaties, and firmly declared, they would not submit to any farther dismemberment of their country. They requested count Scivers, the Russian ambassador, to inform the empress of the alarm they were under, by the report, that a second partition of Poland was intended; and trusted in her protection from such an attempt. But these remonstrances were of no effect. The determination was taken to proceed to another division of Poland; and every preparation was in readiness for that purpose. A proclamation was issued on the fourteenth of February, by the emperor, prohibiting his subjects in Galicia, that part of Poland which fell to the share of Austria, in the dismemberment of 1778, and all the Poles resident in his dominions, from obstructing the measures of Russia, and of Prussia, in their country. On the twenty-ninth of March, the empress published a manifesto, wherein she complained of her fruitless endeavours, during thirty years, to maintain peace and good order in Poland, of the losses she had thereby sustained, and of the necessity to suppress the attempts against religion and public tranquillity. For these, and other reasons of the like nature, she declared her intentions to seize, and annex to her Russian dominions, an immense extent of the Polish territories, contiguous to them, and which were particularly specified in the manifesto. The king of Prussia's declaration, on the

twenty-fifth, was of much the same import; and stated his design to seize and incorporate into his own dominions, several considerable provinces of Poland, lying on his frontiers, and which were particularised in the declaration. The courts of Petersburg and Berlin took care to mention, in their respective publications, that they acted in concert, and with the assent of the emperor.

Astonished at these peremptory proceedings, the Polish diet solemnly disclaimed all participation in the measures taken to dismember their country. But the ministers of Russia and Prussia, mindless of this representation, insisted on the appointment of a deputation by the diet, to treat with them concerning the intended partition. The months of April and May, and best part of June, were consumed in a correspondence of this nature, between these ministers and the Polish government. Irritated, at last, by the arbitrary mandates daily signified to them, the diet resolved, in the sitting of the twenty-fourth of June, to apply to the courts of Europe, for their mediation with the empress and king of Prussia, in behalf of Poland. This application, appearing however, a frail resource, it was moved and carried by one hundred and seven votes against twenty-four, that the deputation demanded should be commissioned to treat only with the Russian minister. It was additionally proposed, that the imperial president should be invited to the conferences, as the court of Vienna was guarantee to the settlement of Poland in 1775. These motions occasioned such violent debates, and so much time appeared requisite to reconcile opinions, that the diet thought it

necessary to adjourn to the middle of July.

But, before this time, the Russian ambassador committed so many acts of violence, that neither the king nor the diet thought themselves secure from any outrages he might be inclined to perpetrate. He had arrested several members of the diet, sequestered the estates of several persons of the first rank, and had even intercepted provisions coming to Warsaw for the king. Representations being made, requesting him to desist from such proceedings, and to transmit their request to the empress, the deputies who had presented it met with a positive refusal; and he sent a menacing note to the diet, requiring the immediate signature and ratification of the treaty of alliance and commerce, demanded between Russia and Poland. The diet had the courage to refuse their consent to the treaty of alliance, which included new cessions of territory to Russia; and adjourned to the end of the month.

On this refusal, the Russian ambassador sent notice, that unless his demands were complied with, he would lay the estates and possessions, and even the very houses and habitations, of every member of the diet, under military execution, those of the king himself not excepted, were he also to refuse. During the remainder of July, and the whole of August, the Russian and Prussian ministers continued to urge the signature of the treaty, in the most menacing strain; but on the second of September, finding their threats ineffectual, the Russian minister sent word to the diet, that he had ordered a body of grenadiers, with cannon, to surround the castle they were in, and expected they would not depart

depart till they had agreed to sign the treaty. This menace was executed; and the commander of the detachment posted himself, with his officers, in the hall of the diet; but on the king declaring he would not proceed to business in their presence, the officers withdrew, and the commander only remained; but he openly declared, that no member should retire before consent was given to the treaty. The sitting continued till three o'clock next morning, when, after the most violent debates, the diet solemnly resolved to declare to all Europe, after appealing to it so often in vain, that, in defiance of the faith of treaties, that one especially entered into with the king of Prussia at his own desire, in the year 1790, and by which he bound himself to guarantee the independence of Poland, they were now deprived of their free will, and surrounded by an armed force; which, being unable to resist, they were compelled to consent to the signing of the treaty, dictated and imposed upon them by the Russian ambassador.

After terminating, in this manner, the negotiation with Russia, the two courts resolved to effect the conclusion of that now pending with Prussia, in the like manner. On the twenty-third of September, previously to the sitting of the diet, the Russian ambassador ordered four members to be arrested, and stationed a body of soldiers round the castle. The diet demanded the liberty of those members, but were refused. The assembly remained inactive during five hours, openly declaring, they were deprived, by main violence, from proceeding to business with freedom of deliberation. Meanwhile, they were insult-

ed by a Russian general, who addressed them insolently, with threats and with admonitions, to sign, without disputing the terms, the treaty required by the king of Prussia. It was moved, at length, by count Ankwitz, the deputy from Cracow, to draw up a formal protest, against this unlawful and tyrannical violation of public and personal liberty by the Russian ambassador, and that, when the treaty should again be proposed, their total dissent should be marked by the profoundest silence.

In consequence of this determination, the treaty, when it was again proposed, according to the usual forms, meeting with no opposition, passed of course; and the cession of the Polish provinces seized by Prussia, was signed. The protest that followed it was dictated by a deep sense of wrongs, that could not be remedied; and conveyed, with great energy, the sentiments of a noble-minded people, and a virtuous monarch, oppressed by a fatal concurrence of inauspicious circumstances, which no wisdom could avert, nor the most spirited exertions of patriotism or of courage oppose.

The protest concluded with these remarkable words: "I, the king of Poland, enfeebled by age, and sinking under the accumulated weight of so many vexations and misfortunes, and we, the members of the diet, hereby declare, that being unable, even by the sacrifice of our lives, to relieve our country from the yoke of its oppressors, consign it to posterity, trusting, that means may be found, at some happier period, to ~~rescue~~ it from oppression and slavery; such means, unfortunately, are not in our power,

and

and other countries abandon us to our fate. While they reprobate the violations which one country is said to have committed against liberty, they can view, not only with apathy, but with approbation, the outrages that have been perpetrated against Poland."

It is on such sad occasions as these, when whole nations of men are overwhelmed by irresistible injustice, oppression, and slavery, that the human mind rises to the greatest height, above every selfish and low desire, is softened by the most comprehensive as well as generous sympathy, and fortified by the most animating sense of duty and virtue: when the captive Israelites, hanging their harps on the willows, by the streams of Babel, are melted into tears at the recollection of Zion; when the Moors are compelled, by the unrelenting bigotry and overbearing force of the Spaniards, to leave the land possessed by them and their forefathers, during the lapse of so many ages; when the Dutch nation, in the period of simple manners, and a love of their country, pressed by the same bigotry and power, meditated the design of embarking on board their vessels, and seeking liberty in distant and dangerous climes; and the Vendéans, with their whole families, wander from region to region, fighting, as they go, for subsistence and for life.—The fate of Poland, in the present meeting of the diet, was deplored by the pathetic eloquence of the nuncio Kimbar; "My advice," said he, "is, that we cede not to the instances of the Russian ambassador; that we raise ourselves superior to his menaces. Sufferings are inconsiderable to virtue: it is her essence to contemn, and, if inevitable, to

endure them. Why, therefore, sire, (addressing himself to the king) are we to be thus alarmed? They menace with exile all those who dare defend their country: those who refuse to put the seal to its annihilation. Let us go, then, into Siberia: she will have charms for us: her deserts will become our paradise; for every thing, even our ashes, shall proclaim the inflexibility of our virtue, its devotion to our country. You, sire, whose reign is marked by a lengthened chain of misfortunes, if, in the midst of these disasters, you have been a thousand times in circumstances which might have secured immortality to your name, and happiness to your country, alas all frustrated! now seize with more success those which present themselves this day. Efface the faults of your early years; and, if the want of experience has given this reproach to your youth, that we needed a sovereign *more active and determined*, reply to this reproach, by evincing, under grey hairs, the courage and vigour denied to your youth. Pardon me, sire, that I here become your censor; but who can be otherwise, that boasts his attachment to you and the nation, and who remembers your sacred pledge, that they should be for ever indivisible; that, 'rather than set your hand to the partition of the country, it should wither to the bone.' He who recollects this will justify my sentiments, and their language. He will be compelled to confess, that it is the pure and simple truth which issues from my lips.

"Sire, we love you. You may reckon upon our entire affection. The nation loves you: the country, which served you for a cradle in infancy,

fancy, yet sustains you. Can you resign our brethren, our fathers, and that land which has fostered your youth? All that as king you possess, as king has been conferred by the Poles; they have loaded you with blessings, will you reward them with slavery?

"Such a throne will have no comfort; you must disdain to purchase it at such a price. The general opinion is, that you have been indebted to Catharine for its security. Let the universe see, that it was God alone who destined you to be a king, and established your throne. Demonstrate that you will reign with glory, and faithful to your engagements; then, too, when a greater force submits every thing to its will, and menaces all with destruction, for you to wear a crown, as the *slave* of despots, can have no charms.

"You, sire, who are our monarch and our father (for here you will be styled so by all, and, in Siberia, our hearts shall treasure up those titles ineffaceably), conduct us, if it must be so, into Siberia. Let us go, where we are menaced, into those melancholy wastes: there, yet, our virtue, and your own, will cover with confusion those who conspired our ruin. (Here the deputies cried unanimously aloud, "Let us go into Siberia.") We are your children, and will follow you with the enthusiasm of grateful love; and the measure of your suffering shall

be exceeded by our earnest veneration."

In one of the articles of the alliance with Russia it was stipulated, that without the assent of this power, no alteration should ever take place in the old system of its government, now re-established. This confirmed, at once, the perpetual dependence of Poland upon Russia. In order to render this dependence complete, the revenues of the kingdom, now diminished by two-thirds, through an equal diminution of its territories, were so reduced by the late confusions, that it was found necessary to apply to the guarantee of Russia, for the raising of a loan to discharge the public debts.*—Notwithstanding the degraded state of the Polish nation, it could not be brought to dissemble its resentment at the principal agent in its depression. An order of knighthood had been instituted, by the diet that established the revolution of 1791, for the reward of military virtue and patriotism; this order had, in compliance with the representations of the empress, been abolished: but a spirit of opposition to Russia suddenly arose, that prompted several members of the diet to demand its re-establishment. It was accordingly decreed, to gratify the wishes of the public, which seemed to think, that a badge of honour, at least, was due to those patriots who had made such conspicuous, though fruitless, exertions in the

* By the second partition of Poland, in 1793, the share of Prussia was, in extent of country, 1061 square leagues, 262 towns, 8272 villages, 1,136,381 inhabitants; taxes, 3,594,640 Polish florins.

The share of Russia, in extent of country, square leagues, 4553; towns, 455; villages, 10,081; inhabitants, 3,001,688; taxes, 8,691,072.—Remainder of Poland, in extent of country, square leagues, 4016; towns, 697; villages, 10,599; inhabitants, 3,512,710; taxes, 12,559,181.

cause of their country. The diet also was glad of this opportunity of shewing its gratitude to those on whom it had no other recompense to bestow. This was the last act of the famous, but unfortunate, diet of Grodno, which terminated on the twenty-fourth of Nov. 1793.

But the revival of this order was attended with fatal consequences: it irritated the empress to such a degree, that she directed her ambassador to quit Warsaw without taking leave. Alarmed at this proof of her resentment, the king and council instantly agreed to suppress this order, and to send a deputation to Petersburg, to request her oblivion of the imprudence of the late diet in reviving it. This transaction seems, nevertheless, to have sunk deep into her mind, and to have influenced much of her subsequent conduct towards the Poles, whom she was led to consider as irreconcilably averse to her person, as well as to the measures enforced upon them, and unalterably determined to seek every opportunity of throwing off their obedience.

Herein she was not mistaken; but it was no less certain that her severity afforded them ample reason to be dissatisfied. Baron Ingelstrolm, who succeeded count Seivers in the embassy at Warsaw, was ordered to demand a solemn abrogation of all the acts of the diets of 1788 and 1791, both which had been remarkably inimical to the interests of Russia. After complying with this injunction, the Polish government was ordered to reduce the army to sixteen thousand. But this, together with other despotic measures, proved a signal of general insurrection. The oppressive treatment of

the Polish gentry and peasantry was become intolerable. They were compelled to find food and quarters for the Russian soldiery, and to furnish them with all necessaries, at the price which these were pleased to fix, without certainty, however, of any payment. They were treated with insolence, and liable to the harshest usage. Such behaviour in the Russians did not fail to render them odious, and to create a thirst of revenge. When, to these oppressions, the insulting mandate was added to disband the army, the patience of the Poles was exhausted, and they refused to obey. The first who refused compliance was Madalinski, a nobleman highly respected, and a brigadier in the Polish army. Several regiments followed his example, and the defection at length became general.

On receiving intelligence of this insurrection, the court of Petersburg immediately dispatched fifteen thousand men into Poland, and the Russian ambassador required the Polish government to send a body of forces against the insurgents, and to put every suspected person under arrest. But his demands were refused; the latter particularly, as contrary to law. The insurrection continued daily to increase: all the military had joined it, and every man able to bear arms seemed heartily ready to unite in one trial more, for the deliverance of his country.

An individual now arose, who fixed at once the eye and expectation of the public. This was the celebrated Kosciusko, whose character pointed him out as the properest man to head the resistance of his countrymen to the Russians. He had, from early life, been bred a soldier,

a soldier, and greatly distinguished himself in that capacity especially in America, where he rendered essential service to the congress. Returned to his country, he was amongst the foremost openly to profess and encourage a determination to assert the independence of Poland. When the Russians invaded it, in consequence of the constitution of 1791, a command of importance was conferred upon him, and he distinguished himself in all the principal actions. It has been asserted, that if his advices had been more frequently adopted, the resistance to Russia would have proved much more effectual, if not wholly successful. When that unfortunate struggle was over, he went to France, where he so far interested the principal members of the convention in favour of his country, that they supplied them with a very considerable sum of money, with which he speeded back to Poland, the moment it appeared probable that another insurrection might be raised against the Russians. He employed the money entrusted to him to so good purpose, that about the middle of February, 1794, he had collected a large number of the most resolute insurgents, with whom he attacked the Prussians in their new acquisitions, from many of which he drove them with great slaughter. He next marched to the city of Cracow, which the Russians deserted on his approach. Here he was declared commander in chief of the Polish confederates, by the nobility and gentry, who had assembled there for that purpose, and who took an oath of fidelity to the cause they had embraced. After a variety of arrangements for the prosecution of hostilities against the

usurping powers, and for the well ordering of the affairs of the confederacy, the constitution of the year 1791 was solemnly read and sworn to in the cathedral of that city.

The revolutionary government being thus settled, Kosciusko advanced towards Warsaw, with a considerable force. The most vigorous measures had been taken in that capital, through the power and influence of the Russian ambassador, to stop the progress of the insurrection there. Fifteen thousand Russians were quartered in that city, and more were daily expected. The king had found himself under the necessity of publishing orders against the insurgents, and of issuing a proclamation to enjoin obedience to government.

The situation of the king, who had lost much of his popularity, was now, not only irksome, but by no means secure from danger. The people did not scruple to affirm, that the king was devoted to the interest of Russia, and meant to make his escape from Warsaw. This suspicion being communicated in a manner full of respect and attachment to his majesty's person, by a deputation from the council of Warsaw, he readily agreed, that some persons, in the confidence of the people, should be his constant attendants. According to his majesty's wish, fourteen citizens were appointed his adjutants, two of them to do duty at the palace, and accompany the king wherever he should go. From that time, two municipal officers, wearing blue scarfs, accompanied him wherever he went, and ate at his table.

On the intelligence that Kosciusko was marching to Warsaw, baron Ingelstroh, the Russian ambassador,

bassador, demanded the surrender of the arsenal; but was resolutely refused. He had, in the mean time, dispatched general Woronzow, with six thousand men, to oppose Kosciusko. On the fourth of April, 1794, they both met, and a desperate battle was fought, wherein the Russians left upwards of a thousand men dead on the field, with all their cannon and ammunition, besides a number of prisoners, among whom was the general himself.

Irritated at this loss, Ingelstrohm again required the arsenal to be surrendered, the Polish military to be disarmed, and about twenty persons of rank, whom he suspected, to be taken into custody, and, if found guilty of abetting the insurrections, to be put to death. The king and council refused compliance, and deputed the chancellor of the kingdom to remonstrate against his demands: but he was treated with the utmost dignity by the Russian ambassador, who attempted the next morning, seventeenth of April, to take possession of the arsenal. But the citizens had anticipated him; they armed themselves, drew out the cannon, and, joined by the Polish garrison, their forces amounted to more than twenty thousand men. They attacked the Russians, and expelled them from the city, after an obstinate contest of thirty-six hours.

Notwithstanding that the king had openly encouraged the people to defend the arsenal, they still looked upon him with a suspicious eye. After the expulsion of the Russians, they required him solemnly to promise, that he would not quit the city. The two municipal officers still attended him, and all his motions were strictly watched. The

king, solicitous to remove all suspicions of his sincerity in the cause, sent the one half of his plate to the mint, and expended the other in relieving the families of those citizens who had fallen in the conflict with the Russians. He daily appeared in public, and personally superintended the repairs of the fortifications round Warsaw.

In order to unite all parties, and convince Europe, that the constitution of 1791 was the real object of the Polish nation, the provisional council of regency, that had been established by the patriotic party, at the commencement of the insurrection, laid down its authority, and a national council was appointed, under the direction of the king. This measure took place through the advice and influence of Kosciusko, and powerfully conduced to cement the union and cordiality now subsisting between all classes of people in the kingdom. These transactions happened about the end of May, by which time the hopes and expectations of the Poles seemed to be countenanced by a variety of successful and promising events. The Russians had been defeated in many skirmishes, and the Polish forces were daily becoming more numerous. Exclusively of the peasantry, whose vigour and zeal rendered them of most essential utility, and who were constantly ready to act when called upon, the regular military of the patriotic party, presented a formidable aspect. The various bodies under Kosciusko, and the other Polish generals, amounted altogether to near seventy thousand men, well armed, and under good discipline.

But the evil star of Poland still combated these exertions. Russia,

now

now fully convinced that the contest was very serious, had collected an immense army, which was drawing near the Polish frontiers. Prussia, deeply alarmed at the progress of the Poles, and dreading, were they to succeed, an invasion of his own dominions, had concluded a peace with France, which left him at liberty to carry on his projects in Poland. He entered it with a powerful army, laid siege to the city of Cracow, which was obliged to surrender on the fifteenth of June. He advanced towards Warsaw, in the proximity of which place he was joined by the Russian forces in these parts, and immediately resolved to besiege that capital. It was in a state of great fermentation: a number of persons had been tried and convicted of treason against their country. The citizens eagerly demanded their punishment; and notwithstanding the endeavours of the more moderate to suspend their execution, several individuals of distinction were put to death. After sacrificing those that were reputed the most guilty, they were prevailed upon to permit a respite to the others.

The king of Prussia was now encamped, with his own and the Russian forces, within sight of the Polish metropolis. He promised himself an easy reduction of the city, as it had no fortifications. But the inhabitants were numerous, and well provided with all necessaries for a resolute defence. As it was foreseen, that the fate of the capital would in a great measure influence that of the whole kingdom, Kosciuszko resolved to defend it in person. To this intent, he approached it on that side where the Russians lay. He attacked and forced all their

posts on the eleventh of July, and took an advantageous position in front of the city, opposite to the Prussian encampment. He received, in a short time, so many reinforcements, that he was enabled to surround Warsaw with intrenchments, by which it was so well protected, that the king of Prussia began to doubt of the success of his enterprise. The Prussians exerted themselves with their usual skill and bravery; but they were almost constantly worsted in all their attempts. They cannonaded and bombarded the city without intermission; but were answered with a fire from the intrenchments around it, that made prodigious slaughter among them. The king and prince-royal of Prussia were more than once in great danger. The siege continued in this manner till the beginning of August, when the king wrote a letter to Stanislaus, endeavouring to persuade him to a surrender; but the Polish monarch returned him a firm refusal.

In the mean time, the Polish provinces that had been seized by the Prussians, were in a state of insurrection. The Poles poured in upon them from all quarters, and the advices brought every day to the Prussian camp before Warsaw, became so alarming, that the King began seriously to think it necessary to hasten to the succour of his own dominions. The Polish capital had suffered very little during the siege, and was in a condition to hold out much longer than he would be able to continue his operations against it; and the auxiliaries, promised to him from Russia, advanced so slowly, that he apprehended they might not arrive before his own strength were too much impaired for the purposes he had in view. Influenced by these

these considerations, he raised the siege of Warsaw, on the fifth of September, after it had lasted two months, and he had sustained severe losses. He expressed much dissatisfaction at the dilatoriness of the Russians. The fact was probably, that they reserved the capture of Warsaw for themselves, and were not sorry at his failure. Large bodies of them were on their march in all directions, and notwithstanding the courageous exertions of the Poles, they began to apprehend that the immensity of the numbers they would soon have to contend with, must in the issue overwhelm them, as it had done before.

The celebrated Suwarrow had been placed at the head of the armies destined to act against Poland. He was now on his march towards Warsaw, and to be joined on the way by several Russian bodies, of great force. Sensible of the necessity of preventing such junctions, Kosciusko hastened with all possible diligence to obstruct them. But before he could collect a sufficient strength, a Polish corps of considerable force fell in with the main body of the Russians near Brzesk, on the borders of Lithuania, on the nineteenth of September, and was defeated with great loss by Suwarrow, who continued his march to the capital. On receiving this intelligence, Kosciusko resolved immediately to proceed against the Russian general, before he should be reinforced. The Polish army, under Kosciusko, consisted of twenty thousand men; but on hearing that baron Ferson, a Russian general, was on the point of joining Suwarrow, he marched with six thousand men to intercept him; leaving the remainder with prince Poniatowski,

to force any other divisions of the enemy that might endeavour to close upon his rear.

The decisive action that ensued, was fought upon the tenth of October. The beginning of it was favourable to the Poles, who twice repulsed the Russians; but inconsiderately pursuing them too far, they were surrounded by their superior numbers, and after a most desperate defence of more than five hours, were routed with a dreadful slaughter. One half of them were killed or taken, the other, by dint of uncommon valour, made good their retreat. The loss of the victors was so great, that instead of moving forward, they were obliged to retire to a place of safety. This day decided the fate of Poland, and of Kosciusko. His capacity and courage were eminently displayed in this fatal engagement. Three horses were killed under him: when the last fell, he was at the same time wounded by a Cossack, who was going to repeat his blow, when he was prevented by a Russian officer, who made Kosciusko a prisoner. The loss of this battle was attributed to prince Poniatowski. Through unskilfulness or treachery, he suffered the enemy to cross the Vistula, though he had four thousand men to oppose them; and while Kosciusko was engaged, he made no movement to his assistance.

The defeat and capture of Kosciusko filled Warsaw with consternation. The heads of the patriotic party exerted themselves to keep alive the spirit of the people: but they succeeded only in part; the majority had placed their chief confidence in Kosciusko, and did not imagine that any one remained to replace

replace him. The Russians were entirely of this opinion; and, presuming on the discouragement of the Poles, sent several insulting messages to the king; to which he answered, however, with a composed dignity, suitable to his character and station. The different bodies of which the Russian army consisted, being now united under the command of Suwarrow, his whole effective force amounted to near sixty thousand men. That of the Polish garrison in Warsaw did not exceed ten thousand. They were commanded by the two generals Madalinski and Dambrowski, whose invincible courage determined them to defend the city to the last extremity. It was assaulted by Suwarrow in the same manner as he had done Ismailow in the last Turkish war. After a most intrepid and resolute resistance of eight hours, the Russians forced their way into the suburb of Prague, divided from the other part of Warsaw by the Vistula: they slaughtered indiscriminately every one they met; neither women nor children escaped their barbarity; and the numbers that perished in this horrible massacre were computed altogether at twenty thousand.

All hopes were now at an end, and the chiefs of the patriots endeavoured to open a negotiation with Suwarrow; but he rejected them as rebels, and refused to treat with any but the king and the lawfully established magistracy. A deputation from these waited upon him accordingly; but could obtain no other terms than security of life and property, on surrendering the city at discretion; to which the Russian general added from his own motion, forgiveness for the past,

In consequence of this agreement, the executive council, appointed by the insurgents, resigned their authority to the king, and all who refused to accede to the capitulation, were allowed to depart, with this admonition, however, that they would not escape, and when taken must expect no quarter. This number was about thirty thousand; but they were so closely pursued and pressed by the Prussians and Russians, on every side, that, wanting provisions and ammunition, they were in a short time compelled to disperse; a few only making their way out of the confines of Poland. The Russians took possession of Warsaw, after disarming the inhabitants, on the ninth day of November. An army of thirty thousand men were quartered in the city, and encamped around it, and batteries of cannon planted against it on every side. Towards the close of December, some bands of insurgents, who were dispersed in the provinces, made all possible haste to surrender. The courts of Petersburg and Berlin divided between themselves, and that of Vienna, what had remained, since the last partition, in 1793, of Poland, at their pleasure; and the cruel courtiers of the empress shared amongst them the possessions of a great number of the proscribed owners. Stanislaus Augustus was sent to Grodno, in Lithuania, where he was condemned to live obscurely on a pension that was granted him by the empress; while prince Repnin, appointed governor of the provinces usurped by Russia, ostentatiously displayed the pomp of a sovereign. The nobles Zajoncheck and Kolontay, who were among the first and warmest supporters of the revolt headed by Kosciuszko,

Kosciusko, escaped to the Austrian territory, where the rights of hospitality being in their persons violated, they were detained in captivity. Kosciusko himself, with Ignatius Potocki Kapustas, and some others, were transported to Petersburg, and shut up in dungeons. Among these unfortunate men was the young poet Niemchevitch, the intimate friend and companion of Kosciusko,* wounded, and made prisoner with him. The blood he had lost for his country was not the only injury with which Catharine reproached Niemchevitch. He had composed verses against her in all the boldness and energy of satire. Nor was this all; there appeared at Warsaw, not only pieces, ascribed to Niemchevitch, in verse and prose, but caricature prints also, in which the empress was very much insulted. Her majesty had him at first confined in the citadel of Petersburg, and afterwards sent him to Schlusselburg, where he was treated with great severity.

The empress, in a manifesto, under the name of UNIVERSAL, published after the partition of Poland, in 1793, guarantees to her new subjects the safety of their persons and properties, and farther professes, an intention to indemnify them for the damages they might have sustained, through the marching of troops

especially in the last war. "The first act of our authority," she adds, "being a testimony of benevolence, in favour of subjects, that are newly come under our dominion, and of solicitude for the welfare of the country they inhabit, we are apt to think, that they will gratefully receive this mark of favour, and will know how to value, as they ought to do, the desire we announce here, of gaining their hearts by our favours, and to attach them to their ancient mother country, by the hopes of the advantages we offer them, instead of subduing them by dint of arms. We hope that, answering our generous views, they will send up to heaven their thanksgivings for their being returned into the bosom of their ancient mother country, that adopts them for the second time; that the objects of their zeal and of their endeavours will be, to consolidate them in the faithfulness they owe us, and in a constant submission to our laws; that they will unite themselves, with heart and soul, to our faithful subjects, the Russians; that, in short, they will form, as they did formerly, a respectable nation, always tractable, always faithful to their monarchs, always valiant and invincible, whereby they will render themselves truly worthy of the solicitude we shew to them, as a tender mother,

* Kosciusko, like other celebrated heroes, is an admirer of poetry, and a friend to poets. Having acquired a knowledge of the English language, in the course of his military services in America, he was enabled to read the English poets; which he did with great taste and judgment. When he was released from his confinement, by the present emperor, and in London, on his way to America, he sent a present of Falernian wine (being part of a quantity he had himself received from an English gentleman, who is always ready to exercise hospitality to worthy strangers), to Peter Pindar, as a small acknowledgment of the pleasure he derived from his works, and which had amused him, particularly during his voyage to this metropolis, from Petersburg. Had the state of his health permitted, he would, he said, have waited in person on the poet. The readers of the best English poet of our times will readily recognise how natural it was for the admirer of Niemchevitch, to be the admirer also of Peter Pindar.
who

who only wishes for the happiness of her children."

This tender mother actually gave orders for a public thanksgiving, for the blessings conferred on the Poles, in all their churches; and, sporting equally with affairs human and divine, imposed the following oath on every individual of the Poles and Lithuanians: "I ——— promise and swear to God Almighty, by his Holy Gospel, to be always ready to serve, faithfully and loyally, her imperial majesty, the most serene empress, grand lady, Catharine Alexievna, autocratrix of all the Russias, and her well-beloved son, grand duke, Paul Petrovitch, her lawful successor, to go for that purpose, to yield up my life, and to shed the last drop of my blood, to pay due and perfect obedience to the commands already issued, or hereafter to issue from the authorities appointed by her; to fulfil and maintain them all conscientiously, to the best of my power; to contribute, with all my strength, to the maintenance of the peace and quiet which her majesty has established in my country; and to have no communication or intelligence whatever with the disturbers of that quiet, either mediately or immediately, either publicly or privately, either by actions or by advice, and whatever be the particular occasion, circumstance, or cause, that may lead to it.

"In case, on the contrary, any thing should come to my knowledge, prejudicial to the interests of her imperial majesty, or to the general welfare, I will not only strive to remove it at the time, but I will oppose it with all the means that shall be in my power, to hinder it from coming to pass. I will so con-

duct myself, in all my actions, as it behoves me, like a faithful citizen, to behave towards the authorities which her majesty has set over me, and as I must answer for it to God and his terrible judgment. So may God help me, as well in my body as in my soul.

"In confirmation of the profession made by this oath, I kiss the holy word and cross of my Saviour."

The final dissolution of the Polish commonwealth, and dismemberment of the extensive kingdom of Poland, naturally calls back our attention to a summary view of the vicissitudes of its history and government.

The first part of the history of Poland cannot be considered in any other light than as a mass of fable, illuminated with some scattered rays of truth. Little, therefore, can be certainly known respecting the origin of the Polish government. There are, however, several circumstances to direct our opinion. The description Tacitus has left us of the tribes, from whom the Poles are most probably descended, the analogy of other northern nations, and the general tenor of the Polish history, tend to prove, that the great body of the people enjoyed a high degree of freedom, as well as a considerable influence on the measures of government. Although the sovereign power was generally continued in the same family, there was no established rule of hereditary succession. If a free election did not take place on every vacancy, the consent of the nation, expressed in a general diet, was always necessary to confirm the nomination of a successor to the ducal dignity. While the government remained on this footing,

the people were in fact free, and yet the sovereign power appears to have been subject to no constitutional restrictions. Neither the prerogatives of the duke, nor the privileges of the people, were defined by positive law. Custom seems to have formed the only restriction to either. The sovereign carried his power as far as he thought he could depend upon the submission of the nation; and the people sometimes exerted their right of expelling a tyrannical master and asserting their freedom by force.

The first circumstance that tended to exert a permanent influence on the form of the government, and the condition of the people, was the practice of bestowing fiefs upon feudal principles, which was introduced in the beginning of the ninth century. Through the continued exercise of command, the nobles proceeded, by insensible gradations, to regard the peasants under their jurisdiction as their property. The spirit of the people was by degrees broken, and they yielded.

Another event, which contributed to strengthen the power of the aristocracy, was the introduction of the Christian religion into Poland; in the latter part of the 10th century, when the spiritual tyranny of Europe was at its height, and the despotic principles of the Roman Catholic church were received along with the catholic faith. The apostles of this church, far from inculcating the divine purity and simplicity of their predecessors, which are so powerfully recommended by Christ, his disciples, and the first Christian converts, assumed in their mission a tone of authority suitable to the high claims of their temporal head. From either the

piety or the folly of the kings and nobles, the higher clergy in Poland, as in other countries, soon saw themselves in possession of ample territories, invested with all the privileges of the nobility, and, in some cases, with a more extensive authority than could be claimed by any other subject. The body of the clergy, well trained to subordination, seconded with zeal the views of their leaders. While their territorial jurisdiction gave them the same interest with the nobility to encroach on the rights of the peasants, the blind veneration attached to their character, facilitated their usurpations. Thus the domineering spirit of the Roman Catholic hierarchy, concurring with the arbitrary principles of the feudal system, gave an easy victory to the clergy and the nobility over the liberties of the people. These were excluded from the diet of election, the nobility and gentry, reserving to themselves the sole right of regulating the succession to the sovereignty. The abridgement of personal liberty quickly followed the loss of political consequence. Oppressions were multiplied. A variety of vexatious claims were, from time to time, established against them. They were gradually deprived of the rights of men, as well as those of citizens. The law was too weak, or too corrupt, to afford them relief; and they sunk into a state of servitude, from which they have never since emerged.

Attempts were indeed made to restore them to the protection of law and the rank of freemen; but these attempts failed of success.

It is but justice to acknowledge, that the heads of the church of Rome often interfered, and with
much

much success, for the mitigation and gradual abolition of domestic and predial slavery; whether, as we would charitably believe, from a genuine spirit of Christianity, or, as some contend, and may perhaps have been, in some instances, the case, from an ambition of engrossing to themselves all power over the bodies, as well as the souls, of men. The fact is nevertheless true, that, through their collusion and concurrence, the Poles, as well as other nations, were gradually deprived of their political privileges.

Towards the close of the twelfth century, Casimir II. endeavoured to repress the tyranny of the aristocracy; but the influence of his regulations, as it arose chiefly from his personal character, produced only a transitory alleviation of grievances. The pride of the most turbulent of the nobility was offended, at this attempt to set bounds to their usurpations; and this circumstance, joined to the uncertain ideas entertained concerning the right of succession to the sovereignty, split the nation into factions: from which arose a train of civil wars, that convulsed the state, with only occasional intervals of tranquillity, till towards the middle of the fourteenth century. At this period, when as yet there were no written laws in Poland, arose Casimir the Great, who became the legislator of his country. Without attempting to remedy the fundamental errors of the government, he satisfied himself with regulating the internal police of his kingdom, and correcting a mass of abuses, which had been accumulating for ages. He allowed the order of succession to the crown to remain in the same unsettled state in which he found

it. But he endeavoured to repress the licentious and tyrannical spirit of the higher nobility. He restored the peasants to the protection of laws, abolished personal slavery, and prohibited, under severe penalties, the cruel exactions to which the nobles had subjected all who had the misfortune to be born on their estates. His humane attention to this unhappy class of men led the nobility to distinguish him with a misplaced ridicule, by the title of *king of the peasants*. By raising the mass of the people to the rank of free-men, he gave them an interest in the welfare of the state. Had the prudent and benevolent spirit of his laws been adhered to, Poland might still have continued to be a great and flourishing nation.

But after the death of Casimir, the peasants were quickly thrown back into that state of misery and degradation from which he had attempted to raise them. The situation of this class of men became even more deplorable and hopeless, from the attempt that had been made to relieve them. Their masters seem to have taken the hint, from this circumstance, to secure their future usurpations with all the solemnity of legal exactment. Pains and penalties without number were denounced against all of them who should dare to think themselves entitled to the common rights of human nature: and they were again subjected to the caprices of every gentleman who chose to indemnify their masters, or pay a trivial fine as a compensation for their murder. In consequence of this system of oppression, equally inhuman and impolitic, the state was in a great measure deprived of their service in supporting the honour of the nation,

tion, and defending the frontier. Depressed by long habits of the most abject slavery, they lost that elastic vigour of both body and mind which is necessary to constitute a soldier. They had hardly the shadow of interest in the public welfare. Being already as low as it was possible to reduce them, they might, if forced to change masters, be placed in a better situation, but not in a worse. Hence the defence of the state was left entirely to the nobility: a class of men, whom habits of licentious independence had already rendered totally unfit for submission to the necessary strictness of military subordination. While Charles XII. of Sweden over-ran Poland in so short a time, and a few Russian regiments at the election of the late and last king, overawed the Polish nation, once so powerful, the peasants, as in all similar cases, stood neuter, and the nobility, pursuing all of them separate measures, left the whole an easy prey.

The nobles having become, after the death of Casimir the Great, the undisputed masters of the lives and fortunes of their peasants, next turned their attention to retrench the power of the crown. The royal prerogative was indeed exorbitant, and totally incompatible with the principles of a free government. It accorded, however, with the irregular spirit of feudal times, when the nobility, although they possessed not any constitutional check on the power of the crown, could yet overcome the king, and extort from his fears, the enjoyment of an independence which was not secured to them by any legal concession. But the time was now arrived when this precarious freedom could no longer satisfy a high spirited nobility.—

Lewis, the nephew and successor of Casimir, possessed extensive hereditary dominions, and might employ his Hungarian army to crush the liberty of his Polish subjects. The nobles resolved to prevent these dangers, and the occasion was highly favourable to their design. Lewis, when his uncle breathed his last, was in Hungary. The nobles profiting of this circumstance, resolved to stipulate with him for their own privileges, before they would admit him into the kingdom. A deputation of their number waited on him at Buda, and demanded and obtained a formal renunciation of some branches of the prerogative, as the conditions on which they were willing to become his subjects. Of these the most important were, that the king should not impose taxes without the consent of the states: that, in the event of his dying without heirs male, the election of his successor should be left to the states; that he should reimburse to the nation the expences, and even damages, occasioned by his wars; that he should reinstate the grand proprietors in their tyrannic privileges; and that it should not be lawful for a peasant, or in other words, a predial slave, to bring an action against his lord. This is the origin of that compact termed in Polish Latin *Pacta Conventa*, which, with occasional variations, conformable to the circumstances of the times, every subsequent king was obliged to ratify previously to his coronation.

The nobles began now, agreeably to the usual progress of successful ambition, to form other pretensions, and to grasp at new privileges. Practising on the predominant passions of the successors of Lewis, and particularly

particularly on the desire which was so generally manifested by them all, of transmitting the crown, through the concurrence of the nobles, to their sons, or other near relations, they procured a renunciation, on the part of the crown, of the right of coining money, without the consent of the states; and an exemption to the nobility from arrest, till after legal conviction of the crime with which they were charged.

Various pretences were furnished to the nobles for increasing their power, by the long and unquiet reign of Casimir IV. who governed Poland for near half a century, and died in 1492. Although he had succeeded in uniting the sovereignty of several rival states in his own family, Poland felt her internal strength debilitated, and her resources exhausted, by the splendour of her monarch. Accordingly, the nobles eagerly seized every occasion which the king's necessities afforded them of farther abridging his power, and establishing in their own hands a more general and immediate influence on all the measures of government.

Previously to this period, all who were comprehended in the class of nobles, together with a certain number of the inhabitants of cities, possessed the right of voting in the general diet. Hence those meetings generally bore a nearer resemblance to the tumultuousness of a mob, than to the solemnity of a great national assembly. Too numerous to be comprehended within the limits of any regular forms of procedure, and too much broken by party distinctions to be capable of calm and rational discussion, they could only give or

refuse a general sanction to the objects that were laid before them.

To remedy these radical defects, and prevent the confusion inseparable from universal suffrage, the nobles agreed to wave this right, and to vote by representation. The general diet thus constituted, preserved its form to the present times, with one material exception, which, as it marks the continued usurpation of the nobles on every branch of government, and order of society besides their own, is worthy, in this review, of being mentioned. At the time when the general diet was established in its present form, and during the reigns of all the Jaghello family, the right of representation was possessed by the free towns. The first attempt to procure their exclusion was made by the nobles, in the reign of Sigismund I. At that time, however, they were unsuccessful: but as soon as all ideas of hereditary right to the throne were not only, in fact, given up, but formally renounced and prescribed by statute, there was no longer any power to check their continued encroachments. The whole authority of the state was, at every vacancy, actually lodged in their hands; and one of the first uses they made of it was, to strip the towns of their right of representation in the general diet.

The general diet, constituted on these principles, proved highly favourable to the designs of the aristocracy. By condensing and concentrating their power, it enabled them to act with unanimity and concert. It formed a constitutional body, neither too unwieldy to be

actuated by one spirit, nor too feeble to enforce its authority. Accordingly, the institution of the general diet soon gave a new direction to the views of the aristocracy. Previously to this æra, the nobles aimed rather at an exemption from grievances, than at the possession of power. The opposition lay rather between the exertion of the prerogative, and the enjoyment of independence, than between the actual power of the sovereign, and the claimed power of the nobles. But, from this period, the crown and the diet were directly opposed to one another; each aimed at a direct ascendancy in the legislature; and neither could gain, except in as far as its antagonist lost.

In addition to the concessions already made to the nobles, the necessities of Casimir IV. obliged him to resign yet another very important right of the crown, namely, the right of summoning the feudal barons to attend his standard, at the head of their retainers, whenever he should be engaged in hostilities with any of his enemies. The nobility, harassed by his frequent wars, wished to secure themselves against the destructive effect of the ambition of their kings. Casimir wished to replenish his exhausted treasury; and money was to be procured in no other way than by yielding to the claims of the diet. Accordingly, the bargain, being mutually advantageous, was soon concluded, and the feudal services abolished.

The establishment of general diets may be considered as the æra of the Polish constitution. It was intended as a regular counterpoise to the power of the crown;

but the government was as irregularly balanced as before. The king, who, by economy, could confine the expences of his government within the hereditary revenue of the crown, was under no necessity of summoning the diet; and consequently there was no legal remedy for whatever grievances might exist during his reign. On the other hand, the elective nature of the crown threw the whole power of the state, at every vacancy, into the hands of the aristocracy, who might, under the pretence of securing their privileges, impose whatever limitations they pleased on the successor, or even annihilate the sovereign power. There was no hereditary body of men, who, from a similarity of interests, were induced to support the dignity of the crown. The king was obliged to choose his servants out of that order whose views were directly contrary to his own. By a peculiarity in the Polish constitution, the great officers of the crown had an interest directly contrary to that of their master. Instead of deriving support and strength from the power of the crown, they derived the importance and splendour of their offices from its diminution. They were appointed for life, and, of course, independent of the king. Their weight in the government increased, in proportion as the royal authority was diminished.

Still, however, the crown would have retained sufficient energy for the purposes of regular government, had it been possible for the Poles to fix their constitution on the principles on which it rested at the death of Casimir IV. and to prevent all farther innovation; but the

the king was a solitary friendless power, and the nobles were turbulent and aspiring. A principle of change operated without ceasing; and no expedient could be found to counteract its effect, until, by the fatal introduction of the *liberum veto*,* in the reign of John Casimir, who was elected to the Polish throne, in succession to his brother, Ladislaus, in 1648, the power of the crown was reduced almost to nothing, and the nobles left wholly without controul. This new principle crowned the Polish constitution, the most singular assemblage of incoherent materials that was ever exhibited, with the *ne plus ultra* of aristocratical licentiousness. When all questions were decided in the diet by plurality of voices, the nuncios, or deputies, necessarily possessed considerable weight in the government. The servants of the crown were led to consult the public good, in order to escape the animadversion of the general diet; but when the establishment of the *liberum veto* enabled them to buy the negative of a nuncio, this check on their conduct was removed. Instead of making themselves agreeable to the nation, they had now nothing more to do than to make themselves rich, and they were sure of impunity. The exigencies of the public were never so great, but that a nuncio might be found to sell his negative; nor the deliberations of the diet so regular, but that a pretence might be found for interposing it. It was seldom that the great officers of state could all be brought to concur in the same views; on the contrary, they were

generally divided by hereditary feuds, which nothing could allay: nor did they always wait the slow issue of intrigue in their competitions. As there did not exist any power sufficient to restrain the whole, they not unfrequently raised armies, fought pitched battles, besieged one another's houses, and desolated one another's estates, with all the fury of incensed savages.

As the practice of setting up the crown to the highest bidder invited the interference of foreign nations in the affairs of the Poles, so also did their internal dissensions and contests. Ideas were nourished in the breasts of neighbouring potentates, that Poland was unfit for governing itself; but instead of endeavouring to remedy that defect, by suggesting or encouraging any salutary change in the constitution, they subverted such a constitution the moment it was framed, and shared among themselves a kingdom which they had been taught to disrespect and despise as venal, feeble, and dependent.

Thus, it is plainly to be perceived, that although Poland had not the advantage of any such barriers as usually define and defend great kingdoms, the great cause of its ruin lay not in this circumstance, but in the faults of its constitution.

The history of Poland, displaying the defects and disadvantages of political systems, as by a magnifying glass, offers to legislators, and all who can, either directly or indirectly, influence the business of legislation, the most important considerations. It illustrates, in the most striking manner, the ultimate ruin

* Or right which every provincial deputy enjoyed of putting a stop, by his single negative, to the proceeding of the general diet.

that must arise from the encroachments of any class of men, under whatever denomination, on the rights of humanity, on the one hand, or the prerogatives of the executive government on the other; and how much the interest of every branch of government, and every order in society, is connected with sentiments of moderation and justice. Had the Polish nobles understood their own interest, they would neither have weakened the natural strength of the country, by oppressing and enslaving the peasants, on the one hand, nor the energy of government, by endless attacks on the powers of the crown on the other; but it seems unfortunately to be incident, and almost inseparable from a spirit of liberty, to push its claims beyond a just and reasonable degree of freedom. No sooner have men ceased to be slaves, than they aspire to be masters; liberty is still the pretence; but power is the real object. It has happened in our own country, that the *privileges of the people* have generally been only a popular cry, for the *power of their leaders*. The same thing has happened in the late struggles in France between contending factions; and perhaps it will always happen in all human societies. To secure the liberty of the subjects, against the tyranny of the crown, was the pretence for the successive changes which took place in Poland; but the real design was, to throw the whole

power of the state into the hands of the aristocracy. While, with one hand, they seized almost every branch of the royal prerogative, with the other, they bound harder the fetters of the people. While they raised themselves above the controul of the law, they sunk the people below its protection. But in carrying on this double attack on both their king and country, they cut the ground under their own feet: and king, nobles, and the whole Polish nation were involved in one common ruin.

The partitioning powers, in their successive attacks on the independence of Poland, have not been actuated by a spirit of greater liberality, or more profound political wisdom, than those of the Polish aristocracy on the rights of the crown, and those of the great mass of the people, the actual cultivators of the soil. The partition of Poland, which was the cement of temporary agreement, must one day be the source of contest. The world is taught to reflect, that the same powers that were hostile to the French republic, were also hostile to the liberties of Poland; and the partitioning system, forming a deplorable æra in the history of Europe, supplanting public law, and sanctioning, through their example, a contempt at once of morality and sovereign authorities, prepares disrespect and subversion to the thrones of kings, as well as to the rights of nations.*

* There was greater wisdom, as well as justice, in the conduct of a Polish king, Ladislaus Jaghello, who, when a powerful party in Bohemia, disgusted with their own king, made a tender of their crown to the Polish monarch, said, "You are not your king's judges; and by attempting to seize upon rights which do not belong to you, you would introduce a confusion into your government, infinitely more fatal than the evils you pretend to remedy. I am, therefore, less sensibly affected by this mark of your esteem, than offended at your presumption, in proposing that I should commit an act of injustice so contrary to my character."

If it might be permitted to interrupt the course of our narrative, yet a little longer, to deplore an event so common in history, as the triumph of the wrong over the right, we should express the regrets of humanity, that the Poles, reasonable, moderate, and capable of regulated freedom, should have been abandoned, to appearance, by heaven and earth, while the French, arrogant furious, and atrocious, were triumphant.

It is to be ascribed to the natural good temper of the Poles, that, with all the seeds of faction and misrule, so profoundly sown in their political constitution, they yet hung together so long as they did, as one nation. The new constitution of 1791 was still a greater proof of temper and moderation, and appears to be the happiest medium that had hitherto been adopted between monarchy and popular go-

vernment. For moderation, equity, and sound political wisdom, it formed a contrast with the precipitation, violence, and impracticable complexity of the French revolution, or rather revolutions. In the former, the ground-work of the constitution remained the same; respect was paid to the rights and privileges of all the orders of the subjects; and the reform begun, but not considered as finished, was to be carried on, as the way to perfection should be pointed out by times and circumstances. In France, as a preliminary to reformation, all things were moved from their centre, and thrown into the completest chaos and confusion. On the whole, as the history of the old Polish constitution warns men of many things to be avoided, so the new constitution, though strangled at its birth, exhibits others worthy of imitation.

C H A P. III.

Action and Re-action of Measures and Events.—A Majority of the Dutch inclined to Peace and Amity with the French Republic.—Efforts of the Dutch Government for the Suppression of this Spirit.—But the French Faction increases.—A French Army invades the United Provinces.—Departure of the Duke of York from Holland.—Boldness of the French Faction.—Proportionable Dejection of the Stadtholderian Party.—Actions between the British and French.—Retreat of the former towards the Leck.—Hostile behaviour of the Dutch to the English.—Extreme hardships suffered by the English Army in its retreat from Holland.—Rage of the Amsterdammers against the Prince of Orange.—Escape of this Prince to England.—The French invited to Amsterdam.—Other Places declare also for the French.—These admitted in all the Provinces.—Assembly of the Provisional Representatives of the People of Holland.—Conquests of the French.—Alarm of the Princes of the Coalition.—Continued and increasing Miseries of the English Army.—Transactions of the French Armies on the Rhine.—The French Republic entertains the most extensive Views of Conquest.—Prussia deserts the Coalition, and forms a separate Peace with France.—A separate Peace concluded also between France and Spain.

IT was generally expected, that the French, after their surprising successes in the Netherlands, would have rested satisfied with these, and closed the campaign, at the season when military operations are usually interrupted in Europe; while others entertained the hope, that the republic, as well as the Austrians, might now be inclined to a pacification, on the ground of such a new line of demarcation between the French and Austrian provinces of the Netherlands, as might form a natural boundary and barrier to both; and, at the same time, leave to France such an accession of territory, as might be an

ample return for her victories, and gratification to her ambition. There was a time, indeed, when such a demarcation, and even the old boundary would, at least for some time, have completely satisfied the new French government; but all human affairs are in a state of uninterrupted fluctuation, and subject, not only to the action, but to the re-action of numerous and involved circumstances, which render it extremely difficult to trace the connexion between causes and effects, and to predict the future from the past almost impossible. The opposition and resistance, that was made to the French republic at its outset, gave it

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an elastic force, which not only overcame that resistance, but sprang far beyond the boundary at which it would have been completely defeated. The invasion of France, by the Duke of Brunswick, produced the resistance and the triumphs of Dumourier in the Netherlands. France, from being invaded, became the invader; she not only pushed her conquests to the Rhine, but crossed it, and took Frankfort, with other places beyond it. Custine, at the head of revolutionary legions, not only took Spire and Mayence, but threatened Hesse and Hanover. An union of greater force than that which had followed the councils of the French princes became necessary, and such an union was formed. The incursions of the French into the Low Countries and Germany, produced in their turn, the combinations, which retook Frankfort and Mayence, rescued Holland, and secured the conquest of Landrecy, Conde, Quesnoy, and Valenciennes. The irruption of the Germans, within the frontiers of France, gave rise to those efforts, which not only restored those places to the dominion of France, but which carried the French arms again beyond the Rhine, and stretched them into the United Provinces, and different quarters in the German territories; until, as we shall see in the sequel, being weakened by division and expansion they were a second time obliged to recross the Rhine with the severest losses.

The French government, encouraged by recent success, resolved to pursue, without relaxation, the advantages held out to them by the situation of that country, which was nearest to those they had already re-

duced, and which seemed, indeed, by every circumstance, to invite their immediate attack.

This country was Holland. Its armies had opposed the French in the field; but the general mass of its inhabitants was friendly to them, and openly displayed an unfeigned satisfaction at their victorious progress, during the whole of the campaign. Frequent and loud were their complaints, that their rulers had involved them in a war, totally foreign to their concerns, and inimical to their interests; and they manifested a rooted determination to seize the first opportunity of compelling them to enter into terms of peace, if not of friendship, with France. The nearer the French armies drew to the confines of the United Provinces, the bolder and more explicit was the avowal of the people at large, of a determined partiality in their favour.

The states-general of the seven united provinces, had hitherto continued firmly attached, in all appearance, to the interests of the coalition; but the states of several of the particular provinces were decidedly averse to the continuation of the war, and resolutely insisted on its immediate termination. That which first came to a formal decision, was the opulent province of Friesland. By a resolution of its assembled states, about the middle of Oct. 1794, it was decreed to acknowledge the French republic, to abandon the connexion with Great Britain, and to enter into terms of peace and amity with France. This precedent was quickly adopted in other provinces; and the ancient attachment of the Dutch to the house of Orange gave way, in most places, to the most violent resentment;

sentment at its conduct. They accused it, in unqualified terms, of proposing, by means of the coalition, to become absolute sovereigns of the United Provinces.

Fearful of the consequences of such a disposition, the governing powers in Holland, the most important province of the union, thought it incumbent on them to suppress that spirit of opposition, which began in almost every place to assume a menacing aspect. It was principally at Amsterdam that the people shewed their aversion to the family of Orange, and its connexions with England. They acted, at this time, with so little disguise, and spoke of their attachment to France, as a measure so wise and salutary at the present juncture, that it was thought indispensable to arrest the progress of their opinions, by formally prohibiting all meetings of the people, on any pretext. This was done to prevent their presenting any petition or memorial relating to public affairs; which was, at the same time, no less strictly prohibited. The proclamation to this intent came forth on the seventeenth of October, precisely at a time when intelligence was daily arriving of the capture of the Dutch frontier towns, one after the other, with little intermission.

The unpopularity of this measure accelerated that which it was taken to prevent. Individuals met, and conversed with more freedom than ever. Emboldened by the proximity of the French, they unfolded their minds without the least restraint. They plainly gave the regency of Amsterdam to understand, that their prohibition arose from the dread of a scrutiny into

their conduct; which no upright magistrates would fear, and only a wicked administration would strive to avert. They continued to assemble, and kept a vigilant eye on the proceedings of government, which they suspected of being determined to employ the most ruinous and destructive means, to accomplish the objects they had in view.

These means were of a nature deeply to intetest the citizens of Amsterdam, and the people of Holland. It had been proposed, in the consultations of the principal commanders in the allied army, that, in order to prevent the French from penetrating into that country, it should be laid under water, as in the famous year 1672, when Lewis XIV. at the head of a victorious army, that had subdued three of the seven provinces, was unable to proceed farther, and the province of Holland preserved; but the patriotic party alleged, that the present was very different from that former epoch. The Dutch were then literally fighting for their freedom and property, against two ambitious princes, Lewis, of France, and Charles II. of England, who sought to enslave them; but were now compelled to take up arms against France, merely to gratify the coalition against that power, from which, had they remained peaceable, they would have had nothing to apprehend. It was, therefore, the interest of the Dutch, to procure a reconciliation with France at any rate. No conditions, however harsh, could equal such a calamity as the inundation of their country, and the destruction of all their habitations and landed possessions. Years must elapse, before they could repair

repair such damages ; it was inhuman to require from them so dreadful a sacrifice, which would not prevent, but only retard their final subjugation by the French, whose arms, the allies ought to be convinced, by repeated experience, they were not in a condition to resist.

Such were the arguments with which the party averse to the Stadtholder combated the intentions of the coalesced powers ; but they were so bent on the execution of this scheme, that they omitted no means to forward its prosecution. The stadtholder himself, in company with the duke of York, repaired to Amsterdam, in order, it was firmly asserted, to influence the deliberations that were held on this important subject. Their sudden appearance greatly alarmed the patriotic party. They instantly resolved, in defiance of the prohibition, to present a petition to the magistracy, against the designs imputed to those two princes ; which they stated explicitly to be, the inundation of Holland, and the admission of the English troops into Amsterdam. They remonstrated against both of these designs, with a boldness and energy that plainly evinced, that any attempt to execute them would be attended with danger, and that, in all probability, the petitioners and their adherents had already concerted means to oppose, were endeavours to be used to effect it.

But while they were secretly conscious of their inability to succeed in their designs, they thought it necessary, however, in order to preserve the appearance of authority, to imprison the petitioners ; unwilling at the same time to bear the odium which they knew

must be the consequence of this measure, they attributed it to the British minister. They were too prudent to proceed any farther, and to avoid the disgrace that might attend a fruitless prosecution, the petitioners were shortly after liberated from this confinement. But that measure of imprisonment, instead of intimidating the party in opposition to the ruling one, served only to shew how feeble this latter was become, and how little it dared to act against the sense of that powerful majority, which was perpetually increasing, and manifesting without reserve its partiality to the cause of the French, and its impatience to see them masters of Holland.

Immediately after the capture of Nimeguen, it appeared, by the motions of the French generals, that the invasion of Holland would not be delayed any longer than every requisite for so great an undertaking was in the completest readiness. The remains of the allied armies were in no condition to form any obstacle. The British troops, now stationed at Arnheim and its vicinity, were, from incessant fatigue, the inclemency of the season, and the difficulty of procuring supplies, in the most deplorable state of ill health, and almost in want of all necessaries. The French took this opportunity to attempt the passage of the Waal, in rafts constructed for that purpose ; but they were repulsed by the British troops in some places, and by the German in others.

It was not till the middle of Dec. that, on the setting in of the hard frost which marked the close of 1794, and the beginning of 1795, they conceived the design of waiting till the rivers were sufficiently frozen to bear armies with their cannon and other

other heavy incumbrances. Fatally for the Dutch, the Maes and the Waal were, by the twenty-seventh, become bridges of ice, over which the French transported an immense body of troops, whose operations extended from their right to their left, near forty miles. The allied army was too much reduced, through illness and other causes, to oppose them effectually. They carried all the posts in the isle of Bommel, and forced the lines of Breda, making sixteen hundred prisoners, and taking one hundred and twenty pieces of cannon, with a large quantity of baggage. The French were now masters of the north side of the Waal, and menaced the towns of Culemborg and Gorcum, neither of which was able to stand an attack. It was determined in order to preserve them, to compel the enemy to re-pass the Waal. About eight thousand of the British troops marched against them on the thirtieth of December, under the command of general Dundas. The French were posted at Thuyl; to arrive at which place it was necessary to take a road flanked by a number of batteries, planted on the isle of Bommel, and the place itself was surrounded with a strong abbatis. All these obstacles were surmounted, and notwithstanding their great superiority in numbers, the French were forced from all their posts, and obliged to re-cross the Waal, with a considerable loss

of men and several pieces of cannon. But this advantage, though very honourable to the conduct and bravery of the British officers and soldiers, was of very little service to the common cause. The strength of France was so enormous, that the whole country was overpowered by it, and resistance was evidently impracticable.

To this forlorn situation of public affairs, other discouragements were added. If reports may be credited, the treatment of the sick and wounded in the British army, at this time, was scandalous in the highest degree. They were totally unprovided with the requisites indispensable in their condition: they had neither medicines nor able surgeons to attend them; and often wanted food, covering, and proper places to receive them. This excited the more complaint and indignation, that it was well known throughout the army, with how much liberality government had provided for all their wants, and that a variety of those comforts, needed by the soldiery, had been supplied by private subscriptions throughout the kingdom. It was notorious, that, whenever an unfortunate man was sent to the hospital, he generally perished through neglect, unskilfulness, or misery. The medical board, as well as the commissaries, whose duty it was to look into those things, became objects of great hatred and indignation.*

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* The following is reported by an eye witness, whose veracity and accuracy we find to be well attested:

[Jan. 21, 1795]. "Our (the British) hospitals, which were so lately crowded, are for the present considerably thinned. Removing the sick in waggons without clothing sufficient to keep them warm in this rigorous season, has sent some hundreds to their eternal home; and the shameful neglect that prevails through all that department, makes our hospitals mere slaughter houses. Without covering, without attendance, and even

In the mean time, the French were extremely active in reducing all the places of strength on the borders of the united provinces. The little but strong town of Grave was one of those few that held out any length of time. The French employed a whole month in the siege. The governor was general Bons, an officer of remarkable intrepidity, and who resolved not to surrender till the whole of his ammunition was expended. He

kept to his resolution, and in consideration of his bravery, the garrison and inhabitants were admitted to capitulate on the most honourable terms: it surrendered on the thirtieth of December.

The departure of the Duke of York for England, which was about the beginning of December, operated as a signal that the British government had abandoned all expectation of being able to preserve the united provinces from a French

even without clean straw, and sufficient shelter from the weather, they are thrown together in heaps, unpitied, and unprotected, to perish by contagion, while legions of vultures, down to the stewards, nurses, and their numberless dependants, pamper their bodies, and fill their coffers with the nation's treasure, and like beasts of prey, fatten on the blood and carcasses of their unhappy fellow creatures; of whom not one in a hundred survives, but perishes under the infernal claws of those harpies, still thirsting for more blood, and rioting in the jaws of death.

"For the truth of what I say, I have only to appeal to every man in the army, who has only for a few hours observed with an attentive eye, the general rule of conduct in our hospitals of late, and to witness here the scene before me, while I now write. A number of men, lying on a scanty allowance of dirty wet straw, which, from the heat of their bodies, sends up a visible steam, unable to help themselves; and though a sufficient number of men are liberally paid for their attendance, none have been near for several hours, even to help them to a drink of water. Five carcasses, covered only with the rags they wore when they were alive, are piled one upon another in the yard, on pretence that the ground is too hard to bury them, until a thaw comes.

"This is a very disagreeable subject; but one thing more I must take notice of, which leaves them without excuse.

"His Royal Highness has at all times paid great attention to the sick of his army, and directions have been given, and regulations made, as circumstances required, tending to promote their comfort, and restore their health, besides a number of standing orders, which, if strictly attended to, would remove the greatest part of the prevailing grievances, even at this extraordinary period; one in particular, I cannot help taking notice of, it was given out in the order of the 4th of June last, and is as follows:

"His Royal Highness, the commander-in-chief, directs, that, whenever the vicinity of the camp will permit it, a field-officer for the week shall be appointed, for the inspection of the flying general hospital.

"The officer upon this very essential duty is expected to visit frequently the hospital, at *unstated hours*, to superintend the cleanliness and discipline of it *in every particular*; to examine the diet of the patients, and observe whether they receive that *unremitting care and attention* their situation demands, and to report immediately any *deficiency, neglect, or irregularity*, to the commander-in-chief."

"An order had been before issued with respect to the clothing of the sick; and the most liberal provision had been made for servants or nurses, as well as in apparel, liquor, and every other requisite. The magnanimity, humanity, and sincere regard to the interest and honour of his country, with which the Duke of York discharged the duties of his important office, are well known and universally acknowledged. Had he been apprised of the delinquencies, and indeed the inhumanity here noted, he would not have suffered their continuance. It was, indeed, after his highness had left Holland, that these cruel neglects and peculations were most apparent and flagrant."

invasion

invasion and conquest. It was an entire discouragement to the adherents of the Stadtholder, and filled the opposite party with the utmost boldness, and a determination to improve the despondency of their adversaries. They met every where in clubs and societies, and watched with anxiety for the critical hour, when they might proceed to active measures, and facilitate the entrance of the French, and the expulsion of their enemies.

Since the repulse of the French, on the thirtieth of December, they had been meditating how to re-occupy the positions from which they had been driven. The inferior force that had compelled them to retreat, was a circumstance that had alarmed their commanders: but the distresses attending the British troops, and the daily diminution of their strength, by the sickness prevailing among them, the incommodities arising from scantiness of necessaries, and the excessive rigour of the season, soon dispelled every apprehension that they would, in conjunction with their allies, be able to make a stand, and encouraged the French to renew their attempt to cross the Waal. On the fourth of January, 1795, some regiments were detached from Pichegru's army, and made good their passage unmolested. The truth was, that on surveying the situation of the allied forces, it appeared impracticable to oppose the enemy with any reasonable hope of success, and that an expeditious retreat was necessary to save the remains of the British army. After spiking the heavy cannon, and de-

stroying all the ammunition that could be carried away, it retired towards the Leck, on the sixth of January. As soon as this was perceived by the French, they advanced in considerable force, and pressed the British troops so closely, that an engagement ensued, wherein the combatants fought with so much obstinancy on both sides, that they were alternately repulsed, and returned to the charge four times successively. The French at last gave way. Their superiority of strength prevented a pursuit, and the British troops availed themselves of this momentary success, to continue their retreat; but no respite was given to them, by the French: they crossed the Waal, on the tenth, in such force, that it was found impossible to withstand them. General Walmoden, on whom the command in chief of the British troops and the German subsidiaries had now devolved, was posted between Arnheim and Nimeguen, at the defile of the Greb, in the province of Utrecht*. Hoping to make a capture of the whole, Pichegru, at the head of more than seventy thousand men, attacked them on all sides. After such resistance as their inferiority permitted them to make, they were obliged to retire in all directions, with so considerable a loss of their camp-equipage, that they were compelled to take shelter in open sheds during the following night, from the excessive severity of the weather. Another attack was made by Pichegru, four days after, on some posts that had been taken to secure

* Where lines were constructed, in 1745-6, for protecting the provinces of Utrecht and Holland.

the retreat of the British troops. These maintained their ground till night, when they retired unpursued.

But these occasional instances of courage and conduct could not prevail against the immense superiority of strength that continually overwhelmed all resistance. The British army, exclusively of an open and successful enemy in the French, had a concealed one in every Dutch town and village through which they passed. No direct hostilities were committed; but every species of injury and disservice was done, that inveterate malice could suggest. Looking upon the English as the radical cause of the calamities, inflicted on their country by this ruinous war, the generality of the Dutch held them in abhorrence, and sought every occasion to add to their present distresses. While the inhabitants of the united provinces manifested so inimical a disposition to his friends, it was in vain the Stadtholder issued proclamations, exhorting them to rise in a mass, for the protection of their country; they answered him with the bitterest reproaches, and publicly reviled him as the tool of the British government, and the betrayer of the Dutch nation.

To the shattered remnant of the British army, surrounded in this manner, by open and secret enemies, the only resource remaining was, to effect a total retreat from what might be justly considered as a

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hostile country. But this was no longer an easy task in the woeful situation to which it was now reduced, by the base and flagitious neglect of those to whom the care of furnishing it with due requisites had been entrusted. The multitude of inferior agents, appointed for this purpose, had so grossly deceived their employers, that while these imagined that ample provision had been made of every article they had directed, the others had been guilty of either so much remissness or peculation, that the army now laboured under deficiencies of the most heinous nature. The sufferings of the sick and wounded soldiers, in particular, excited the highest commiseration. They were in the midst of this rigorous winter, removed in open waggons, exposed to the weather, and destitute of all comforts and accommodations.—Numbers were frozen to death, or perished through want; especially during the march on the sixteenth of January, a day for ever memorable on account of the hardships and distresses of every kind endured by the British army, in its retreat to the city of Deventer. The recitals of them that have been published convey an idea of every species of misery that human nature can undergo, in one of the most lamentable situations to which men are liable, through the contingencies of war.*

Another column of the British army had evacuated Utrecht in the evening

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* [Jan. 16.] "We marched at the appointed hour, and, after a very tedious journey, about three o'clock in the afternoon, reached the verge of an immense desert called the Welaw, when, instead of having gained a resting place for the night, as we expected, we were informed that we had fifteen miles farther to go.

"Upon this information many began to be much dejected, and not without reason; for several of us, besides suffering the severity of the weather, and fatigue of the march, had neither eat nor drank any thing, except water, that day.

"For the first three or four miles such a dismal prospect appeared, as none of us was ever witness to before: a bare sandy desert, with a tuft of withered grass, or solitary shrub,

evening of the fifteenth, directing its march to Zutphen. On the retreat of the British forces, the French took immediate possession of Utrecht, and of Rotterdam, two of the most important places in the seven provinces.

shrub here and there. The wind was excessively high, and drifted the snow and sand together so strong, that we could hardly wrestle against it; to which was added a severity of cold almost insufferable. The frost was so intense, that the water which came from our eyes, freezing as it fell, hung in icicles to our eye-lashes; and our breath, freezing as soon as emitted, lodged in heaps of ice about our faces, and on the blankets or coats that were wrapped round our heads.

"Night fast approaching, a great number, both men and women, began to linger behind, their spirits being quite exhausted, and without hopes of reaching their destination; and if they once lost sight of the column of march, though but a few minutes, it being dark, and no track to follow, there was no chance of finding it again. In this state, numbers were induced to sit down, or creep under the shelter of bushes, where, weary, spiritless, and without hope, a few moments consigned them to sleep; but alas! whoever slept awakened no more, their blood almost instantly concealed in their veins, the spring of life soon dried up; and if ever they opened their eyes, it was only to be sensible of the last agonies of their miserable existence.

"Others, sensible of the danger of sitting down, but having lost the column, wandered up and down the pathless waste, surrounded with darkness and despair; no sound to comfort their ears but the bleak whistling wind; no sight to bless their eyes but the wide trackless desert, and 'shapeless drift;' far from human help, far from pity, down they sink, to rise no more!

"About half past ten o'clock at night we reached Brickborge, when, to add to our misfortunes, we could hardly find room to shelter ourselves from the weather, every house being already filled with Hessian infantry, who are in no respect friendly to the English. In several houses they positively refused us entrance, and in every one refused us admittance to the fire; at the same time they posted centries by the cellar doors, to prevent the inhabitants from selling us any liquors; even their commanding officer pushed, with his own hands, a number of our men neck and heels out of his quarters. Thus we were situated, till, partly by force, and partly by stealth, we crept in where we could, glad to obtain the shelter of a house at any rate.

[Jan. 17.] "We halted this day, and in the morning, waggons were sent out with a number of men, to search for those who were left behind. A great number were found near the route of the column; but a greater number, who had straggled farther off, were never heard of more. In one place, seven men, one woman and a child, were found dead; in another, a man, a woman, and two children; in another, a man, a woman, and one child; and an unhappy woman being taken in labour, she, with her husband and infant, were all found lifeless. One or two men were found alive, but their hands and feet were frozen to such a degree, as to be dropping off by the wrists and ancles.

[Jan. 19.] "Perhaps never did a British army experience such distress as ours does at this time. Not a village nor house but what bears witness to our misery, in containing some dead, and others dying; some are daily found who have crawled into houses singly; other houses contain five, six, or seven, together, some dead, and others dying, or unable to walk, and as for those that are able, it is no easy matter for them to find their way: for the country is one continued desert, without roads, and every track filled up with the drifting and falling snow. Add to all this, the inhabitants are our most inveterate enemies, and, where opportunity offers, will rather murder a poor lost distressed Englishman, than direct him the right way; several instances of which we have already known. It is reported, that in the several columns of the army, about 700 are missing since we left the river Leck." See An Impartial Journal of the Campaigns, in 1793, 1794, and 1795, by Robert Brown, corporal in the Coldstream regiment.—Although corporal Brown was not acquainted with the combinations on which were founded the plans of the different marches and engagements, and the campaigns in general, and still less, with the political interests, and private passions by which these were influenced, yet he relates what came under his own observation, with candour, sensibility, and judgment.

Delivered from the English, as the Dutch now affected to speak of themselves, they gave a loose to the most intemperate rage against the Stadtholder. This prince found it necessary, for the personal safety of himself and his son, the hereditary prince of Orange, to escape with all diligence from the fury of the people. He embarked in an open boat at Scheveling, on the nineteenth of January, 1795, and arrived the next day at Harwich. His escape had not been effected without difficulty. A crowd assembled at the Hague on the morning of their departure, and insisted that he should be brought to justice for the part he had taken in favour of the English. His guards, however, protected him from their violence, and conveyed him to the water-side, where he was again in danger, till the guards that accompanied him dispersed the populace.

Pichegru had, in the mean time, been applied to, by the heads of the opposition to government, who formally invited him to repair to Amsterdam, with assurances of a cordial reception by the people. He addressed a letter to the regency of that city, informing them of his intention to repair thither, and dispatched a body of men to precede him. A committee of government was elected by the inhabitants, principally out of those who had been imprisoned for petitioning for peace, and against an inundation. They planted the tree of liberty in the chief places of the city, and every man assumed the French cockade. On the twentieth of January, Pichegru made his entry into Amsterdam, at the head of five thousand men, and was received with the greatest acclamations. The

first act of the French general was, to proclaim the freedom and independence of the seven united provinces. New magistrates were elected, by a general assembly of the citizens, together with twenty-one provisional representatives of the city. Municipal officers were also appointed, on the principal of whom they conferred the title of mayor. In this manner was effected without bloodshed, the surrender of the seven united provinces to the French republic. Whatever ideas the commonalty might entertain of this transaction, it was evident to the discerning, that the French would consider themselves as authorized to treat it as a conquest obtained by their arms, and though a peaceable cession had been made, it was chiefly through the consciousness that resistance would have been fruitless.

The same motive influenced the conduct of the other cities in the provinces of Holland. Haarlem and Leyden adopted the same measures taken at Amsterdam, and declared themselves for France, in the most solemn manner. In the province of Zealand, so called from its consisting of islands, lay, at this time, a considerable squadron of ships of war. The admiral, who commanded it, was warmly in the interest of the French. On the thirtieth of January, after a consultation with the principal individuals of his own party, he hoisted the French flag, and took possession of Flushing and Middleburg, the two chief towns in the province, every part of which acceded, on the fourth of February, to the terms settled by a negotiation with general Michaud, who commanded the French troops in the neighbourhood.

hood. Exclusively of liberty of conscience, and of religious worship, which the French introduced every where, it was stipulated that no place in Zealand should be garrisoned by the French, nor their assignats be forced into circulation. The fortresses on the frontiers of Brabant, Bergen-op-Zoom, particularly, were in an excellent state of defence; but the Hague, the residence of the States-General, having submitted to the French, those states, which were now at their mercy, issued proclamations, enjoining to all the garrison towns, in consequence of the Stadtholder's withdrawing himself, to give admittance to the French troops. In compliance with these proclamations, the strong and almost impregnable town of Bergen-op-Zoom opened its gates to the French. It had sustained several sieges, a famous one particularly in the beginning of the last century, by the Spaniards, under the celebrated Spinoza, one of the greatest generals of the age, and was never taken till the year 1747, by the French, commanded by Marshal Lowendahl. Williamstadt, Breda, and other strong places, were yielded to the French in the same manner.

The provinces of Guelderland, Utrecht, Holland, and Zealand, were now completely in the possession of the French. These four were unquestionably the most important of any, by their situation and opulence. The French were fully sensible of the value of these new acquisitions, and their wants prompted them to apply to their new allies for immediate assistance. The constitution intended to supersede the present, not being yet

formed, the States-General were directed to publish a proclamation, in their own name, demanding a supply of clothes and provisions for the French army. The last of the articles demanded was calculated at one million four hundred thousand pounds. In order to soften this requisition, it was declared to be made, not as from a conqueror, but an ally, fighting under the common banner of liberty.

On the twenty-seventh of February, when this proclamation was issued, an assembly was held of the provisional representatives of the people of Holland, of which Peter Paulus, a man of abilities and moderation, was unanimously elected president. They began by deposing the Stadtholder from all his offices, and abolishing the offices themselves. They next proceeded to an abrogation of all the other forms of the preceding constitution; and to an organization of others in their stead. They instituted an inquiry into the circumstances of the bank of Amsterdam; by which it appeared to be perfectly solvent, though not in specie, yet in bonds and securities of that nature which proved, on examination, wholly unexceptionable. In consequence of the farther deliberations of this assembly, a solemn declaration of the rights of men and citizens was published, at the Hague, on the third of February, together with a proclamation, annulling the sentences passed against the patriotic party in 1787, and recalling home to their country all those who had been banished for their opposition to the Stadtholder.

The submission, or indeed the conquest of so rich and powerful a state as Holland, was a subject of great

great alarm to the princes that formed the coalition against France. That country was the centre of all pecuniary loans and negotiations, and its ready assistance on all such occasions, rendered its independence an object of general interest to all Europe; the northern powers in particular. France, it was now foreseen, would engross all the money that could be raised in this manner, and all the power and wealth of Holland would henceforth be at the disposal of the French republic. These were mortifying reflections to the enemies of that formidable nation, now become more dangerous than ever, by the accession of so many countries to its dominions, already so extensive and populous, and by the partiality of the majority of people in its new acquisitions, to the principles of the French republicans.

Well might the convention glory in the situation of France at this time. Never, since the days of Charlemagne, had the empire of France extended over so many regions and people. A list of recent conquests was printed, and affixed to a tablet, which was hung up in the hall of the convention, and copies of it were sent to the armies, together with an enumeration of the victories by which these conquests were obtained. They consisted of the ten provinces of the Austrian Netherlands; the seven united provinces; the bishoprics of Liege, Worms, and Spire; the electorates of Treves, Cologne, and Mentz; the dutchy of Deux Ponts; the Palatinate; the Duchies of Juliers and Cleves. These acquisitions were all rich, fertile, and populous countries, abounding with men as zealous in

their cause as the French themselves. In the south of France, their conquests were the duchy of Savoy, with the principalities of Nice and Monaco, in Italy. The provinces of Biscay and Catalonia, in Spain. The population of all these countries was estimated at thirteen millions; which, added to the twenty-four millions contained in France, constituted a mass of thirty-seven millions, inhabiting the centre of Europe, and capable by that position alone, if united under one government, to defy the enmity of all their neighbours, and to exercise an influence amounting almost to universal sovereignty.

The catalogue of their victories was no less conspicuous. In the space of seventeen months they had won twenty-seven battles, and been victorious in one hundred and twenty actions of less note. They had taken one hundred and sixteen strong cities and fortified places: but what redounded chiefly to the reputation of the French, these successes had been obtained over the best disciplined armies of Europe, elated with their past triumphs over warlike enemies, and commanded by generals of consummate experience, and the most dazzling reputation. Their own armies in the commencement of the contest, consisted of officers and soldiers, few of whom had seen service, and their commanders were very far from eminent in their profession. With these disadvantages, they resolutely ventured to face the tremendous combination formed against them; and in less than a twelvemonth, from acting on the defensive, they assaulted their enemies in every direction, and struck them every where with so much terror, that

several of them were meditating a retreat from the field of action, and total secession from the confederacy, by uniting with which they had sustained so many losses. Such was the description given by the French of their numerous exploits; and impartiality requires it should be acknowledged, notwithstanding the odium they lie under, that the account is not exaggerated.

In the mean time, through the activity of the French commanders in the seven provinces, and the co-operation of the inhabitants, the relics of the British troops, and those in their pay, were totally unable to make the least stand, during their difficult retreat from that inhospitable country, where the hatred of the natives to the English was never concealed whenever they dared to manifest it, and where occasions were industriously sought to shew it in the harshest manner. On reaching Deventer, the 27th of January, after one of the most fatiguing and distressful marches that ever was experienced by a retreating army, the British troops had expected the respite of a few days from their labours and sufferings. Such had been their courage and perseverance, in the midst of these arduous trials, that they had conveyed safely to the place all the ammunition and military stores, artillery and implements of war of all descriptions, belonging to the army; but they could carry them no farther. The diminution of their strength, through the numbers that fell ill or died in this disastrous retreat, compelled them, from want of hands, to destroy immense quantities of these articles, to prevent their coming into the possession of the enemy, who pursued them so eagerly, that

they were obliged to quit Deventer two days after their arrival. The French, to the amount of fifty thousand men, were advancing upon them with all possible speed, in order to cut off the communication between the different corps, and thereby force them to surrender. But notwithstanding their vast superiority, and the celerity of their motions, they were not able to interrupt the British troops, whose movements were so firm and steady, amidst incessant obstacles, as to surmount them every one, contrary to general expectation.

It was not, however, without heavy losses, that they overcame difficulties and discouragements perpetually thrown in their way, either by the enemy or the elements. Most of their marches were performed through ice or snow, mud or water, often up to their middle. On the tenth of February, they crossed the Vecht, the river which divides in two parts the province of Overijssel; and, on the twelfth, the river Ems at Rheine. They continued retreating in this manner till the twenty-fourth. On this day a body of the French army came up with them, and an engagement ensued, in which, with an inconsiderable loss, the British troops displayed such firmness, that the enemy could make no effectual impression upon them. Resuming their march, with little interruption, they arrived at length in the country of Bremen, about the close of March. Here they were joined by other divisions of the army. That which was under the command of lord Cathcart had to encounter even more than a common share of these difficulties; the French kept continually on its rear, and hardly a day passed with-

out skirmishing. The country was hostile to them all the way. The city of Groningen shut its gates against them, and like the other parts of the retreating army, they laboured under all manner of distress.

Such was the fate of as brave a body of men as ever Great Britain sent into the field. Both men and officers behaved, throughout the whole of the campaigns of 1793, and 1794, with a spirit that distinguished them wherever they were employed, and that fully corresponded with that idea of British valour, so justly entertained by foreign nations. It was, however, in the last stages of this unsuccessful campaign, that their courage appeared with most lustre. The undesponding perseverance with which they met and surmounted every hardship and obstacle, arising from the various incidents of war, was the more remarkable, that they contended against an enemy in the full possession of every advantage occurring from victory, and whom they could only expect to impress with the sense of their valour. Herein they certainly succeeded. The French officers and soldiers that acted against the British troops, in the winter campaign of 1794, generously acknowledged their bravery upon all occasions, but especially during that retreat which they began from Rhenen, on the fourteenth of January, and persisted in with inflexible intrepidity, through all the storms of the severest winter long known in those parts, and every obstruction that could be formed by a victorious foe, irresistibly superior in

numbers, and aided by the whole strength of the countries through which they were compelled to direct their march. Thus, assailed in every direction, they traversed, or rather fought their way through the provinces of Utrecht, Guelderland, Overissel, and Groningen, almost destitute of necessaries, and incumbered with a heavy train of artillery, baggage, and waggons loaded with sick and wounded. This dreadful trial of courage, patience, and military skill, lasted upwards of two months, and deservedly excited the admiration of all Europe.

The savage hard-heartedness and hostility of the Dutch boors towards our suffering soldiers, was strongly and happily contrasted by the kind and cordial reception which they received from the inhabitants of Bremen.* "It is something like a dream," says a witness and partaker of those pains and pleasures, "or fairy vision, and we could hardly give credit to our own senses: We who had lately been so buffeted about by fortune, driven like vagabonds, through frost and snow, over all the wilds of Holland, and who, in our greatest extremities, when we asked for any thing to refresh ourselves, with the money in our hands, were answered only with a shrug of the shoulders, 'nothing for the Englishman!'—Now, to be seated in the most elegant apartments,—servants attending, ready to anticipate every wish,—beds of the softest down to repose upon, without being disturbed in the morning with the thundering of cannon, or the usual alarms of war.

* Bremen is a dutchy in the Lower Saxony, lying between Ellie and the Weser. The capital is Bremen, a large and populous city on the Weser. The dutchy of Bremen was formerly subject to the Swedes; but it was sold to the Elector of Hanover, in 1719.

It seemed like some sudden enchantment: but it proved real; for they used us like part of their own family or children which had been long absent, and now returned; and omitted nothing that could contribute to either our ease or pleasure. The greatest part of our soldiers left Bremen with much regret. The generous and elegant entertainment we met with there, far exceeded any thing we ever experienced before, or, I may venture say, ever will again. A great number accompanied us out of town, and shewed every possible respect."

The British troops began to embark on board the transports on the 14th of April; at the mouth of a creek near Bremen lake. The whole fleet, with the convoy, was upwards of two hundred sail. On the 24th, it cleared the mouth of the Weser. The ships were tossed about and driven far to the northward of the due course by tempestuous weather. The Greeks who returned, under Xenophon, from an unsuccessful and hard expedition into Asia, were not more transported at the sight of the Ionian Sea, than the British soldiers, when on the twenty-seventh, being off the coast of Northumberland and Durham, they espied the Cheviot-hills. The fleet, the weather becoming favourable, steered southward towards the Nore, when it parted into different divisions: one bound for Harwich, one for Greenwich, and one for Portsmouth. They all arrived safely at the places of their respective destinations.

During these transactions in the seven provinces, the French armies on the Rhine were preparing to besiege the city of Mentz, the only place of importance remaining to the empire on the left bank of that

river. They hoped, that by effecting its reduction before the setting in of winter, their hands would be at liberty for the pursuit of those vast schemes of conquest they had projected in Germany. Relying on the discontents frequently expressed among the inferior classes, they flattered themselves that on the appearance of their armies on the right side of the Rhine, the subjects of the petty principalities in Germany would be tempted to throw off the yoke of their masters; and join them; or would at least compel their rulers to remain neuter, and leave the House of Austria to the sole defence of its own people, among whom a spirit of dissatisfaction was well known to prevail.

Induced by these motives, the French government directed its commanders, on the confines of Germany, to proceed towards Mannheim; the reduction of which would open an entrance into the interior parts of the empire, facilitate the taking of Mentz, by diverting the attention of their enemies, and preventing them from affording it relief. They laid siege, accordingly, to that strong fort on the Rhine which covered that city; and it surrendered to the French on the twenty-fourth of December. Impatient to become masters of Mentz, in the same manner, they made three assaults on the fort of Zahlback, in its neighbourhood; but were repulsed with considerable loss. This check completely retarded their operations till the ensuing spring; as it was found impracticable to form a regular siege of so strong a place as Mentz, until the severity of the winter was over.

The possession of Holland had, in the mean while, filled the French with

with the highest expectations of deriving a multitude of advantages from it. No acquisition could exceed its value and importance. Placed in the middle ground, as it were, of the present contention, it extended an influence on every side, which, with skilful management, might evidently be productive of the most beneficial consequences to those whom it favoured. Hence had formerly arisen the most essential part of its power, and that weight in the affairs of Europe, which had so long been felt and acknowledged by every state. It was now become the property of France, and it was hoped, in that country, that the effects resulting in former days, from the strength and opulence of the seven provinces, would be transferred to the present possessors. Thus reasoned the French politicians: but they seemed to forget that the great power and influence of the Dutch republic, during the periods of its prosperity, was entirely founded on its independence, and on the unanimity and patriotism of the Dutch themselves. But this was no longer the case; they had long been a divided people. It was a disputed point among them, who were the real patriots; and they were now a conquered nation. The wisest heads in France did not consider them as likely to prove an active, but rather an useful and subordinate ally, from whom much aid might be received, for the support of the armies and finances of the republic. The Dutch themselves did not incline to move out of the sphere of their domestic concerns; and, with their best wishes for the prosperity of France, viewed it chiefly as a security to their own. They were not

unwilling to go considerable lengths in providing for the various demands, which they doubted not would be made upon them; but they considered their compliance, in this respect, as the price of that freedom which they expected to enjoy, in the arrangements they were meditating at home.

The French, however, seeing themselves uncontrouled masters of the seventeen provinces, constituting that country called the Netherlands, could not refrain from conceiving the most extensive views of conquest in the neighbouring countries. After they had driven the last remains of the allied armies from their newly acquired territories, they next resolved to pursue them into the countries where they had taken shelter. They first made themselves masters of Bentheim, which, indeed, was a dependence of the Dutch republic, and then carried their arms into Westphalia, where they defeated a body of imperial forces. The reason why they proceeded no farther was the prospect of a peace with Prussia, and of a neutrality for the north of Germany. Certain it is, that the force they had collected in those parts showed they had formed great designs; but the most prudent of those who presided over their councils, prevailed upon the others to desist from attempts that might render the French odious, without conducing to their interest. What they had already acquired was sufficient to establish their superiority over the combined strength of all their enemies. The best policy they could now adopt would be, to conciliate and secure the attachment of their new subjects, by punctually adhering to the engagements formed with

with them, and by proving, through the evidence of deeds, that an union with France was more eligible than a subjection to their former masters.

The main object of the republican councils in France, at this juncture, seemed to be the renovation of their marine, through the means afforded by the conquest of Holland; and the employment of it, when renovated, against that power which they looked upon as the soul of the coalition against them. They had also two other objects in view; the one was, to detach Prussia from this coalition, by sowing the seeds of jealousy and suspicion between the courts of Berlin and Vienna. This did not appear to the French politicians a matter of much difficulty. The junction of that power with Austria was founded on the most extraordinary event that had happened in Europe for many centuries. The French revolution, which, by alarming all the crowned heads, reconciled at once their jarring interests, and united them for self preservation. But the first panic was over; and, notwithstanding the antipathy with which the French beheld royalty and its adherents, it was not imagined that, provided they were delivered from the apprehension of its restoration in their own country, they would carry their hatred of it so far, as to continue the war, in order to procure its abolition in every other country. A strong connexion had subsisted between Prussia and France before the subversion of this monarchy; the motives for that connexion subsisted in their full force, and were only suspended by an accident, which, though unfriendly to the system of government settled in the

Prussian dominions, could not alter the nature of those relations existing necessarily between that court and its long-standing rival the court of Vienna. The politics of this latter were incessantly occupied with plans for the recovery of that valuable portion of its hereditary patrimony, the rich and extensive province of Silesia. This was the first acquisition that had placed the house of Brandenburg on a footing of great consequence. It was respectable before, but had since become formidable. This elevation of a family, at no time in particular esteem at Vienna, created the more deep and irradical rancour, that it was wholly at the expence of the house of Austria. These resentments would evidently never terminate, while the causes of them remained; and the house of Brandenburg must either consent to remove them, by restoring the territories it had wrested from the imperial family, in the hour of its distress, or keep a continual guard against its well-known determination to recover them, at any cost, on the first favourable opportunity.

All these considerations were industriously laid before the Prussian monarch. They were obvious truths; but they were enforced with so much strength of persuasion, that they made the desired impression, and prepared that prince to listen favourably to the proposal of a separate peace with France, in case the powers with whom he had formed the coalition, should be averse to treat in conjunction with him. To this it may be added, that his subjects were generally inclined to live on terms of amity with the French, and had never acceded to the junction with Austria, from any other

other motive, than mere compliance with the will of their sovereign.

A friendly intercourse had already been established between the government of France and the court of Berlin. During the summer of 1794, a private agent of this court repaired to Basle, in Switzerland, where he had secret interviews and conferences with M. Barthelemy, the principal negotiator on the part of the French, with foreign powers. It was undoubtedly a business of intricacy to the Prussian ministry, so to conduct itself, as to preserve the influence it had obtained in Germany, and lose none of the importance it had acquired by being the first mover of the coalition; as head of the protestant interest in the empire, the king of Prussia was already the counterpoise to the exorbitant weight of Austria, which had hitherto been supported by the princes and states of the Roman communion; but as religious motives had now lost much of their former prevalence, and political considerations preponderated against all others, these alone seemed to govern the various courts. Hence the dread of that overbearing sway which Austria had never failed to exercise over those it was in any manner able to controul, had detached many of the states of Germany from their preceding attachment to the Austrian politics. The minds of the generality of people, in that immense republic of princes and states, seemed more intent on a firm consolidation of their liberties and respective independence, than on the restoration of the French monarchy, which they looked upon as a pretence of the court of Vienna, intended to conceal views of aggrandizement, which would have

given too much offence to all Europe, had they been avowed.

The ambitious disposition of the house of Brandenburg was no less notorious; but the Prussian ministry was convinced, that it could not, in the present situation of affairs, be gratified at the expence of France. It turned its attention, therefore, to the only object that remained exposed to the common rapacity of its powerful neighbours. This object was Poland, of which, from its inability to resist them, they had projected the partition long before. They were now employed in executing it, and it behoved Prussia to be present at the division of the spoil, and to be ready, if necessary, forcibly to insist on that portion which had been assigned to its lot.

Swayed by these views, the court of Berlin thought it more prudent to treat with France, than to consume its treasures and armies in a fruitless contest with that power. By relinquishing a quarrel from which no benefit could be derived, it was at liberty to gratify the desire long cherished, of making vast additions to the territories of Prussia. This could not have been done, had it continued with the coalition. Its associate in the partition, Russia, had it been left sole agent in this business, might have availed itself of the absence of its Prussian confederate, to have seized a larger share than was its due; and as possession is usually the right of the strongest, might not have been prevailed upon, by amicable means, to resign what it had seized in this manner.

Such were the arguments by which the Prussian ministry was brought to enter into a negotiation with France. A remnant of regard for

for the powers, whom Prussia had engaged in the coalition, induced it to make a previous trial of the opinion that Europe would form of so unexpected a measure. Its private emissaries were directed, so early as the beginning of October, 1794, to circulate a report that France and Prussia had concluded a secret peace, which was in a short time to be made public. This report produced an effect that perfectly answered the views of Prussia. It was received with almost universal satisfaction, and encouraged the court of Berlin to realise it without delay. A trusty agent was immediately dispatched to open a formal negotiation; and he was shortly followed by an ambassador, openly commissioned to treat with the French minister, at Basle, M. Barthélemy. The Prussian ambassador on this occasion was baron Goltz, who had formerly filled that station at Paris, where his abilities and moderation had procured him much esteem. The respect he was held in, by the French, contributed greatly to forward the treaty; when, to the surprise and the regret of the public, he fell ill, and was carried off in a few days, not without suspicions of poison; which were, unhappily, not discountenanced on the opening of his body. As the enemies to France, and the peace projected, were suspected, it was some time before any person would undertake an office seemingly accompanied with so much danger as that of a pacificator. Another was at length appointed, M. Hardenberg, a gentleman less unacceptable to the friends of the coalition. The French negotiators, conformably to those ideas of acting in the face of the world, which appeared most con-

sistent with the spirit of republicans, refused, at first to admit of secret articles; and it required an explicit order from the committee of public safety to alter their determination. This committee had, it seems, either foreseen or experienced the difficulties that would arise by departing from long authorized usages; and insisted on the dangerous parade of adhering to austere maxims, that carried with them more haughtiness than integrity.

The articles of this treaty were entirely favourable to France, such, indeed, was the temper, as well as the situation, of the French at this time, that no others would have been admitted. The Prussian territories on the left bank of the Rhine were ceded to France, and those only on the right restored to Prussia. The regulations for the internal settlement of the countries thus ceded, were referred, for final discussion, to the period of a general peace between France and Germany. It was agreed that a cessation of hostilities should take place, and continue in the north of Germany, which henceforth should be considered as neutral ground, and that those princes whose dominions lay on the right side of the Rhine, should be entitled to make proposals to France, and to be favourably treated, in behalf of whom the king of Prussia should interpose his good offices.

The conclusion of this treaty, which was presented to the convention, upon the tenth of April, for its approval and ratification, filled the members of this assembly, and the friends to the republic, with the highest exultation. It was the first acknowledgment of the republic formally made by any of the great powers

powers of Europe; and this power was precisely that very one which had been foremost in the coalition. The French people at large conceived strong hopes, from this circumstance, that a general pacification would be effected, though the intervention of the Prussian ministry, as the secession of so principal a member of the coalition would necessarily weaken it; and the influence of that member over the remaining, might prevail upon them to follow its example.

It was not, in the mean time, without violent debates, that the rigid republicans consented to allow of the insertion of secret articles in this, or in any treaty. They pleaded the precedent of the Romans, whose treaties with their enemies had always been open and public to the world. As it would be unworthy of so great a republic as that of France to condescend to any meanness, there could be no necessity for concealment of its transactions with foreign powers. Secrecy, in this case, would insinuate, that it had either committed or permitted something too degrading to its dignity to be divulged. The answer to this objection was, that the motive for assenting to secret articles might proceed from a desire not to humble and mortify those who requested secrecy. Moderation, in prosperity, could never be better proved than by abstaining from that insulting display of superiority, which exposed to the world the degree of humiliation to which an enemy had been obliged to submit. After a long discussion it was decreed, that secret articles might be allowed, provided they did not contradict those that were made in public.

Having thus successfully accom-

plished that object they had so long and so anxiously kept in view, a pacification with Prussia, they next converted their attention to another of a similar kind; which was, to compel Spain, by dint of successes, to accede to pacific measures. The close of the late campaign had left that kingdom in such a state of debility, that it had little hopes of being able to face the French in the field. So repeated, and so destructive, had been the defeats of the Spanish troops, that Spain could now hardly be said to have an army. The various bodies of men that could be collected, were so dispirited, that they made little or no resistance, and fled almost at the very approach of the French. The despondency of the people, as well as of the military, became at last so universal, that the court, after making a variety of fruitless efforts to reanimate the nation, was at last convinced, that unless a speedy peace were made, the French armies would over-run the whole kingdom. Their eastern army of the Pyrennees was now advancing over those mountains, with an intention to make itself master of the rich and extensive province of Catalonia, in which they had numerous well-wishers. On their descending into the champain country, the few forces that guarded it, fled before them, and retired to Rosas, a sea-port of consideration, and which they seemed resolved to defend. It was situated on a spacious bay, and regularly fortified. The bay was commanded by a strong fort, well garrisoned, and provided with artillery. Till this was taken, the approaches to the city were difficult. The French, however, soon compelled it to surrender; but, on laying

laying siege to the town, the inundations from rain and melted snows obliged them to desist. After lying three weeks in a state of inaction, they took possession of a rising ground near the town; and, erecting a battery of heavy cannon, battered it so effectually, that a general assault was resolved upon; but the garrison, apprehending such an intention, evacuated the town in the night preceding the day it was to have been assaulted. A small party that remained surrendered at discretion; and the inhabitants were promised kind usage, and experienced it accordingly. This event took place on the fifth of January, 1795. From this time till May the Spaniards remained inactive, not daring to move from the strong holds they occupied in the mountainous parts of the province; and the French were taken up in preparations to march into the interior districts of the kingdom, and to endeavour to penetrate even to the metropolis. Some of the Spanish commanders, however, struck with shame at the spiritless behaviour of their countrymen, exerted themselves to revive their drooping courage, and having assembled a considerable body, vigorously attacked a corps of French on the fifth of May, near the town of Sistella; but the latter after a warm dispute, were completely victorious; and the defeat of the Spaniards was such, that they gave up all expectations of being able to make an effectual stand before so victorious an enemy. The French were so elated with their continual successes, that one of their generals, in whose camp some spies had been detected, sent them to the Spanish quarters, with a letter, informing the enemy of

his strength, position, and designs. This was general Moncey, an officer of note, who concluded his letter by telling the Spanish commander, that as soon as he had received the reinforcement he expected, he would drive him and his army out of Biscay and Navarre. So confident were the French, and so depressed the Spaniards, that no doubt was entertained by either that he would execute his threats; after which the way would lie open to him as far as Madrid. It was obvious, that no army, nor fortified city remained to obstruct his march. The peasantry were a wretched and heartless race, worn down by poverty and oppression; and the inhabitants of the towns were an idle and indolent generation, debased by superstition, and grown incapable of manly exertions.

In this extremity, the court of Madrid saw no other expedient to extricate itself from unavoidable ruin, than to have recourse to an immediate treaty with the French republic, and to obtain peace, on any terms that might be demanded. All resources had been exhausted; the nobility, the gentry, the clergy, the monastic orders, had all contributed; the orders of knighthood, which have large possessions in Spain, had lately made liberal donations to government, besides a tax, laid on their estates, of eight per cent. No class, in short, had been remiss in pecuniary assistance to the state: but want of personal spirit, or discontent at the measures pursued by the ministry, seemed to pervade the mass of the nation. Under the consciousness of such a situation, the court of Madrid came to a determination

to detach itself from a confederacy wherein it had been so unfortunate. France was no less willing to diminish the coalition, by the secession of so powerful a member as Spain, which, under more skilful management, might have proved a most dangerous enemy. A treaty of peace was accordingly concluded between them at Basle, on the twenty-second of July, by M. Barthelemy, on the part of France, and Don Domingo d'Yriarte, on the part of Spain. The conditions were, that France should restore to Spain all her conquests in that kingdom, and that Spain should cede to France all its part of the island of Hispaniola, in the West Indies, together with all its artillery and military stores. Spain agreed to recognise the French, and the Batavian or Dutch republic, and France consented to the interposition of Spain in favour of Naples, Sardinia, Parma, and Portugal.

There were two articles in this treaty highly inimical to Great Britain; the cession of the Spanish part of Hispaniola to France, and the engagement on the part of Spain, to employ every means in its power to detach Portugal from its present alliance with Great Britain against the French republic. The loss to

the coalition of two such members as Prussia and Spain, added to that still greater loss the seven united provinces, excited in the enemies to the French republic, the greatest alarm for the two remaining members, Austria and Great Britain. If the former and the latter, when united and in full strength, unimpaired by losses or defection, had failed in their endeavours to bring France to submission, it was not probable that after the repeated defeats of their armies, and the dissolution of the confederacy, those two powers only should be able to effect what all the five together could not compass. These reasonings happened certainly well-founded; but it ought also to be considered, that none of these coalesced powers agreed fundamentally in their views, and were guided by separate interests in whatever they proposed. Had they succeeded in their first attack of France, it was well understood, that their designs upon that kingdom were of a nature to set them quickly at variance with each other. Reduced from five to two, the agreement between these seemed to promise the more permanency, that their respective arms, by the distance of their objects, could not easily clash together.

C H A P. IV.

A Pacification between the Convention and the Insurgents in La Vendée.—On Terms very favourable to the latter.—Yet they again rise in Arms.—Action between the Republicans and Emigrants, with other Loyalists, near Quiber.—Defeat and Disasters of the Loyalists.—Their Capture or total Excision.—A British Squadron reduces and fortifies L'Isle Dieu.—New Arrangements in Holland.—Enormous Contributions.—The Convention highly elated with the Successes of their Armies.—Distribution of these.—Distresses of the French People.—And those of the Conquered Countries.—Reduction of the Fortress of Luxembourg.—And Mentz invested by the French.—Who cross the Rhine.—Campaign on that River.—Successes of the French.—And Losses.—Tide of Success turned in favour of the Austrians.—A Junction between the French Armies, under Jourdan and Pichegru, checks the Victorious Career of the Austrians.—Manheim retaken from the French.—Campaign on the Italian Frontiers of France.—Situation of the Interior of France.—And general Temper of the French Nation.—Extreme Animosity and Licentiousness of abusive Language.—Measure of Convention for Restraining this.—And securing the Liberty of Religious Worship.

AN event of greater importance than any treaty of peace with a foreign enemy, had, in the meanwhile, taken place in France. This was the pacification of those internal troubles that had occasioned so much effusion of blood; and laid waste some of the finest provinces of the kingdom. The proclamation of amnesty to all those who would lay down their arms, and submit to the republic, had wrought every effect that could have been desired. The insurgents in La Vendée and the neighbouring provinces, who had till then looked upon themselves as devoted to destruction by the republicans, and had continued in arms for their preservation, were gradually prevailed upon to confide in the promises of government. Since

the fall of Robespierre, conciliation had succeeded to terror, and examples had been publicly made of the principal perpetrators of the cruelties in La Vendée; and of the barbarities exercised on the unhappy royalists at Nantes and other places. This, together with that proclamation, which was issued on the first of December, in the preceding year, had prepared the minds of the insurgents to receive amicably the various offers of amity and protection which were held out to them by the moderate party, that, happily for France, had now the direction of affairs.

The majority of the insurgents had availed themselves of these offers; but numbers still adhered to their chiefs. Accustomed to the predatory

predatory war they had been compelled to wage, for the means of subsistence, and to habits of plunder, they were a dreadful nuisance to the inhabitants of the countries they infested, who were peaceably inclined, and desirous of pursuing their respective avocations in tranquillity. Great pains, therefore, were taken to prevail on the numbers that still continued refractory, to return to their former occupations, and the most solemn engagements were entered into for their security, and for an oblivion of all the irregularities of which they had been guilty. It was resolved at last, as the surest and most expeditious method of terminating these fatal feuds, to induce the chiefs themselves, by promising liberal and advantageous terms, to lay down their arms, and yield obedience to the government. Charette, who headed the remainder of the Vendéans, and Comartin, the principal leader of the Chouans, with several other chiefs of the insurgents, consented to a negotiation with the agents of government, in the commencement of February, 1795, and formally agreed, in the name of their respective parties, to deliver up their arms to the commissaries of the republic, and to demean themselves as true and obedient subjects to the constituted powers. This preliminary being settled, a solemn meeting was appointed between all the members of the convention, commissioned to act in the neighbouring departments, and all the heads of the insurgents. They met accordingly, at the close of February, and as both parties were equally desirous of a reconciliation, there was not much difficulty in settling the terms.

These were highly favourable to the insurgents. On condition of their engaging to live in future in a peaceable subjection to the laws and ordinances decreed by the republican government, and to deliver up their arms and implements of war, they received not only the completest amnesty, but ample compensation for the damages done to their lands, and the devastations committed in their country by the military executions ordered against them by the late administration. Particular indulgences were granted to their chiefs, and no request was denied them that could reasonably be made.

In order to give the more solemnity to this treaty, it was thought proper to conclude and sign it formally in the city of Nantes. To this purpose the conventional deputies and the chiefs of the insurgents made a public entry, and were received with great honours, and every token of satisfaction, at the business they were about to accomplish. In the declaration, which was signed by Charette, and the other chiefs on this occasion, they apologized for their insurrection, by ascribing it to the tyranny exercised under the late rulers, and bound themselves by the strongest terms to be faithful to the French republic, and punctually to fulfil the conditions of the present treaty. In pursuance of this promise, they published an address to the people of La Vendée, pathetically advising them to submit to the convention, and laying before them the imprudence and danger of resisting the established government of their country. These transactions took place on the third of March,

1795.

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In this general submission to the republic, one of the principal heads of the insurgents refused to consent: this was Stofflet, a man of a singularly bold and daring disposition, and who seemed inclined to persist in his opposition at all events. His bravery and conduct, on many difficult emergencies, had rendered him very popular in his party, and he retained many adherents; but after continuing some time in his refusal, finding that many of his people forsook him, he judged it prudent, in conjunction with several other chiefs, to comply with the terms offered him by government. He assigned as a motive for his delay, that he was desirous to ascertain the inclinations of the people of his party, with whom he was bound in honour to remain, till they had manifested their determination to accept of the conditions laid before them by the commissioners. As they were willing to embrace these, he thought it his duty to unite with them in submitting to the republic, and in promising a faithful observance of all the articles in the treaty. This submission was dated the 20th of April.

In this manner, the most dangerous insurrection, that had yet happened in favour of the royal cause in France, was seemingly extinguished. But many doubted the sincerity of those chiefs of the insurgents, who acted in the name of the Chouans. These had always been an unsettled assemblage of people, rude in their manners, and ill-connected in their movements, which were irregular and desultory. The authority of their leaders was precarious: every bold and enterprising individual was sure of followers. Hence they were continually separating into divisions;

which though acting on the same principles, had their particular chieftains, who acted independently of each other, and were obeyed and respected according to the degree of success that attended them. It was difficult, for this reason, to conclude any general agreement with such people. The principal officers, in the republican troops, that were stationed in those parts, and who, by long intercourse, were well acquainted with the disposition of the insurgents, placed little reliance on their submission, and were of opinion, that the observance of the treaty just concluded with them, would be of short duration. The motives for judging so unfavourably of their intentions were, that the number of dissidents from pacific measures, was not only considerable, but consisted of the most active and artful among the insurgents. As these men had not been able to prevent the conclusion of this treaty, they seemed resolved to procure its infraction, as soon as circumstances afforded any plausible pretence, or they could influence their party to be disgusted with it. To this end they disseminated reports of formidable preparations abroad to assist them, if they should again incline to resume their arms for the cause they had forsaken, with more precipitation than could be justified, and for which they would always be suspected to retain an irradicable predilection. Suspicions of this nature would never be removed from the minds of the republicans, with whom they could not expect to live on a footing of reciprocal confidence, and who certainly would treat them with lenity no longer than necessity compelled them to dissemble their real sentiments.

ments. Should a general pacification with the powers in coalition against France be once effected, the rancour of the republican government would be let loose upon all the royalists, without exception; and, meeting with no controul from abroad, would make the condition of those who had been concerned in the past insurrections at home so wretched and intolerable, that they would be driven into new insurrections.

As the mass of the insurgents were under the influence of their leaders, so the leaders themselves were under the influence of the intrigues of the French princes, and pecuniary aids and promises of the English ministry. This matter, before suspected, and generally believed, has lately been placed beyond all doubt, by the publication of the secret correspondence between Charette, Stofflet, Puisaye, and other Vendean chiefs; and the count of Provence, or claimant of the crown of France, and others; a publication which has all the characteristics of authenticity, though, perhaps, some letters may have been added to the genuine collection; or some alterations, perhaps, have been made in certain phrases, by the prejudices and party zeal of the editor. A constant correspondence was kept up between the royalists in La Vendée and Mr. Windham. The money with which they were supplied consisted at first, in false assignats, afterwards in louis d'ors and guineas, and lastly, in English bank-notes; but the value of these last being known only to some French merchants, and so many risks attending their conversion into specie, they were discounted at a very great loss. This disadvantage being represented, the supplies were again remitted in gold, but, in the esti-

mation of the Vendean chiefs, always in too scanty quantities. It appears, that though Charette was induced to make peace with the republicans, neither he nor the other principal leaders were tired of the war, or in their hearts averse to its continuation. But their own men wished for peace: and thus the chiefs were obliged to give their consent to the moderate and reasonable conditions which were offered by the republicans.

The Vendean chiefs were afterwards accused of having violated many of the articles of the capitulation. This is not improbable; and the more probable, that they were stung with the severe reproaches of the royalists most attached to the Bourbon family, and, in their language, Lewis XVIII. and the count d'Artois for having consented to any sort of accommodation with the regicides. On the other hand, it was currently said at Paris, that the directory, mistrustful of the officers who had fallen into their hands, still detained many of them, notwithstanding the declaration of amnesty, in close confinement. These mutual accusations may, both of them, have been well founded. It often happens, that opposite parties are both of them in the wrong.

It is to be observed, that there was no sincere and cordial good understanding between Lewis XVIII. and the princes of the coalition, and particularly the court of London. The design of Lewis was, to make himself independent of the coalition; and to effectuate his restoration, through the instrumentality of England, without consulting, sincerely, any other interests or views than his own. The conduct of that prince, in attempting to go to Toulon, when in our possession, gave great offence to ministry, who

never meant that he should go there ; and were not a little surprised that he should act for himself, without receiving his instructions. So also did the count d'Artois, in coming without permission to this country. The count d'Avary, a confidential friend, and officer in the household of the count of Provence, Lewis XVIII. in a letter to the chevalier de Charette, dated at Verona, the sixth of September, 1796, says, " Endeavour to do away the bad effect of the *apparent* confidence reposed by the king (Lewis XVIII.) in the English." To many it appeared, that it was not the plan of the English ministry to trust any important expedition into the hands of Lewis XVIII. ; but only to waste and destroy a part of France, by its own inhabitants : a conviction which rendered the English administration odious not only to a great part of the loyalists, but to the other parties in France, and not a few of the friends of peace and humanity in all nations. It has been said that the insurgents in the western departments of France, wanted only military stores and provisions ; and that they were averse to the introduction of any formidable army of strangers, particularly of English. Time has not yet unfolded the motives which influenced the conduct of the British ministry : who, professing a desire to restore the French monarchy, in opposition to the existing powers, as well as a great majority of the French nation, nevertheless contributed only an insignificant force ; and that too delayed beyond the time when it might have done the greatest service. It may be said, however, that even if no opposition had been made to the introduction of foreigners, on the part of the French, a powerful army might have excited jealousy, roused national ani-

mosity, and, by effecting an union of parties, consolidated, instead of subverting the republic.

A question arises on this subject, how the Vendean party could be so easily revived, after being lulled into peace—after being reduced almost to total destruction ? The solution of the problem is to be found in the money given to a number of needy and restless busy-bodies, who are always going and coming from London to Guernsey, and from thence to the French coast. It is said, that if a confidential friend speak with these persons in private, they will not scruple to declare their conviction, " that to effect a counter revolution, by means of the Catholic army, is impossible ; but that, were they to speak the truth to the English ministry, they would wholly lose their confidence and favour." It is this weakness of listening to malcontents and refugees from a hostile country, so justly noted by Machiavel, in his Discourses on Livy, that was the great spring of our continued losses, and final defeat, in the American war. It is the same weakness that has produced many disasters, and that threatens finally a similar issue of affairs to this country, in the present.

There is no military man who is not perfectly sensible, that the supposed armies of sixty thousand men, and even upwards in La Vendée, cannot exist. They know what an immense quantity of provisions, military stores, horses, carriages, and other articles, are necessary to keep an army on foot, even for one season ; and they see plainly, that the poor Vendean will fall a sacrifice in the end to the regular army of the republicans. But La Vendée has furnished some very satisfactory paragraphs in imperial and royal gazettes, which,

which, for the purposes of the day, have been thought sufficient.

Through the insinuations of Vendean chiefs above mentioned, a secret dissatisfaction was spread among the royalists, who had submitted, and a great majority of whom seemed well-disposed to rest contented with that situation of safety and tranquillity they had obtained; that they harboured no intentions to rise any more against the government, was apparent from their behaviour subsequently to the treaty, which was pacific, and conformable, in every respect, to the articles agreed on. Both the Vendéans and Chouans conducted themselves in the most satisfactory manner; the chiefs of the latter deposited in the hands of Ruelle, a member of the convention deputed to treat with them, nearly a million of forged assignats, which had been distributed among them, as they said, from a squadron of British men of war on the coast of Brittany. Nor had the insurgents any real cause to be dissatisfied with the conditions of that treaty. It was stipulated, that eighty millions should be given to the people of La Vendée, to indemnify them for their losses, and the devastation of their country; that ten millions should be granted to the chiefs of the insurgents, to enable them to pay debts they had contracted, and take up the bonds issued in their name during the insurrection; that a body of two thousand men, in the pay of government, should be placed under the command of Charette; that no requisitions should take place in La Vendée for the space of five years; that the Roman Catholic religion should be publicly exercised; and that nonjuring clergymen should be

permitted to return, and resume the possession of their family estates.

But notwithstanding these concessions, on the part of government, the attachment of the Vendéans to the royal cause led them into so intimate and continual a correspondence with the principal of the French emigrants in England, that it was at last discovered. Comartin, and others of the Chouan chiefs, were taken into custody, on the evidence of some letters that had been intercepted. About the close of May, the designs of the Chouans became manifest; they rose in arms, invested the town of Grandchamp with six thousand men; but a strong body of republicans came upon them by surprise at break of day, on the twenty-eighth, took several of their chiefs, and put the rest to flight.

In the mean time an armament was preparing in England to second the intended insurrection of the royalists in France. In the beginning of June it sailed to the southern coast of Brittany, under the command of sir John Borlase Warren. The insurgents were at that time assembled in great force in La Vendée; but, as they were not masters of any seaports where to make a landing, the squadron proceeded to the bay of Quiberon. Here a body of about three thousand men landed on the twenty-seventh, and dispersed a small number of republicans that had made a shew of opposing them. They besieged and took a fort garrisoned by six hundred men, and prepared to march farther into the country. Multitudes flocked in from all parts, to whom vast quantities of arms were distributed; and it was expected, that an army might be formed, in a short time, capable of facing the republican troops in the neighbourhood.

In order to sound the disposition of the people in the more inland districts, and to reconnoitre the position of the republican forces, the count d'Hervilly, who acted so generous and heroic a part on the tenth of August, 1792*, much respected in England, and who had a principal command in his expedition, put himself at the head of some thousands of the Chouans, and endeavoured to penetrate into the country; but, on the approach of a few hundreds of the republicans, they threw down their arms and fled. This obliged him to retire within the intrenchments that had been thrown up on the peninsula of Quiberon.

The republican commanders, to improve this advantage, raised three redoubts, to guard the passage to the main land. The British troops, the emigrants that had been raised and formed into regiments in England, and the Chouans that had joined them, amounted altogether to ten or twelve thousand men. Five thousand of them were selected to make an attack on these redoubts. They marched against them in the night of the fifteenth of July, and carried two; but, on their approaching the third, a masked battery took them in flank with such execution, that they were unable to proceed, and retreated with all possible speed, pursued by the republicans, who probably would have destroyed or taken the whole of this body, had not some British ships, anchored near the shore, compelled them, by a vigorous fire, to retreat in their turn. The disaster of this day occasioned violent wranglings among the emi-

grant officers, who reciprocally charged each other with want of conduct. Those privates who had enlisted from the French prisons in England, much more from a desire of recovering personal liberty, than inclination to the service they were going upon, took this opportunity to communicate their sentiments to each other; and great numbers of them deserted, and carried to the French quarter intelligence of the situation of the emigrants.

In consequence of the information he had received, general Hoche, who was at the head of the republican forces, formed a plan for the attack of both the fort and the camp occupied by the emigrants. He availed himself of a dark and tempestuous night, the twentieth of July, for the execution of his purpose. Having obtained the watch-word, the republican troops were conducted by the deserters through the concealed ways and passes, with which these were acquainted, and entered the fort undiscovered. Here they found the gunners asleep; they immediately extinguished their matches, and seized their powder, and the lantern, by the hoisting of which a signal was to have been made to the squadron in the road. Surprised in this manner, the garrison was thrown into a confusion, from which it could not recover. Many, if not most, of the emigrant soldiers immediately laid down their arms, and cried out, Live the Republic. Two whole regiments of them, after disarming some of their officers, and massacring, it is said, others, went over to the republicans. The count de Sombreuil, at the head of a body of

* See vol. xxxiv. Hist. Europe, p. 45.

emigrants, who were warmly attached to him, made so resolute a defence that, to spare the effusion of blood, Hoche agreed to receive their submission as prisoners of war, if the convention assented to that condition.

This was truly a disastrous event.

The forces in the camp and the fort, amounted to about ten thousand men, most of whom were either killed or taken. Among the latter was the count Sombreuil, a young gentleman highly beloved and esteemed in England, and whose fate was deeply lamented. He was tried, with many other emigrant officers, who were sentenced to death, as traitors to their country, and shot at Vannes, on the fifth of August. The number of sufferers was one hundred and eighty-seven. The bishop of Dol, who accompanied the expedition with his clergy, suffered, together with them, in the like manner.

The booty that fell into the hands of the victors was prodigious. Clothing, accoutrements, and warlike necessities of all kinds, for an army of forty thousand men, had been unfortunately landed, in hope of their being conveyed to the numerous royalists that wanted them. Complaints of the grossest mismanagement were made in England against those French emigrants who had been entrusted with the conduct of the expedition.

Notwithstanding the heavy disappointment, the hopes of being able, through perseverance, to make an impression upon the enemy, induced the British government to continue the squadron on the coast of France. It made a fruitless attempt on the island of Noirmoutier,

lying on the coast of Poitou, and defended by near twenty thousand men, who, by an easy communication with the land, could receive hourly supplies. It was more successful in the attack of the island, Isle Dieu, which, after being reduced, was put in a posture of defence. Small as this acquisition might appear, it contributed to keep the contiguous coast in a state of suspense, respecting the intentions of the British ministry, and occasioned the republican government to station very considerable forces in all the adjoining parts. This was the more requisite, as, had a communication been opened between the British squadron and the royalists on shore, the support of money and military stores, which were the objects they had most in view, would alone have enabled them to maintain an obstinate resistance; by the encouragement it would have held out to those numbers who readily would have joined them, had they been sure of a comfortable subsistence.

During these transactions, the French were occupied in confirming their authority in Holland, and in making a variety of arrangements, beneficial to their interests. The Dutch military was settled on a plan more conformable to the republican system. A body of twenty-five thousand French were added to the army of the seven provinces, and maintained at their expence. An organization of their navy was diligently formed; and, in short, all civil, military, and naval departments placed on the most advantageous footing, for the designs of the French. These arrangements perfectly corresponded with the views of the republican party in Holland; but the proceedings of France, in

relation to pecuniary affairs, were by many of this party warmly censured as too severe. The sums levied by the French in money, and in requisitions of all species of necessaries, were computed in the course of this year, at more than four millions sterling, without including the losses of the inhabitants by plunder, and extortions of divers sorts. The grievance of which they principally complained, was the obligation imposed on the trades people and shopkeepers, to take from the French officers and soldiers a stated quantity of assignats; the value of which being next to nothing, the acceptance of them in payment, however low they might be rated, was always a certain loss.

Since the time of the Romans, the system of maintaining armies at the expence of the conquered, was hardly known but to barbarous nations, which, indeed, ravaged countries and plundered the inhabitants, for the very purposes of subsistence. The French had now renewed that destructive system. Contributions had been occasionally levied by all the belligerent powers in Europe; but not carried to so enormous an extent as they now constantly were by the victorious armies of France. Not content with the acquisition of territories, and the taxes to be drawn from them, according to rates already settled by their antecedent possessors, they drew from them whatever could possibly be procured by every kind of exaction. In this light, the numerous conquests, made by France, were viewed by its rulers as means of support, and the most was made of them for that essential purpose. Exclusively of the immense booty becoming their own as the lawful

prize of war, they cast a scrutinising eye on the circumstances of those who submitted to their power. Thus it was, that, in the campaign of 1794, the sums they obtained by the seizures of every kind they were perpetually making, either of hostile stores, merchandize accumulated for the use of armies, or by levying enormous contributions, were sufficient to maintain their numerous armies, and proved an easement of the highest importance to their finances. Without these adventitious resources, they would not have been adequate to that vigorous prosecution of the war, on which, they were conscious, their all depended. During the space of about twelve months, the plunder of the magazines and store-houses belonging to the allied armies in the Flemish provinces, the British accumulations especially, together with the immense quantities of hard specie collected from the Austrian Netherlands, supported the immense numbers of French daily pouring into that country. The reduction of Holland effected the same object in 1795.

Flushed with so many advantages, they doubted not to see as prosperous a termination of the campaign of 1795 as of the preceding. The spirits of the national convention were so elated, that they spoke of their enemies as destined to be shortly subdued by their armies. They had no less than eight on foot in the conquered dominions of the coalesced powers, besides those that were on foot in France, to support or recruit them if necessary. Pichegru, now become the terror of the low countries, commanded in both Belgium and Holland. His assistant conqueror, Jourdan, was stationed
along

along the Maese; general Morceau towards the banks of the Rhine; Scherer and Marceau occupied the frontiers of Spain; Kellerman was posted on the Alps; and Canclava and Hoche on the coasts of the Channel, and the Bay of Biscay. These were all names of great celebrity among the French, who flattered themselves, that no European armies or generals could be brought into competition with their own; and that ere long the French republic would not only be universally acknowledged, but would give laws to all the adjacent nations.

They certainly had nothing to apprehend, at this juncture, from the combined strength of all Europe. Had they followed the advice of their wisest politicians, and brought their schemes of revenge and punishment on their enemies, as they expressed themselves, within a moderate compass, they might have attained a situation of security, from which it would have been highly difficult, if not impracticable, to remove them. But unexpected success wrought that effect on the minds of their rulers, which it so seldom fails to work upon most men. They resolved, it seems, to strain their acquired powers to the utmost, in order to carry their vast projects into execution. They still kept on foot armies, the total of which amounted to more than a million, exclusively of more than two hundred thousand civil officers. To maintain these multitudes, the conquered countries to the north of France, underwent the severest oppression, and were stripped of whatever the rapacity of their ambitious masters could deprive them. The circulation of assignats was compelled; the price was fixed on all the

necessaries demanded; and fabrications in metal of all kinds were seized for public use. To these treasures from abroad, their calculations added at home, besides the standing taxes, the prodigious list of estates sentenced to confiscation, and the immense value of moveable property for sale, together estimated at three thousand millions of livres, with the vast sums annually expected from the forced loan, levied upon every individual, proportionably to his income. But great as these resources appeared, they did not answer the exigencies of the state. The credit of the assignats declined so rapidly, in the course of the present, as well as the preceding year, that, at the close of 1795, they were fallen one thousand below par. Such was the distress for money, that, in the course of this year, the French government emitted twenty thousand millions of livres in notes, in addition to ten thousand millions already fabricated since the revolution. Other demands pressed, at the same time, upon government, exclusively of those required by state necessities. The population of France, formerly its strength and glory, while supported by arts and commerce, was now become a famished multitude, dependent on government for a daily allowance of food. The sums expended for their maintenance, amounted to near four millions sterling annually. So heavy an incumbrance on the public, had induced some persons to insinuate the propriety of dismissing all supernumerary individuals from the capital, to which the resort of the poor was become greater than ever, on account of this allowance. But, on mature consideration, it was found safer to submit to this inconvenience,

convenience, distressing as it was, than to run the danger of an insurrection from people who certainly would not have tamely submitted to a deprivation of whatever was considered as their due. So great indeed was become the wretchedness of the inhabitants in some of the countries subdued by France, that it was judged equally requisite to relieve their wants by the donation of necessaries. In order, at the same time, to conciliate the inferior classes, the weight of the taxes was carefully thrown on the people of property, and repartitioned among these with the strictest regard to the proportion of their income.

In the midst of every discouragement, arising from the shattered state of their finances, the French determined to venture another campaign, for the final humiliation of their enemies, as they said, and to bring them to such terms as would completely disable them from renewing any attempt against the liberty of France. The secession of Prussia, the inactivity of the German princes in the common defence of the empire, and the treaty they were negotiating with Spain, accelerated their motions in the Netherlands, where they opened the operations of the campaign on that side, by pressing the siege, or rather the blockade, of the strong town of Luxemburgh. General Bender, the governor, was at the head of a strong garrison, no less than ten thousand men. He was an officer of great bravery and experience, and it was thought the French would not have been able to master it. It might, it has been said, have held out longer; but the certainty that no succours could approach it, and the inutility of delaying a sur-

render, which must probably take place at last, determined the governor to capitulate, in order to avoid the needless loss of lives. He was, with his garrison, permitted to retire to Germany, on condition of not serving against France till regularly exchanged. The reduction of this fortress happened on the seventh of June.

The French had only one place more to reduce, in order to compass that object, which was to crown their military operations. This was, to make a conquest of the strong and important city of Mentz, by the acquisition of which they would regain the ancient boundary between Germany and Gaul, the river Rhine. This, they often said, was the extremest limit of their ambition. When once obtained, they would give up all ideas of extending their dominions beyond it. But a project of this kind involved so many dangerous consequences to the adjacent powers, that necessity alone would compel them to submit to it. The very countries which, in such case, they proposed to annex to France, would form with it an empire completely destructive of the balance of power. And it was not clear that the inhabitants of these countries would willingly become a portion of France, especially since the revolution, that had wrought such a change in the minds and character of the French. But these had now contracted so high an opinion of their national dignity, that they were fully persuaded the people in the proximity of France would think it both honourable and advantageous to be admitted to an incorporation.

But the situation of Mentz was itself a protection against the attempts

tempts of the French. Its communication with the strong fortress of Cassel, on the opposite banks of the Rhine, secured it a constant supply of troops and necessaries : and till that was taken, it could hardly be reduced by any force. Hence it became evident, that unless the French were masters of the other side of the Rhine, they would vainly lay siege to this city. They had now invested it for several months ; but the multiplicity of undertakings they had projected, interfered so much with each other, that they had not been able to attend to this one with a sufficient degree of care, and a great part of the summer elapsed, before they commenced that plan of operations by which alone they could hope to obtain possession of Mentz.

The fact was, that the preceding campaign had exhausted France more than either their enemies or friends seemed to have discovered. Both were of opinion, that the present year would be an accumulation of successes, finish the work of French grandeur, and put a period to this destructive war, by a treaty, of which they would dictate the conditions. But their victories had cost them such numbers of their best troops, that, although their armies were continually supplied with recruits, it required time to inure these to discipline. The profusion of their own blood was become so inseparably annexed to their tactics, that the loss of lives was no longer an object of much consideration in the system of French warfare. It was by sacrificing their people without remorse on every occasion, that they carried almost every point they proposed : but as those that fell in the desperate enterprises they were

employed in, were the bravest of their troops, though they might replace the numbers they were continually losing, they could not supply their places with an equal proportion of good soldiers. The French officers and commanders were fully aware of this deficiency, and, for this reason, were become less venturous and enterprising, especially towards the Netherlands and the Rhine, where the bloodiest actions had taken place, and their successes had been purchased at the heaviest cost of men.

From motives of this nature proceeded the seeming inactivity of the French in several instances. The inconsiderate were inclined to attribute it to that unsteadiness which is thought to mark the French character ; and the French were not displeased it should be ascribed to any but the real cause, which, in the present juncture, might have operated to the discouragement of their own people, and have, at the same time, prompted their enemies to exertions that might have proved superior to their own. It was not till the month of August that the French generals determined to open effectually the campaign upon the Rhine. They began by an attack upon Dusseldorf, where a considerable body of Austrians was posted. The French, however, were in such force, and crossed the Rhine so unexpectedly, that the Austrians were obliged to abandon that city, and retire to a large body that lay entrenched on the river of Lahn. Jourdan, who had effected this passage, pressed these Austrian bodies so closely, that they fell back without hazarding any action ; so great at this time, was the terror inspired by the French. Encouraged by this success,

success, the army under Pichegru was immediately put in motion, and, crossing the Rhine near Mannheim, easily took possession of that city. By his position on the right bank of the Rhine, he was now master of all the country lying between Clairfait's army on the north, and Wurmser's to the south of the Mayne, and a junction between them was thought impracticable. The siege of Mentz was in consequence resolved upon, and all the previous preparations were made for this purpose. The Austrians were so dispirited, that they were beginning to retreat on all sides; and the French were, at the same time, become so confident and presumptuous, that it was difficult to retain them under discipline. General Wurmser was, in the mean time, advancing by rapid marches to the relief of Mannheim. Pichegru, in order to intercept his junction with Clairfait, who was retiring before Jourdan, and on his march to join Wurmser, posted a large division of his army in the midway between them. This division fell upon the Austrians with its usual impetuosity, and put them to such a rout, that they fled precipitately from the posts they had taken, not thinking them tenable against the strength by which they were assailed. But the spirit of plunder was so predominant among the French, that as soon as they had defeated this part of Wurmser's army, they dispersed on all sides in quest of pillage. The peasantry, to whom they had become extremely odious, on account of their irregularities and extortions, gave immediate notice to the Austrians of the disorder of the French. The Austrian cavalry lost no time in returning upon the

French; who were so completely surprised, that they were compelled to betake themselves to flight in all directions; their infantry, which endeavoured to rally, and made as good a resistance as their disordered situation would permit, lost a great number of their best men. The whole of this French division, at first so victorious, was compelled, after a fruitless resistance, to hasten back to Mannheim, with the utmost precipitation.

This unexpected reverse of fortune decided the fate of the ensuing campaign. Clairfait, having received additional reinforcements, resumed his operations, and advanced upon Jourdan's army, which had crossed the Main, and invested Mentz on the right side of the Rhine, according to the plan proposed. But this army was thrown into disorder at the approach of Clairfait, who, falling upon its rear, took a large quantity of cannon destined for the siege. The march of Clairfait was represented by the French as a violation of neutral territory. Not expecting he would come upon them from that quarter, it was not guarded against a surprise, by means of which alone he effected his designs. But this complaint, however justly founded, did not clear the French from the imputation of being deficient in precaution. The nature of the war was such, that no commander should have relied on agreements framed between men who considered each other as guilty of the most heinous infractions of all laws both human and divine, and who, in the violence of their reciprocal antipathy, would be little disposed to observe any stipulations, when they stood in the way of manifest advantages.

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The projects of the French on the right banks of the Rhine, were now entirely defeated. Jourdan was unable to continue the blockade of Mentz, and forced to re-cross the Main. He retreated to Dusseldorf, harassed by Clairfait, who kept close to him during the whole of his march, which was perpetually interrupted by skirmishes, wherein the Austrians had almost constantly the advantage. So strongly was the tide of success now turned against the French, that the army which had crossed the Rhine at Mannheim, under Pichegru, was obliged in like manner to return to the other side, leaving in that city a garrison of ten thousand men. The garrison of Mentz, was, in the mean while, reinforced by large divisions of the Austrian army, while others were making good their passage over the Rhine, in order to attack the French encamped before that city. The intention of Pichegru had been, to put the French camp into such a posture of defence, as to repel the attacks which he foresaw would be made against it by the victorious enemy. He hastened accordingly his march from Mannheim: but before the preparations he had formed against the Austrians were completed, these attacked the French with so superior a force, that they were unable to resist it. They were assailed in front by the garrison, and taken in flank on the right and left by two numerous divisions. Their works and batteries were demolished, all their artillery taken, and they were driven from every post they occupied. It was not without difficulty, and through the most obstinate exertions, that they were able at last to effect a retreat.

Jourdan was no longer in a con-

dition to act offensively on the right side of the Rhine. He had lost a considerable part of his artillery, and numbers of his best troops. The remainder was much dispirited. Clairfait was now master of the field. Leaving a sufficient force to guard the country from which he had expelled the French, he crossed the Rhine, and formed a junction with Wurmser. They retook the Palatinate and most of the countries between the Rhine and the Moselle. Alarmed at their progress, Jourdan collected all the troops that were stationed in the proximity of the Rhine, and by forced marches reached, in a short time, the scene of action. United with Pichegru, he had the good fortune to put a stop to the rapid career of the Austrians.

They could not, however, preserve the city of Mannheim. It was, on the departure of Pichegru, immediately besieged by the Austrians. The French garrison made a resolute defence; but as the town was invested on every side, and cut off from all hope of succour, it was thought proper, in order to prevent it from total destruction, to capitulate with the enemy, who had already greatly damaged it, by a terrible bombardment, in revenge for the facility with which it had been surrendered to the French. The reduction of Mannheim happened about the close of November. The number of French who were made prisoners, amounted to eight thousand.

The successes of the Austrians emboldened them to form the project of penetrating as far as Luxemburg. They made preparations to this intent; and a large division of their best troops was provided with

with all the requisites for such an attempt. The town of Luxemburg itself was supplied with a numerous garrison, and with stores and provisions for a twelvemonth; but the apprehensions excited by the divers movements of the Austrians, terminated in some incursions in the neighbourhood of that fortress, and of Treves, and the adjacent districts. The resistance of the French became at last so vigorous and successful, that the Austrians could not extend themselves beyond the limits which they had occupied, when they first compelled the French to retire to the left side of the Rhine. They continued to dispute the ground with great obstinacy and loss of blood on both sides, till the severity of winter induced both parties to suspend hostilities for the space of three months.

On the Italian frontiers of France, the arms of the republic did not perform any achievements equal to those in the foregoing campaign. The superiority of strength lay on the side of Austria, and the utmost that could be done by the French was, to maintain themselves in the posts which they had already occupied. All parties, in truth, seemed willing to indulge in some respite of the dreadful trials and labours they had undergone, and to wait for the arising of some event that might open a prospect of their cessation. The only two powers combined against France were not sufficiently recovered from the alarm occasioned by the declaration of their associates, to frame any great and decisive designs against France: and the republic had wasted so much of its strength in the wonderful exertions it had made, that whatever the friends of that system might pretend,

it wanted rest even more than its neighbours.

While the republican armies had, in the commencement of 1795, and the close of 1794, been employed in reducing so many countries, and spreading every where the terror of the French arms, the condition of the interior, in that vast country, was still wretched and deplorable, through the animosities between the two parties that divided the nation. The republicans held out to the public the trophies of so many victories won, and so many people subdued, and loftily demanded at what period of the monarchy the French had ever arrived at such a summit of glory? But the royalists, no less indignantly, asked, when it was that France had seen such torrents of blood of its inhabitants shed by any of its former rulers? The very worst of preceding administrations, under the very worst of their kings, were models of virtue, of uprightness, of lenity, when compared to the very best of those fleeting phantoms of government that had arisen and disappeared like meteors, and left nothing but the remembrance of the iniquities through which the vilest of men rose to power, and maintained themselves in it, and through which they had been deprived of it by others as wicked as themselves.

The mass of the French people, though remarkably fond of national honour, and willing to suffer much for the attaining of it, had, under the dreadful government of Robespierre, forgotten almost every sensation but that of terror. None but the most violent abettors of the severest republicanism had expressed any other sentiments than those

those of horror at the maxims by which he regulated his conduct. His had been literally the reign of blood; but unfortunately for France, such also had been the splendour that accompanied his measures abroad, that it dazzled the eyes of many who could not but reprobate the atrocities of which he was guilty at home. Another unhappy circumstance was, that he had not acted alone. He had a number of associates in the crimes, as well as in the exploits of his administration; and when he fell, all did not fall with him. Of those who remained, some were more sanguinary than others: but most having gone deep into his measures, retained a tincture of that ferocity which characterised them. These were denominated the terrorists. They were exceedingly numerous, and though far outnumbered by the moderate party, were much more active. These, indeed, constituted the bulk of the people; and, being removed from the scenes of intrigue and ambition, were sincerely desirous of internal tranquillity, and dreaded the renewal of those barbarities that dwelled so forcibly on their memories, and from which no man at the time, however obscure his person or condition, felt himself, or was indeed wholly secure. The return of so dreadful a situation had excited such lively apprehensions, that even the most passive and acquiescent in public affairs, were solicitous to prevent such a calamity. Hence the opposition to terrorism, as it was justly denominated, included an incomparable majority in all classes, full of suspicions, and loud in their complaints at the least symptoms of its appearance.

Several intimates of Robespierre

had been committed to prison, at the time he was deposed and put to death. Two of them were notoriously criminal: Fouquier Tinville, the public accuser, and Joseph Lebon, one of the most execrated of the many instruments of his enormities. The public voice demanded them loudly as victims due to the vengeance of the nation; and complained that, notwithstanding their undoubted and acknowledged guilt, they were privately protected, and that earnest endeavours were used to save them from the punishment which they so justly merited. This neglect of justice was represented by the moderate party, as a proof that the principles of the terrorists still subsisted, and that, unless they were vigorously opposed, they would regain ground, and drench the country in blood, as they had done before. In compliance with the sense of the public, which was expressed with great warmth and firmness, it was given to understand, that the strictest justice should be done upon them. In order, at the same time, to obviate the dissatisfaction at the sanguinary laws that had been enacted under the late tyrannical system, the convention directed the whole code to be reviewed, to the end of expunging them. On this ground several members of revolutionary committees were remanded to custody, to be tried, for having, in the spirit of those cruel laws, committed acts of barbarity. This was considered as a severe blow to terrorism, as these members had been acquitted on pretence that no proof had been adduced that they acted from counter-revolutionary motives. Another measure, contrary to the late laws, was the repeal of that which had fixed a price on

on merchandize and provisions; and which was considered as impeding the circulation of trade in these articles. But the transaction, which afforded particular satisfaction to the government and people, was an investigation of the state of the national finances; by which it appeared, that the domains which had been declared public property, and were yet unsold, at the commencement of 1795, amounted, on a reasonable calculation, to six hundred millions sterling, a sum exceeding, by two-thirds, the paper-money issued on their security.

The reciprocal hatred, subsisting between the various parties that divided the French nation, had never ceased to manifest itself on all occasions, ever since the commencement of the revolution. It agitated individuals of all classes; it invaded private life no less than it disturbed public transactions; it was chiefly, indeed, on occurrences of this nature, that it broke through all the rules of decency: inflamed by the warmth of party, and that heat of temper characteristic of the French, they gave an unbounded loose to their feelings, and in the vehemence of their unrestrained invectives, aspersed each other's character with all the malice and inveteracy of men determined to go every length of word or deed, for the gratification of an enmity that was literally become too big for utterance. Hence the pictures they drew of their antagonists were such as could not fail to hold them out to the public as objects of execration. The most respectable members of every national meeting that had been held, from the constituent assembly, to the present convention, had thus been described in the most

odious colours. When engaged in debates, the personal abuse of which they were prodigal to each other, tarnished the splendour of the noblest specimens of eloquence, by the vulgarity of their reciprocal revilings. Such was their attachment to this method of treating each other, that they scrupled not to justify it by the rules of oratory, and by adducing precedents from the practice of the greatest orators of antiquity. The wisest, however, in the convention could not help perceiving, that by this behaviour they lessened the dignity of their station, and lost the respect of the commonalty, who, being continually witnesses of these mean altercations, could not retain much reverence for persons who made it their business to defame each other. This licentiousness of speech was at this time carried so far, that some of the most discreet among them, thought it indispensably necessary that it should be forthwith restrained, lest from language, they should, in the intemperance of their unguarded effusions, proceed to such actions as might expose them to absolute derision, and annihilate their authority, already weakened by these reiterated proofs of so much levity and indiscretion. It was therefore proposed and agreed, that if any member of the convention used abusive language to another, in the course of argument or discussion of any subject, he should be liable to imprisonment. So useful a regulation, it was observed, ought to have passed long ago, and would probably have prevented much evil, by the restraint it would have put on men's passions, and obviated those resentments which harsh expressions never fail to produce, and which are frequently productive

ductive of the most deplorable consequences.

An object of more importance than all the preceding, and indeed than any other whatsoever, was the entire and uncontroled liberty of religious opinions and worship, that had often been promised to all men indiscriminately, but which, from a variety of causes, had not been established in that complete and explicit manner which might remove all complaint. The convention now

solemnly secured it by a special decree, which placed all individuals beyond the reach of any species of persecution upon spiritual accounts. This was a measure that pleased all parties; those only excepted, whom the enthusiasm of bigotry had long hardened against the toleration of any sentiments, in spiritual matters, contrary to their own. These intolerant individuals were numerous, in a country long in a slavish subjection to the church of Rome.

C H A P. V.

Examination of certain Members of the late Committee of Safety.—These declared accessory to the Tyrannies of Robespierre.—An immense Crowd, entering the Hall of the Convention, demand Impunity for the accused Members.—This Tumult suppressed.—The Members of the tyrannical Committee banished to Guiana.—A number of turbulent Terrorists sent to Prison.—A Commission of Eleven Members appointed by the Convention for drawing up a New Constitution.—Finances of France.—Judges and Jurors of the Revolutionary Tribunal condemned.—And executed.—The Lenity of the Convention exposes them to the Ill-Will of the Terrorists.—Discontents.—And Commotions.—A Crowd, breaking into the Hall of the Convention, demands Bread.—Firmness of the President of the Convention.—Outrages and Atrocities of the Mob.—The Convention delivered from Insurgents by the Military Force of Paris.—The Contest between the Convention and the Rioters renewed.—The Convention deem it prudent to temporize, and offer Terms of Accommodation.—The Rioters invited to the Honours of the Sitting.—And receive the Fraternal Kiss.—Resist the Execution of the Law.—Forced to lay down their Arms, and surrender at Discretion.—The Terrorists and their Adherents completely overthrown.—Insurgents at Toulon.—Defeated, by the Troops of the Line, with great Slaughter.—The Death of the Son of Lewis XVI.—Deliverance of the Young Princess of France from Prison.—The Convention, by several harsh Decrees, obviate any Suspicions that might arise of their Attachment to Loyalty.—New Constitution, consisting of two Councils, and an Executive Directory.—Reflections thereon.

IN the mean time, the hatred now borne by the majority of the nation for the system of terror, introduced by Robespierre, was felt by all who had in any manner co-operated therein. Hence the members of the committee of safety, that had been denounced by Lecointre, as the agents and partners in the crimes of Robespierre, though absolved, through the intrigues of their party, of the imputations laid to their charge, were still viewed as far from innocent, by those who sided with that bold accuser. He persisted in

his charges so resolutely, that, before the close of the year 1794, he succeeded in his attempt to bring their conduct to a severe scrutiny. It was ordered by the convention, that the committees of public safety and general security should inquire into and make a report on the denunciations against those members. The result of the inquiry was, that there was ground for examining the conduct of Barrere, Billaud Varennes, Collot d'Herbois, and Vaudier, who had been the principal acting members of the committee of safety,

safety, under the administration of Robespierre. A decree for this examination was immediately made, and twenty-one members commissioned to proceed upon it without farther delay. The four members thus brought forward, were men of eminent abilities, especially Barrere, who had been the great spokesman to the convention, during the triumphant campaign of 1794, and had essentially contributed to that stupendous scheme of raising the people in a mass, for the protection of the country against the coalition, at the time when its successes had occasioned a general alarm for the safety of the republic. Whatever flaws were in his character, he had always been reputed a zealous republican, and his talents had been warmly exerted in the republican cause. But it was strongly insinuated, that the destruction of Robespierre would never have been effected, if Barrere and his party in the committee, had been the sole agents. The convention, headed by Tallien and Bourdon de l'Oise, were the real actors in this great business, and Barrere, with his associates, were at best but coadjutors, prompted by motives of personal safety. Both he and Billaud Varrennes had been the obsequious and base instruments of Robespierre's tyranny, and Collot d'Herbois had behaved with such barbarity at Lyons, after its reduction, as to have incurred the general odium. As these imputations were not unfounded they made a strong impres-

sion upon the public; but its indignation was farther excited by the continuance of favour shewn to the principles of terrorism, and particularly by the respect paid to the memory of its first founder, the noted Marat. The remains of this sanguinary man had, several months after the death of Robespierre, been solemnly deposited in the pantheon, by a decree of the convention. This was considered as no equivocal proof, that the spirit of this bloody-minded enthusiast, in the cause of republicanism, was not yet departed*. Two other circumstances concurred, at the same time, to increase this indignation; the one was a journal published by Freron, a man of resolution and abilities, and a determined enemy to the terrorists; the other was a song, called the awakening of the people. The honours paid the memory of Marat were severely noticed in both, as well as the partiality to his atrocious maxims. In a tumultuous insurrection, his ashes were removed, and his bust defaced or broken to pieces. The Parisians, who had been remarkable sufferers under the murderous system lately destroyed, displayed a marked readiness to oppose it; and those members of the convention who were of the same mind, gladly perceived, that they would be powerfully supported, whenever assistance might be needed.

After two months' examination into the conduct of the denounced members, it was declared, that they

* So general and furious was the spirit of terror in the French nation, a little time before this, and so readily did mankind excuse, approve, and applaud, the prevailing passion, whatever it be, that the contrary temper of moderation was deemed a vice. To denote this new vice, a new word was invented. It was common, at that time, with the more violent Jacobins, in their meetings, and various intercourses of life, to make charges against those who were less so, or insinuate suspicions of MODERATISM!

had been accessory to the tyranny that had been exercised over the people, and the convention. To the courage of this body the downfall of oppression was due. The accused members alleged, in their exculpation, that Robespierre and St. Just were the authors of the atrocities committed by the orders issued under their direction; but why did not the members remonstrate against those orders? why did they not refuse to sign them? Robespierre had absented himself forty days from the committee, and St. Just was gone to the armies, and yet these members issued those orders. Such was the substance of the reports presented to the convention, in the beginning of March, by the commissioners it had appointed for that purpose.

These were heavy and grievous charges, and not ill-founded, in the apprehension of those who reflected on the intimacy that had subsisted between Robespierre and those members who were ostensibly the direct and immediate agents under him: but they asserted in their defence, that the jacobin club, and the revolutionary tribunal, were, in conjunction with him, the real actors in whatever he directed. Dumas, president of the revolutionary tribunal, and Coffinhal, a head of the jacobins, concerted with him all his measures; the committees were passive, and unable to oppose them; the convention alone was equal to such a task: the tyrannical laws, that gave almost absolute power to Robespierre, and empowered him to shed so much blood, had never been discussed in the committee, and were carried to the convention by him and Couthon,

as soon as they had framed them. It were hard to impeach the committee for the crimes of the deputies to the different departments, for those committed by the two hundred and fifty thousand members of the revolutionary committees throughout France, or for the creation of six popular commissions, for which Robespierre obtained a decree from the convention. The committee threw as many obstacles and delays as they were able in the formation of these commissions. Robespierre compelled the framing of two, which fortunately came too late for his purposes.

The case of the denounced members was ably argued by Carnot and Lindet, who had been their colleagues in the committee of public safety, under Robespierre. During his empire, said they, every man trembled for his safety, and all his commands were implicitly obeyed. None of those members of the convention, who so inexorably condemned the obnoxious members, would probably have dared to act otherwise than they did, driven by compulsion, and unable to resist. The generality of men allowed these reasonings to be valid. Notwithstanding that they looked on the accused members as implicated in the criminal conduct of Robespierre, still they absolved them of his atrocious designs, and were willing to consider them as acquiescent in his orders, merely from the total inability to prevent their execution, and from the dread of becoming instantly the victims of their disobedience.

While the trial of these members, which commenced before the convention on the twenty-second of March, was pending, and it yet appeared

appeared undecided how it would terminate, the public was agitated with the most serious fears of seeing a renovation of the horrors from which they hoped to have escaped. The spirit of moderation, which had, since the fall of Robespierre, been predominant, was so unacceptable to the jacobin party, which, though checked, was not suppressed, that, availing themselves of the lenity professed by government, they assembled in various places, and held discourses of a tendency to rouse into an insurrection all that were disposed to join them. The pretence, by means of which they excited the populace to discontent, was the scarcity of bread. Whether this was real or affected, through their machinations, an immense crowd arose on the first of April, and proceeded to the hall of the convention, demanding bread, and the constitution of 1793. The latter of these demands plainly shewed who were the instigators of this insurrection. The jacobin members of the convention explicitly abetted these demands. Emboldened by this support, the spokesman of the insurgents told the convention, that those in whose name he addressed them were the men of the fourteenth of July, the tenth of August, and the thirty-first of May; that they would not suffer the accused members to be sacrificed to their enemies; and expected the convention would alter its measures.

When the insurgents broke into the hall, the convention was employed in a discussion how to remedy the scarcity that was complained of; but this sudden interruption forced them to have recourse to immediate means, for their preservation from the fury

of the mob. They directed the alarm bells to be rung through all Paris, and the citizens to be called to the aid of the convention. They readily obeyed the summons, and assembled to the number of twenty thousand. But, from two in the afternoon till six in the evening, the convention was in the power of the insurgents, from whom, as they had forcibly entered the hall, danger was reasonably apprehended; their words and demeanour being full of insolence and menaces.

The city was no less alarmed than the convention. Knowing the number and resolution of the jacobins, and dreading a return of their tyranny, they took up arms with the utmost zeal in every section; and, by this demonstration of adherence to the convention, intimidated the insurgents, who, finding themselves unequal to the force that opposed them, were compelled to disperse. What highly contributed to the suppression of this tumult was the presence of Pichegru, who happened auspiciously to be at Paris. He took the command of the Paris military, and quickly restored the public tranquillity. Delivered from their perilous situation, the convention passed a decree for the punishment of the authors of this riot. As it had evidently been excited to prevent the trial of the denounced members, it was moved by Dumont, a popular member, of noted firmness, that they should immediately be sentenced to punishment. In order to soften the rigour of a condemnation that might appear precipitate, their lives were spared; but they were banished to Guiana, and ordered to be transported thither without delay. Let

us, said he, without dooming them to death, cast away these monsters from our society. In this manner terminated the career of Barrere, Collot d'Herbois, and Billaud Varrennes, after having made so conspicuous a figure during the two first years of the republic. Vaudier, their associate, had found means to make his escape.

The party of the moderates resolved to improve this opportunity of ridding the convention of some of those turbulent spirits that still guided the motions of the remaining members of the mountain. That bold and restless faction, though subdued, was not destroyed, and lost no occasion of reviving and enforcing its atrocious maxims. About twenty of the principal among them were put under arrest, and imprisoned in the castle of Ham, in the province formerly called Picardy. Had they acted in the same manner against the government of Robespierre as they had done against the present, no one doubted that they would have to suffer death. The system of moderation, against which they so violently declaimed, was the sole cause of their preservation; and yet individuals arose who, with that philosophic coolness which, however praiseworthy in its principle, is too prone to require the same regularity of proceeding in tempestuous as in peaceable times, took upon them to describe the conduct of the moderate party as deserving of censure, on this occasion, for having neglected the formalities of a regular trial. Without entirely absolving this party, the universal assent of all those who dreaded the renovation of the jacobin system was a sufficient justification of the measures they took to

prevent it. Many of their least partial friends heavily censured them for not having adopted a line of more security, against men who would have shewed them no mercy, and who, by the clearest laws of retaliation, were entitled to no more lenity than they had themselves displayed, whenever the evil destiny of their country had thrown its government into their hands.

As soon as this dangerous insurrection had subsided, the convention determined to enter on the long-desired, though highly arduous, undertaking, of forming a constitution that might be acceptable to all reasonable people, and thereby bid fair to be more permanent than the preceding. A committee was appointed to prepare the method of carrying this plan into execution. The result of its consultations was, that a commission of eleven members of the convention should be authorized to draw up a system of government, comprehending a circumstantial organization of all its parts. All men were invited to communicate their sentiments on these subjects. The commissioners selected for this great work were Lanjournais, Lareveilliere, Lepaux, Thibaudeau, Boissy d'Anglas, Le Sage, Larouche, Louvet, Bertier, Daunou, Durand, Baudin. A provisional system of government was, in the mean while, established, and to remain in force till the constitution had been completed and accepted. It was framed on principles consistent with those of the moderate party, and calculated to maintain a strict concord and correspondence between all the departments of government. These proceedings took place in the course of May.

An object of no less importance to France, in its critical situation respecting foreign powers, was the providing means to carry on the war with so many potent enemies. Cambon, the financier, so long celebrated for his labours in the department of finance, had been dismissed by the convention, and succeeded by Johannot, a man of established reputation in that branch of political knowledge. In a report which he presented on the sixth of May to the convention, upon the situation of the national finances, he proposed two regulations to be observed, with inviolable fidelity: the one was a strict and punctual payment of the interest due on the national debt; the other was the establishment of a sinking fund, to pay off the principal. Allowing the war to continue two years longer, still, he contended, money enough would remain, after defraying all other expences, to answer the purposes of such a fund. According to his statements, the property of the nation, in lands and forests, estates of the emigrants, royal palaces, and domains, together with the produce of the same nature in Belgium, were valued altogether at a sum equal to more than 110,000*l.* sterling per annum. This, he asserted, was an amount amply sufficient for the expences of the war, on a supposition of its lasting a much longer space than probable, and for a complete liquidation of the whole debt. After entering into various calculations, to prove the justness of his ideas, he concluded by asserting, that, after defraying all charges, there would remain, clear and unappropriated, according to the accounts and valuations referred to,

no less a sum than seven thousand millions of livres.

This enumeration of the resources remaining to France, afforded great satisfaction to the public; but the deeper class of speculators could not refrain from hinting their doubts of the solidity of the multifarious objects on which his calculations were founded. Admitting their exactness, still the uncertainty of those amounts, which were to arise from assets existing only in expectation, was alone a defect, that reduced his system to a mere possibility. But this, in pecuniary matters, was no foundation to build upon; especially in a country, the government of which was liable to so many vicissitudes, and the finances of which could not, of course, be considered in a situation of stability.

The late commotions had left an impression on the public mind, so inimical to the jacobins, that the convention, no less desirous of depressing that turbulent party, and punishing the chief agents in its enormities, resolved, in compliance with the reiterated desire of the majority, to bring to justice, conformably to their promise, the execrated instruments of Robespierre's cruelties, the president and judges of the revolutionary tribunal. The multiplicity of crimes they were accused of, required some time to be arranged: they were accused of having prostituted the administration of justice, in the most scandalous and insolent manner, to serve the purposes of oppression and cruelty; and of having made out lists of persons to be sentenced to death, under juridical forms, merely to gratify private enmity. Contrarily

to the laws of humanity, and of all civilized countries, pregnant women had been ordered for execution. Such was their thirst of blood, that they had been known to take no longer a space of time than three hours to try and condemn sixty individuals. They were so hardened and unfeeling in this work of death, and their conduct so careless and inattentive, that the father had been executed for the son, and the son for the father. Frequently they had refused copies of indictments to prisoners. Instead of a legal selection of juries by lot, out of the body of citizens, they had packed and chosen them as they thought proper. At the head of these accusations stood the name of Fouquier Tinville, a man as much detested as his patron Robespierre. Fifteen others were comprehended in the list, either judges or jurors of the revolutionary tribunal. They were condemned and executed on the ninth of May, to the universal satisfaction of the humane and equitable part of society.

There still remained a man equally guilty with the worst of those who had suffered, and who had signalized himself by his barbarities as copiously as Robespierre himself. This was Joseph Lebon, already mentioned. Loaded as he was with crimes and murders, the convention allowed him to speak in his own defence. He was one of those men, whom nature, in an evil hour for the community, endowed with a shrewd head and a wicked heart. He pleaded his cause eight or nine successive days, with as much coolness and resolution as if his conscience had been wholly clear of all offence. But though his audience might be astonished at his abilities, they were

too well apprised of his guilt to suffer him to go unpunished. He was unanimously delivered up to a court of justice, in that city where he had exercised most of his enormities, and there brought to a trial, which terminated in his execution some time in July.

This marked spirit of vengeance, on the jacobin party, roused its abettors in every quarter: and they too determined to seize the first moment of revenge. They loudly accused the moderate party of shielding themselves under that denomination, the more securely to conceal the plots they were contriving for the restoration of royalty. But the falsity of these accusations was so manifest, that they passed unheeded by the more cool republicans. The convention did not seem in the least inclined to favour the royalists. It enacted at this very time some severe regulations to prevent their return into France, without lawful permission. It softened, indeed, the unnecessary rigour with which they had hitherto been treated. The property of none was confiscated, but actual emigrants: the estates of such as had suffered during the late tyranny, were restored to the lawful heirs: and the relations, and even the creditors of known emigrants were excepted from the severity of the laws against them.

But the lenity which the convention seemed evidently inclined to adopt, whenever occasion offered, could not fail to procure them the ill-will of those unruly multitudes, whose minds had been perverted by the inexorable maxims of the terrorists. They watched in silence for another opportunity of rising against the convention; and a favourable one soon recurred. The scarcity

scarcity of bread in the late commotion, whether real or artificial, was now become too true, the principal of the remaining leaders of the jacobins, who lay concealed in the obscurest parts of Paris, availed themselves of the ill temper of the hungry populace; and persuaded them that the want of provisions was due to the indolence of the convention, and their neglecting the proper means of providing supplies for the metropolis. Among those leaders were two members of the convention whom it had sentenced to imprisonment with several others: but they contrived to escape, and were now concealed in that most turbulent faction of all the metropolis, the suburb of St. Antoine. These were Cambon, the financier, and Thurot, men equally dangerous through their abilities, their resolution, and their influence over the multitude. Through their machinations the people were excited to the most outrageous complaints and menaces against the government, and a determination taken to rise in arms against the convention.

The day chosen for this purpose was the twentieth of May. They prepared it on the preceding day, by distributing papers in the several sections, full of the most rancorous charges against the convention, and of exhortations to submit no longer to so weak and incapable a government. Those measures produced their intended effect; the members of the convention were openly reviled in the streets, and compelled to withdraw to places of shelter; but this manifestation of popular fury contributed in the issue to their safety. Forewarned thereby of what was preparing, they had time for taking precautions.

In the inflammatory papers, circulated by the excitors of the insurrection, they recommended it unequivocally, as the duty of the people when they were aggrieved. They advised the citizens of Paris, without distinction of age or sex, to repair to the convention, there to demand bread and the constitution of 1793, the dissolution of the convention, and the arrest of all its members, and the immediate convocation of the primary assemblies for the election of another. After these arrangements had taken place, and the multitude had been provided with pikes and other weapons, at the dawn of day the alarm bell was rung, and the drums beat to arms in the suburbs of St. Antoine. The convention had, in the meanwhile, assembled; and after issuing a proclamation to the citizens to arm in their defence, passed a decree to outlaw every one that headed the insurgents: but these now surrounded the hall of the convention, and numbers of them rushing in, loaded the deputies with abuse and insult. The tribunes being in possession of the populace, force became necessary to expel them, and a fierce contest ensued between them and the conventional guards. The crowd was every moment bursting into the hall, exclaiming bread and the constitution of 1793. It was with extreme difficulty the president could obtain a few minutes of silence. He told the crowd that the convention was anxiously deliberating on the means of supplying them with bread; but, that unless they desisted from riot and disorder, none could be procured. He firmly assured them, that the convention was not to be intimidated, and would resolutely encounter

encounter all peril; advising them to demean themselves peaceably, and return to their homes. But they paid no attention to his words, and the crowd still continued to increase. A body of citizens was now arrived, and entered the hall. One of them snatching off the hat of an insurgent, on which was chalked bread and the constitution of 1793, was instantly cut down with sabres, and wounded by a musket shot. A member of the convention, Ferrand, endeavouring to assist him, was immediately murdered by the mob, his head cut off, and fixed upon a pike. It was now four in the afternoon. The tumult was become so dreadful, and the populace seemed so disposed to commit every sort of outrage, that it appeared no longer safe to remain among them. The majority of the members thought it prudent to withdraw. Those only continued in the hall who were known to be favourable to the principles of the insurgents. This was their time to act, and they took it accordingly. Duroi, Goujon, Dusquesnoi, and Barbotte, rose one after the other, and proposed several decrees in opposition to those that had been passed against the late government and its adherents. They were proceeding in this manner, when an armed body of citizens in company with another of the military, made their way into the hall, and informed the multitude that all the citizens of Paris were under arms, and marching to the aid of the convention, and that if the populace did not immediately depart, no quarter would be given to them. This menace, and the intelligence they received, that general Hoche was at the head of the city militia, with a

number of the military, struck them with such terror, that they directly dispersed, and fled on every side, leaving the hall in the quiet possession of the moderate party, which now returned and resumed their seats. Boissy d'Anglas, Bourdon de l'Oise and some others had resolutely stood their ground, during this terrible fray. The former boldly assumed the president's chair, and the latter spoke out fearless of danger. He now insisted on the repeal of the decrees carried by the violence of the jacobin majority that had remained in the hall, together with the arrest of those who had proposed them. This was complied with, and Duroi, with the three other members who had seconded him, was taken into custody.

Had the convention behaved with more caution, after thus defeating its enemies, it is probable that these would have remained quiet; but their too great security occasioned a renewal of the contest, with additional violence. The insurgents, though driven from the hall of the convention, and compelled to disperse for a while, soon reassembled, and finding themselves neither pursued nor molested, recovered their spirits, and determined to make a second attack. They collected in vast numbers, and marched to the hall of the convention, provided with cannon, which they pointed against it, to the great alarm of the members, who were wholly unapprised of what had been transacting by the insurgents, and were totally unprepared to resist them. The citizens who had the preceding day assisted them with so much fidelity, and quelled the riot so effectually, little thought the rioters would, in a few hours after, return to the charge.

charge. They were not, therefore, in a state of sufficient preparation to encounter this multitude, and the convention now saw itself alone, and exposed, unaided, to the rage of the insurgents, who boldly declared they would make the convention repent of its ill treatment of them on the preceding day. The convention, convinced they were in the hands of a desperate mob, thought it prudent to temporize, and yield to necessity. They deputed ten members to offer terms of accommodation and fraternity, and to assure them, they were ready to restore the constitution of 1793. These terms were accepted by the insurgents: but the facility with which these demands were granted, induced them to insist upon others. They required the liberation from imprisonment of those who had spoken in their favour, and that those should be punished who demanded money in payment in lieu of assignats. These two demands they swore never to give up. This resolute mode of speaking inclined the president of the convention to promise them that their requests should be taken forthwith into consideration; and he invited the deputies of the insurgents to the honours of the sitting. The business closed by giving them the fraternal kiss; and they departed fully satisfied with the success of their mission. All Paris, as soon as apprised of what had passed, testified the utmost astonishment. Some thought the convention in earnest, and that their condescension proceeded from the desire to prevent any farther effusion of blood, in hopes to bring the insurgents to a better way of thinking, when the present ferment was allayed. But most people were

of opinion, that as they had acted under constraint they would not consider their promises as binding, and would make no scruple to rescind them, as soon as they were relieved from the terrors naturally inspired by a ferocious mob.

The insurgents themselves doubted the sincerity of the convention, and the heads of them were meditating a third attack. They had been outlawed by the convention; and he that had killed the member of that assembly had been seized and tried before a court of justice, which had condemned him to death. The insurgents resolved to oppose this sentence, and he was rescued on his way to the place of execution.

This act of disobedience to the law, fully shewed what might be expected from the insurgents, if they were not effectually suppressed. The citizens now lamented their negligence, in suffering them to rally after having so completely defeated them, and now saw the necessity of repairing their errors. They collected their whole strength, and waited on the convention, with the warmest assurances of supporting their authority, and of executing whatever they should decree against the insurgents. Encouraged by these professions of adherence, the convention declared to the insurgents, that unless they delivered up their arms, together with the assassin of Ferrand, they should be considered as rebels. This was what the insurgents had expected, the moment they were informed that the citizens were in arms for the convention. They had, in consequence, barricaded the streets leading to the suburb of St. Antoine, and prepared for a stout resistance. But the

the suburb was in a short time surrounded by large bodies of the military, as well as of citizens; and the insurgents were threatened with a bombardment of their houses, unless they complied with the orders of the convention. Seeing that resistance was vain, they offered to capitulate: but they were informed that their submission must be unconditional. On their hesitating whether to submit or to risk a contest, the troops of the convention prepared to execute its orders, when the insurgents finding themselves inadequate to the force brought against them, consented to lay down their arms, and surrender at discretion. To this they were partly forced by the inhabitants of that large and populous suburb, who reflecting that they must be the principal sufferers in case of a bombardment, thought it more for their interest to throw themselves on the mercy of the convention, than to stand the event of a conflict, which at all events would be ruinous to them, even were the insurgents able, by a vigorous defence, to procure conditions less severe.

Thus, after a doubtful conflict of three days, fortune declared at last for the convention. This proved a complete triumph to the moderate party, and an entire overthrow to the terrorists and their adherents. The arms, artillery, and warlike stores of this turbulent party of the Parisians, were taken from them, together with those weapons which had proved so terrible in their hands, and with which so much mischief had been perpetrated, their pikes; the deprivation of which filled them with more grief, and humbled them more than any measure yet adopted against them. The

pike was a ready instrument for the purpose of an instantaneous insurrection, always at hand, and required no more than bodily strength and courage, in neither of which the classes that chiefly handled it were deficient. They could not help recollecting what feats they had achieved with this dreadful weapon. They looked upon themselves as a conquered people, over whom their victorious fellow citizens would henceforth exercise that empire which their better regulated strength had acquired, and to which their more prudent conduct entitled them; a reflection that struck the generality of men, on this occasion, was the impropriety of trusting arms in the hands of any but the decent classes of the community. All the horrors of the revolution were perpetrated by the lowest descriptions of the people; and terrible as they were, would have been still worse, unless they had been restrained by the seasonable interposition of the middling sort of people; few of whom were guilty of those criminal excesses that brought so much disgrace on the revolution.

After the suppression of this dangerous insurrection, the convention thought it indispensable to make some examples of its authors and promoters. Six of their own body had largely participated in it. These were tried by a military commission, and sentenced to die. Three of them were executed on the scaffold; and three perished by their own hands. About fifteen others of inferior note were also put to death; but the convention did not judge it sufficient to punish these alone, and were of opinion, that those who were the primary causes of all these commotions, ought to atone for the evils

evils which they had instigated. On this ground they came to a resolution to remand, for a second trial, the three remaining chiefs of the jacobin faction, whose sentence of transportation they now considered as too mild for the enormity of the guilt imputed to them. But two of them went on board the ship that was to carry them to Guiana, and it sailed the very evening before the orders arrived for their detention. Thus Collot d'Herbois, and Billaud Varennes, escaped, at this time, whatever may be their future destiny, and only Barrere was left behind. He was, pursuant to the resolution taken, committed to close confinement.

The spirit that promoted this insurrection had been more active than was at first suspected; and the convention knew not the full extent of the danger they had escaped, until it was entirely overcome. Those, who were the chief contrivers of this bold attempt, had so concerted it, that it burst, as it were, in one united explosion in many places at the same time. At Toulon, the resentment of the jacobins, at the imprisonment of several of their party, excited them to assemble in such numbers, that they bore down all before them; they released the prisoners, and in a conflict with those who opposed them, slew a member of the convention, Brunel, took possession of the town, and detained a squadron that was on the point of sailing. Their numbers increasing, they marched to Marseilles, where they expected to be joined by a large body of their confederates: but they were met on their way by a considerable force of troops of the line, by whom they were defeated with great slaughter.

In other parts of France the activity of the jacobins had been no less remarkable. As their zeal was inextinguishable for the revival of their party, and as they feared no danger in a cause for which their enthusiasm could not be exceeded, they were incessantly occupied in the framing of plots and conspiracies against their opponents, whom they considered as inferior to them, both in courage and capacity, and especially in their attachment to a democracy, on which they chiefly valued themselves, and looked upon as a proof of the superiority of their understanding. Moderation they viewed as the mark of a feeble and timid mind, incapable of those terrific exertions necessary, in their opinion, for the support of a popular system. Lenity to its enemies they condemned as treason to the cause of liberty. Hence they asserted, that unless the moderates, as they styled them, were destroyed, the royalists would take advantage of their forbearance, which was founded on pusillanimity, and want of necessary firmness, in the punishment of delinquents.

The argument with which they supported these assertions was, the rancour exercised by the partisans of those who had fallen during the sanguinary reign of Robespierre. Ever since his fall, the jacobins had experienced the revenge of the many individuals whose friends and relations had perished through his cruelty. No place in France having escaped it, the hand of vengeance was lifted on them every where, and numerous were the victims sacrificed to the resentment of those who had lost their dearest intimates and connexions. The atrocities committed by Collot d'Herbois

bois, at Lyons, produced, on this occasion, a multitude of retaliations. His adherents, and chiefly the instruments of his inhumanities, were eagerly sought after, and dragged from their places of concealment. No mercy was shewn them: Those, even, who had been thrown into prison, with a view of bringing them to trial, were not allowed to wait for a legal condemnation, and were massacred in their dungeons. Violations of the law were reputed justifiable, against men who, under its pretended sanction, committed so many acts of injustice. But the jacobins, who pertinaciously insisted, that nothing had been done while they were in power, but what was fully warranted by the strictest necessity, inveighed with unabated fury, against this reaction of their own principles upon themselves, and attributed the merciless treatment, so many of them now experienced in their turn, to the ill-timed lenity of those who, with all their pretences to be republicans, had rather permit the republic to perish, than maintain it by deeds of seasonable severity.

A motive which, though not acknowledged, still might be justly presumed to operate powerfully in the vengeance now exercised against the jacobins, was the death of the son of Lewis XVI. That unhappy child had been confined in the Temple, at the same time with his unfortunate parents. He had now suffered imprisonment near three years, and his constitution had been greatly impaired by the wretchedness of his situation. It had been proposed in the convention to set him at liberty. Numbers of the warmest adherents to the republi-

can system disapproved of this barbarous detention of a mere infant, who could not, were he liberated, put the republic in greater danger than it would be liable to from any other individual, young or old, of the Bourbon family. While this subsisted, inheritors of its claims would never be wanting: and while the rest were out of the convention's power, it little availed to retain this feeble infant, whose health was on the decline, and who, as soon as deceased, would be replaced in his pretensions by others in the vigour of life. But these considerations were disregarded: he was kept in a close confinement, and, if reports may be credited, he was used with much inhumanity*. So severe a lot, especially at his time of life, doubtless accelerated his end; he died on the ninth day of June, in the twelfth year of his age. The enemies to the convention hinted suspicions of poison; but they were discredited. There was, in truth, no need to aggravate the guilt of the convention; their injustice and barbarity, in exercising such lawless tyranny and oppression over an innocent and helpless infant, sufficiently disgraced them with every friend to humanity.

The daughter of the unhappy Lewis still remained in their hands; but the most considerate of the convention were desirous to liberate her. The decease of her brother had excited almost universal commiseration, at the fate of two children born to so splendid a destiny, and doomed to so gloomy a reverse of fortune. These sentiments had a proper effect; those who were at the head of the French government felt them so strongly, that they

* Every horrid contrivance, it was loudly asserted, was put into execution, for enervating his frame, undermining his health, and debauching or stupifying both his mind and body.

thought it their duty to yield to the general sense of commiseration, openly testified in behalf of the captive princess. In order, however, not to be stigmatized as forgetful of the interests of the republic, they made her enlargement instrumental in procuring that of those members of the convention whom Dumourier had, at the time of his defection, delivered into the hands of the Austrians, and of the two ambassadors to the Ottoman court, who had been seized on neutral ground by order of the imperial court. A negotiation for these purposes was opened with the Austrian ministry in the month of July, and towards the close of December, she was delivered from her imprisonment in the Temple, and conducted to Basle, in Switzerland, where she was exchanged, pursuant to the agreement with the court of Vienna, for the persons above-mentioned.

But, while the rulers of France were thus endeavouring to wipe off the stain of inhumanity from their character, they were particularly anxious not to incur the suspicion of sympathising with the royal cause, or its friends. They passed at this time, a variety of decrees tending to restrict the entrance into France, and the residence there, of foreigners, whose attachment to the existing government was not clearly ascertained, and to dismiss all those who might be suspected of secretly adhering to the enemies of the republic. These decrees were extremely severe, and effectually obviated all dangers that might have arisen, by permitting all foreigners indiscriminately to reside in France, at a time when so many conspiracies and machinations were continually forming against the established government.

The dangers to which it was perpetually exposed, originated, evidently, from the want of a firm and stable government, settled on a permanent constitution. The revolutionary movements were yet so strong and rapid, that, unless they were stopped, it was feared they would at last overturn the constitution itself. The nation was full of parties, each obstinate in favour of that form of government to which it inclined. The convention was full of individuals of abilities, ambition, and courage, who, therefore, might well be presumed to aim at the possession of power. The radical defect, in the present administration of affairs, was the fluctuation of authority from one party to another, and the total want of a regular form of government, acknowledged by all parties, and organized on principles assented to by the nation at large. A constitution, framed conformably to these ideas, was visibly the only remedy for the confusions that had so long, and still continued to agitate France. It was the earnest desire of all parties, which appeared cordially willing to lay aside their animosities, and to unite in a cordial reception of such a constitution as should be acceptable to the majority.

Impressed with the strongest conviction of the immediate necessity of such a measure, the convention, as already observed, had, towards the close of April, nominated eleven members, for the execution of this great business. They had now completed it; and, on the twenty-third of June, laid it formally before the convention. Faithful to the original ideas on which the primary revolution was founded, the framers of the new constitution prefaced it by a solemn declaration of the rights

rights of man, nearly similar to that which preceded the first. By this constitution, every man was declared to be a French citizen, who was born, and resided in France, was twenty-one years of age, and inscribed his name in the civic register, lived one year on the territory of the republic, and paid a direct contribution. Foreigners were naturalised by residing seven years in France, or by marrying a French woman. The rights of a citizen were forfeited by naturalization in a foreign country, or by committing any infamous crime.

Primary assemblies were to meet yearly in every canton, on the twenty-first of March, in their own right. They were to chuse the members of the electoral assembly, to elect the justice of peace and his assessors, with the president of the municipal administration of the canton, and appoint the municipal officers.

Every primary assembly was to nominate one elector for two hundred citizens. Electors to be twenty-five years of age, and possessed of a certain proportion of property. These were to elect the members of the legislature, the members of the tribunal of annulment, the high jurors, the administrators of the department, the president, public accuser, and register of the criminal tribunals, and the judges of the civic tribunals.

The legislature was composed of two councils, or chambers, one of ancients, and one of juniors. The first consisted of two hundred and fifty members; the second of five hundred. One-third of the members of each council was renewed every year; by which regulation every member was to sit three years.

They might be re-elected immediately once, but never again, till after an interval of two years. Each department was represented in proportion to its population. The council of five hundred had the exclusive right of proposing the laws, and the council of ancients the same right of accepting or rejecting them. The resolutions of the council of five hundred, when adopted by that of the ancients, became laws. When rejected, they could not again be presented to them for acceptance till two years after. Part of a plan rejected might, however, be presented.

Primary schools were established in every canton, to teach reading and writing, arithmetic, and the elements of morality. Schools of a superior kind were also established, one, at least, for every two departments. A national institution was also appointed for the improvement of arts and sciences. Exclusively of these institutions, citizens had a right to form particular establishments of education and instruction, and societies for the promotion of arts and sciences.

A perfect equality was to subsist between all the citizens of the republic, in all the ordinary occurrences of society. The only superiority permitted, was that of public functionaries and that only in the actual exercise of their official duties. No religious vows or engagements, inconsistent with the natural rights of man, were sanctioned by the laws; individuals were at liberty to speak, write, print, and publish their thoughts, subject to no other controul than that of responsibility. Freedom of religious opinion and worship was established, and no one compelled to profess or maintain any particular

particular persuasion. The law did not authorize privileged companies or corporations, or any species of limitation to the freedom of commerce, and the exercise of industry and arts of every kind. Citizens had the right to assemble peaceably, and without arms; but no assembly could assume a popular denomination, or professing to debate about political subjects, can correspond with another, or associate with it in such investigations.

The executive power was delegated to five persons, nominated by the legislature. They are styled, collectively, the directory. They were to be forty years of age, and have been members of the legislative body, or employed in a great office, and could not be appointed to the directory, till the expiration of a year after quitting their employment. One of the directors was to go out yearly, and to be replaced by the election of another. No one could be re-elected to this office till after an interval of five years. The business of the directory was to provide for the security of the republic, at home and abroad; to dispose of the military and naval forces; to appoint generals and admirals; to superintend the execution of the laws; and to direct the coining of money. To elect the directory, the council of five hundred made out a list of ten persons for one to be elected; and out of these the council of ancients chuses one. The directory might invite the legislature to take subjects into consideration; but could not lay plans before it, those of peace and war excepted. No treaties framed by them were valid, until ratified by the legislature,

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without whose consent no war can be undertaken.

Such are the outlines of the French constitution, as it was presented to the convention, by those who were selected to frame one. It underwent the discussion not only of that body and of the nation, but of all Europe. As it was framed professedly in contradiction to the royal systems prevailing in this part of the world, its imperfections were the more readily perceived; and it was generally condemned as impracticable in so large a country, and so populous a nation, especially as founded on the destruction of a monarchy that had lasted fourteen centuries, and the prepossession for which was still very strong in the minds of a very considerable portion of the people. Those in particular who adhered to the ancient religious establishments, together with the noblesse and the clergy, forming an immense body, and with few exceptions, warmly attached to the old system in church and state, having suffered so much for their attachment to both, they were ready to suffer still more, and to persevere to the last in their efforts to restore them.

Those who coolly weighed the merits and defects of this constitution, against those that had been already tried, readily gave it the preference. It united many requisites to give it strength and duration. In imitation of the British constitution, it divided the legislative body into an upper and lower house, and thus prevented that tyrannical precipitation with which the convention had so justly been reproached. This division of power rendered it also less liable to abuse; the one

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branch

branch of the legislature operating as a counterpoise to the other. The principal defect, in the opinion of most, was the distribution of the executive power into five hands, instead of consigning it to one only. A single chief magistrate appeared preferable to five, in several respects. The unity of person was certainly a complete security against the disunion of sentiments, where it must be attended with the most danger. Abilities and integrity would also be more perceptible and ascertainable in one than in several; and, by the same reason, the want of them would be more clearly discerned in him that was deficient. It would, at the same time, be less difficult to call one individual to account, than five, among whom the praise or censure of good or of evil councils, being equally shared, it might not be easy to discover who was the most or the least deserving of approbation or of blame. Each would be desirous to appropriate to himself as much as he could of the applause due to wise measures, and no less anxious to shift the odium of ill advice upon others. In this conflict it would be vain to expect that unanimity could long endure between persons envious of each other, from the very nature of the station they were jointly placed in. They would split into parties, the more inimical and violent, from the great power with which they were invested; and, in order to retain it, might not scruple to act the most hostile part to their rivals, and treat them with merciless severity. For this reason, numbers of the French themselves would have been pleased with one supreme magistracy, to the duration of whose magistracy, two years or even three might have

been allotted, instead of five; and who, enjoying the good-will of his fellow citizens, might render them more services, if a person of capacity, during that space, than could probably be done in a longer, by five persons of equal capacity to him, but obstructing each other through difference of sentiments, and even of temper, and liable to all those little jealousies that will often infest the intercourse of the best and wisest of men.

It has been suggested, on the other hand, that ambition was at the bottom of this new system, and prompted this division of almost supreme power into the hands of five individuals, that the framers of this constitution might be able to indulge the hope of sharing it some future day in their turn. That able and ambitious men should be governed by such motives is not surprising: but to fix an imputation of this nature on those persons who were entrusted with the framing of this new system of government, one ought to be furnished with better proofs than simple surmises. The majority of them were chosen on account of the moderation of their character and principles. Some were noted for their preference of a private to a public life, and none were suspected of intending to avail themselves of this opportunity of rising to power. It is more probable, therefore, that they sought to please the nation, than to gratify their personal ends. Had they lodged the chief magistracy in a single person, it is not likely that the French would at this time have consented to accept of such a magistrate. The majority of those who possessed and were able to exert much influence, were decided republicans, not indeed of that violent

lent party, which had been guilty of so many crimes, but of that which was equally inimical to the oppression of many, and to the government of one. Those were equally averse to the rigid republicanism of the terrorists and to the restoration of monarchy; both which they were determined to oppose. To such then the appointment of one person, to preside over the affairs of the nation, would have borne such an appearance of monarchy, that it would not have been safe to make the attempt. Their prejudices against royalty would not have permitted them to distinguish between a responsible magistrate and a possessor of absolute power. It was necessary, therefore, to consult the disposition of the times, especially of the metropolis. This abounded with those who would have re-

volted at the idea of a supreme governor, which would have recalled to their remembrance no less the tyranny of Robespierre, than the authority exercised by the king, previously to the revolution. As they held both in abhorrence, the former probably more than the latter, the very image or resemblance was carefully to be avoided. It was a common saying among the populace, that if they must have a king, a Bourbon was at least as good as any other. While sentiments of this kind prevailed among the greater number, and among the people of Paris more than any others, it was prudent, in those who were to plan the new constitution, to admit of nothing in it that might furnish a pretext to the jacobins, for accusing them of inclining to royalism.

C H A P. VI.

Regulations respecting the Election of Deputies to the New National Assembly.—Considered by many as Infringements on the Privileges of the People.—Contentions on this Subject, between the Convention on the one part, and the Citizens of Paris, and other Cities, on the other.—Ambitious Views of the Leaders of the Convention.—A gloom cast on the Expectations that had been formed from the New Constitution.—Allegations in favour of the Convention.—Action between the Parisians and the Regular Troops, who took Part with the Convention.—Complete Defeat of the Parisians.—Artifices of the Convention in order to gloss this Insurrection.—Resentment against the Parisians severely exercised by the Convention.—Now released from all Restraint.—Disappointment and Suspicions of neighbouring Nations, concerning the New Constitution, and Regulation of Elections in France.—Plans of the Convention, for strengthening and perpetuating its Authority.—A Commission of Five appointed to consult on Measures for Saving the Country.—A Vote for the Annullment of the Commission of Five confirming the Constitution agreed on, and the Dissolution of the Assembly.—The Moderates prevail.—Reflections on the Temper and Conduct of the Convention.

IT cannot be denied, however, that if ambition did not plan the present system, it prompted the convention to establish it in such a manner as suited the views of the most ambitious among them. Previously to the ostensible deposition of their authority in the hands of the nation, they resolved to provide for the renewal of it by a measure which, to the generality of men, appeared highly unjustifiable. They passed a decree, enjoining the electoral bodies to choose two-thirds of the deputies of the nation that were to be elected on this occasion, out of the members of the present convention, and ordaining that in default of an election of those two-thirds, in the manner prescribed, the convention should fill

up the vacancies themselves. The constitution, together with these two decrees, was formally transmitted to the primary assemblies, and every species of intrigue was set on foot to procure them a favourable reception.

So singular a stretch of power, from a body that professed so warm and patriotic an adherence to the interest of the nation, and so much respect for the rights of the people, did not fail to strike the public with the greatest astonishment. In Paris, the complaints against the convention were loud and vehement. They were explicitly accused of a heinous violation of the undoubted privileges of the people, and of a manifest design, under the specious pretext

text of obviating dangers and difficulties, to perpetuate their power against the sense and consent of their constituents, over whom they assumed the most despotic sway that could be exercised; but of requiring them, without the least authority for such an act, to pay implicit obedience to the will and pleasure of an assembly, that was, by that very deed, subverting the fundamental laws of the republic.

The Parisians were so exasperated at this illegal assumption of power, that they seemed to have lost all respect for the convention, and to consider it as having forfeited all title to any farther obedience. In defiance of the orders it had issued, the electors of Paris assembled, by their own appointment, before the day fixed upon for that purpose. The primary assemblies at Paris insisted, that having chosen their electors, these being the direct representatives of the people, had a right to consult together as soon as they judged it necessary. About one hundred of them assembled accordingly. The convention, alarmed at this bold step, and fearing that if it seemed intimidated, and suffered a measure of such audacity to pass unnoticed, the Parisians might next proceed to pronounce the convention no longer the representatives of the nation, resolved to strike at once such a blow, as might terrify all that were inclined to be refractory; it immediately ordered a military force to disperse this meeting. From the discontent which had been expressed by the Parisians, it had been expected that they would have made resistance; but the most prudent advised an acquiescence in the orders of the convention, and their advice prevailed.

The example of the capital did not fail to influence other places, where the conventional decrees, relating to the elections, were condemned in unqualified terms. The majority, in the mean time, were not explicit and precise in their acceptance of either the constitution or the decrees. The former was universally received by the capital and the whole nation; but the latter met with many dissentient voices. The convention carefully published every day the majorities that appeared in their favour: but the citizens of Paris asserted that from an inspection of the records sent up from the different places of election, it would appear that the real meaning of the majority extended to an entire renovation of the legislative body. The want of perspicuity in the accounts transmitted from the various departments, was, it has been said, favourable to the pretensions of the convention. Irritated by the attempts of the Parisians to disparage them by invalidating their credit, this assembly treated them with much slight and contempt, frequently refusing to give audience to their deputies. Provoked at this usage, from those whom they had rescued from the tyranny of Robespierre, and had lately saved from the fury of the jacobins, the citizens vented their indignation in the bitterest terms, and uttered menaces of resentment and revenge that indicated a determined resolution to resist the measures intended by the convention.

This body of members was now in as critical a position as it had ever experienced. It had lost the affection of those who had constantly proved their firmest friends, and had carried them successfully through

all their difficulties. These friends were now become their most decided enemies; and alleged such reasons for their enmity, as the convention found it not easy to invalidate. It resolved, in this extremity, to have recourse to the military stationed at Paris. Between these and the Parisians there subsisted, however, such a fraternal intimacy, that those members of the convention, who guided its motives on this perilous emergency, soon found that other auxiliaries would be wanted. It behoved them to be expeditious. The language of their opponents in the capital breathed the worst of menaces, and it was evident that either the city or the convention must give the law without controul. Nothing was omitted by the citizens, that could render the majority of that body odious or despicable. Murderers, despots, or sycophants, were the terms in which they described them. The authors of the assassinations in September, 1792; and of the judicial murders of the Gironde party in October, 1793, the remnants of the mountain and of Robespierre's faction, with the approvers and abettors of all their enormities: these, and such as these, the Parisians said, still retained their seats in the convention. Were such men, sullied with crimes and infamies, fit to preside over a nation? What must the enemies of France, what must Europe, think of the French, if they submitted to be governed by such men? National justice required that they should forthwith be dismissed from the seat of authority. This was the least punishment that could be inflicted upon men who deserved so much greater. The utmost they could expect from

the lenity of the nation was, to be sheltered, with other criminals, under a general act of amnesty. But if they persisted in the refusal to resign their power, such additional guilt ought to be punished with unrelenting severity. It excluded them at once from all hopes of mercy; and the public would be justified in carrying their vengeance to the utmost extremes.

The obstinacy of the citizens, in requiring the deputies to surrender their authority, and the determination of these to retain it, had kindled the wrath and indignation of both parties to the highest pitch. Numbers of the former would listen to nothing short of the most inexorable treatment of that body. It was obeying the laws of impartial justice, they said, to retaliate upon every one of them. The conduct of each, throughout the whole revolution, ought to be scrutinized in open court, and no subterfuges allowed, or exculpations admitted for the enormities in which they had participated, or had not the courage to discountenance. It was incumbent on the French to clear up their character to the world, by executing the rigour of the law upon men who deserved no pardon, who had embued their hands in the blood of innocent multitudes, after shedding that of worthy patriots; and who had, by a series of horrors, brought the cause of liberty into disgrace; and empowered its enemies to asperse its most upright friends and assertors. Till justice was done upon such men, the surrounding nations would have a right to consider the French as a savage and sanguinary people, enslaved by the successive factions of the day, and

and become the base instruments of their reciprocal barbarities.

The convention sheltered their conduct under the necessity of providing for the public safety, by securing the election of a due number of men experienced in public business. Conscious, however, how little this apology would avail, they determined to accelerate their vengeance upon their opponents; lest by spreading their opinions, their numbers should increase in the departments, where they had already gained ground. No time was now to be lost on either side. If the convention did not immediately suppress the spirit of insurrection that began to shew itself, their existence would be at stake, and the hourly arrival in Paris of large bodies of troops from the armies, was a sufficient warning to the inhabitants, not to delay the execution of their designs against the convention, till it was become superior to all their attempts.

Unhappily for the citizens, they confided so strongly in the attachment of the soldiery, that they were persuaded no danger needed to be apprehended from them, and that as they had done at the first breaking out of the revolution, they would refuse to fire upon men whom they had so much reason to consider as friends and fellow-citizens. It seems, the convention were also apprehensive that the general good will of the troops to the Parisians would render them unwilling to act against these. But there was at this time, in the prisons of Paris, a great number of those who went by the name of terrorists, full of rancour at the Parisians, for having so resolutely assisted in quelling the insur-

rections they had raised. To these men those who directed the motions of the convention did not scruple to make application on this emergency.

The truth was, that the most active men in the convention, were, if not avowed terrorists, yet closely connected with them, and actuated, in a great measure, by their principles. The ground on which they proceeded in the business of the re-election was clearly that of fear, lest tired of the bloodshed that had so frequently recurred in the repeated contests for power between the rival parties, the people of France might exclude from the legislature all those individuals who had either excited or given occasion for contests, and elect none but men of pacific dispositions, who would make it their duty to silence all disputes for pre-eminence, and re-establish a cordial concord among all citizens, by espousing no party, and directing all their labours to the tranquillity and welfare of the public. Certain it is, that the convention was chiefly governed by the most ambitious among them. They thought possibly that having steered the vessel of the state through so many storms, and escaped so many dangers, they ought not to be laid aside after bringing it safe into port; and, to continue the metaphor, that if unforeseen storms should again arise, which was far from improbable, they surely were the best qualified to weather them. Doubtless they reasoned justly upon this supposition, which also was well founded: but it was not the mere re-election of able men, against which the metropolis protested, or would have objected; it was the great disproportion

tion of two-thirds that alarmed the friends to a legislature, that should chiefly consist of new men, obnoxious to no party, and irreproachable in their personal conduct. These requisites could be found in few of the convention. They had almost all been violent party men, and suspicions of the worst kind lay heavy on the characters of many. Allowing their abilities and resolution to have been often displayed in the cause of the public, they had also, it was justly observed, been exerted for very unwarrantable purposes: and, taking them all together, the virtues and vices of the most conspicuous members of the convention, were, to speak the most favourable language, equally balanced at best. France was at present desirous of rest. Enough had been done for its glory: it was now time to consult its repose. With all the praise that might be due to the present convention, the leading men among them were so habituated to the tempestuous scenes in which they had made so remarkable a figure, that they had not had any opportunity of displaying those talents which would be chiefly required in peaceable times. Enemies abroad, and factions at home, had been the element in which they had hitherto constantly moved. They were undisputably well qualified to encounter trials of this kind: but however great they had shewn themselves in the day of danger, they ought to be sensible that those qualities which tend to make them dreaded, are not those which procure them affection. The conduct of those who had acted the greatest parts, throughout the revolution, might command admiration; but these parts had been so blended with evil as well as good, that it

was difficult to tell which was most predominant. The highest obligations were due to those intrepid agents by the many; but many also had ample cause to rue the part they had acted.

Discourses of this tendency filled the mouths of all men at this critical epoch. The dread of seeing those men invested with power, who had acted with Robespierre, and had in some respects been his colleagues and coadjutors in office, threw a gloom on the expectations that had been formed from the new constitution, and excited the most melancholy presages. The Parisians knew no bounds in their complaints: they repeatedly assailed the convention with the boldest remonstrances on their conduct, which they styled a manifest and barefaced usurpation. But this assembly confiding in the preparations it was secretly making, set them openly at defiance, and refused at last to listen to their representations, which they branded with the name of seditious, and calculated to throw the republic into confusion. Were they ever so well inclined, said the members of the convention, to gratify the Parisians, they ought no less to consult the circumstances of the times. Numerous were those who waited with impatience for a total dissolution of the present legislature, in order to avail themselves of the new opinions and inclinations of those who were to succeed it. Good policy required they should be disappointed; but the only sure method to perpetuate the republican spirit now existing, was to continue in power those who had always shewn themselves its staunch supporters, those who had been its champions in the worst of times, and had opposed despotism at the risk of their lives.

lives. If such men did not deserve well of their country, who were those that did? However integrity and unblemished character might be desirable and indispensable in the representatives of the nation, experience was not less wanted. Without this essential, the work of near six years might be undone in a few months; the labours of patriots, the toils of statesmen, the victories of warriors, might be thrown away, and France return again to that groveling situation from which she had been uplifted by the revolution. The foes to those men who had effected such great things, could hardly be reputed friends to the liberty of France.

Such was the substance of the allegations in favour of the convention: but the hour was fast approaching, when arguments would be laid aside, and force decide the knotty question between the two contending parties. They both saw that no other mode of decision remained, and trusting to the means they had reciprocally provided to ensure success, they resolved to come to action. The anger of the Parisians was particularly inflamed at the sight of those terrorists who had been let loose from their prisons, they said, to renew the massacres of September, 1792. They appealed to the impartial world, whether a stronger proof could be given, that the system of Robespierre was to be revived, than the employing of such cut-throats and assassins, by the convention, in support of its measures. But the chiefs of this body were now completely prepared. Hearing that the citizens were assembling in great force, they commissioned general Menou, who had

the command of the military force stationed in Paris, to march against them. He repaired accordingly, on the fourth of October, to that section of the city which was their head-quarters, and required them to lay down their arms. They answered that they would comply with this requisition, provided the terrorists did the same. The general not being empowered to treat, nothing was concluded, and both sides parted: but the convention, irritated at the general for not acting according to their intent, ordered him to be broke for disobedience.

The sword was now drawn, and all thoughts of reconciliation vanished. The people of Paris were now to make trial whether the confidence they had placed on the military was well or ill founded. They chose the night of the fourth of October for the mustering of the sections. They paraded the streets with beat of drums and summons to arms. By twelve at noon, the next day, they were put in order for fighting, and took possession of several posts of importance. The combat began about this time in the proximity of the conventional hall, towards which the citizens were marching: the rancour subsisting between them and the terrorists occasioned a most bloody and desperate conflict; these and the regular troops were joined together, contrarily to the hopes of the Parisians: but this unexpected junction did not daunt them: they fought with such fury, that although they had no cannon, they several times seized that of the conventional troops, and turned it against them. The number and discipline of those who were all come from the victorious armies, fixed at length the fortune

tune of the day. After a fight, that lasted four hours, they were compelled to give way: they retreated to their head-quarters, and continued the battle with unabated valour till past midnight, when broken and defeated on every side they yielded a dear-bought victory to the conventional forces. The ill success of this engagement, near the hall of the convention, was owing to the absence of those sections that were coming to their assistance, from that part of Paris which lies on the other side of the river Seine. They were crossing the bridges, when they were met by the conventional troops, which broke them at once with their cannon. As they were unprovided with artillery, they were unable to renew the charge, and the bridges remained in possession of the former. It was in this conflict that Buonaparte appeared first on the theatre of war, and by his courage and conduct laid the foundation of that confidence in his powers which conducted him so soon after to preferment and to glory.

Thus ended the memorable fifth of October, 1795, or the thirteenth of Vendemaire, to speak in the republican style. The numbers that fell were not very considerable, not amounting to more than a thousand. But a fatal precedent was established: the convention had set itself above the law, and had succeeded by force of arms in this unwarrantable attempt. It was fortunate for the convention, that a decision had taken place so expeditiously; for numbers were on their march to Paris to join the inhabitants: but hearing of their ill success, they laid down their arms before the troops were dispatched from the vanquished capital to oppose

them. No humiliation or disappointment could be greater than was experienced by the citizens of Paris, on this disastrous occasion. Relying on the amity of the regu- lars, they had neglected the most essential measures for an undertaking of so much importance to the community, as that of frustrating the dictatorial authority assumed by the convention. They had provided no artillery, they had appointed no commanders, they had formed no plan, and hardly a sixth part of the city militia was arrayed on this fatal day. Had the citizens brought their whole force into action, and prepared for it with their customary prudence, many were of opinion, that the convention must have yielded to their remonstrances, especially if they had been enforced in due time, and before the convention had received those succours from the armies, which enabled it to triumph over all legal opposition.

Nevertheless, the discreetest of this ambitious body saw the necessity of making such a representation of this business to the nation at large, as might impress it with a persuasion, that a victory of the utmost consequence had been obtained over the royalists, and that the insurgents at Paris were people of this party, who had long been resorting to Paris in order to unite in a general struggle against the republicans. An agent of the royal party happened about this time to be discovered at Paris. From his papers a correspondence was reported to have been traced with his employers abroad, relating to this very insurrection; and passages in proof of it were published; but they were broken and unconnected, and afforded no proper evidence. A variety

tiety of publications in the conventional pay asserted also, with their usual confidence, that the English ministry was deeply concerned in this fruitless attempt to overthrow the republic: but they obtained no credit with the discerning part of society. The Parisians had acted so much in the face of day, their conduct had been so candid and open, their opposition to the conventional schemes so regular and clear, that no handle had been afforded to their most malicious enemies, to tax them with any more than an inveterate antipathy to the measures pursued by the convention, and a firm determination to resist them by force.

The use which the convention made of this success, was dictated by the keenest resentment for the charges it had been loaded with by the citizens, with so much truth, though with such defamatory language. These were deprived of all their arms and warlike stores, and a military commission appointed to try them as rebels. As no resistance could be apprehended after subduing that of the metropolis, the convention felt itself released from all restraints. It now published, without fear of opposition, or even of contradiction that the majority of votes in the departments were decidedly for the mode of election they had proposed. The terror they had inspired was such, that no more dissentient voices were heard in the public assemblies of the people. But the expression of discontent was not the less forcible in the private meetings of those individuals who had not lost all sense and spirit. They foresaw that by the suppression of the courageous resistance of the capital, the rest of the

nation would be so intimidated, that the members of the convention, who were the most obnoxious to the public, would, in defiance of its opinion and sentiments, be seated in the future legislature; which, under another name, would still be little more, if any more than the present convention. Such, it appeared, through influence, intrigue, and every species of machination, was the power of this body become, that they would easily find means to prevent the election even of that third of new members, which they had held forth to the public, merely to obviate the clamours and scandal they must have encountered, had they not employed this deception.

But exclusively of these considerations, which principally regarded France, there was, in the opinion of the public, another, which alone ought to have induced them to let the law take its due course. A new constitution had been formed by the convention, and accepted by the people. The theory seemed well adapted to the wishes of the generality, and not only the French, but not a few of their neighbours, appeared satisfied with it. The backwardness of these to treat with France was avowedly the uncertainty and fluctuation of the government; but, more than all, the character of its present rulers. The declared sentiments of some among these were sincere; and they were, for that reason, well pleased, when they understood that a new constitution was framing, and still more, when they were informed that the legislature was to consist wholly of new members. They doubted not that these would bring apter dispositions for peace than their predecessors, whom they had long viewed with a malevolent eye, and

and considered in the light of enemies, much more than they did the French nation. What must, therefore, it be said, be their disappointment, on finding, that hardly any other alteration was intended in the form of the French government than of names? The same persons that now presided over the affairs of France, in the assembly, styled the convention, would continue to direct them, under the appellation of council of ancients, and of juniors. What expectations could foreign powers harbour, of meeting with more facility to treat, than they had done before? They would have the same men to deal with, the same pretensions to combat, the same antipathies would still subsist on both sides. The abhorrence with which foreigners beheld those men, who had shed so much of the blood of their fellow citizens, would still influence any correspondence that might be opened with foreign powers. They would meet the same individuals, whom they had lately indulged the hopes of never meeting again. Had a total change taken place in the constitution, had it, in reality, been framed so as to devolve the supreme authority into new hands, the lassitude now felt, both by France and the coalition, would have smoothened the road to a general pacification, equally wanted, and equally desired by both. But confidence would instantly vanish, when the coalesced powers found themselves so grossly disappointed. Instead of pacific dispositions, they would directly conceive the most violent suspicions, that the convention meant to deceive at once both the French, and the powers with which they were at war.

Such were the reasonings of a great number of individuals among the French; but the convention was now in a condition to supersede all arguments. Proud of a situation that rendered them uncontrollable masters of their country, the sole object now in their contemplation was, to cement the absolute authority they had acquired, so as to render it indissoluble, and to reduce their opponents at home to such a degree of weakness, as to deprive them of the very idea of raising any opposition. With this view, the predominant party in the convention procured a commission to be appointed, consisting of five persons, who were empowered to consult together what measures were proper to be adopted, in order to save the country. As soon as this commission was passed, and notice of it given to the public, all France was struck with amazement. A constitution, it was said, had been framed; and now the convention, by whose orders it was framed, came forward with a declaration, that such was the danger of the state, that nothing less than a dictatorship of five men, invested with absolute power, would be able to save it; this was exactly the mode, and the very style adopted by the ancient Romans, in times of great calamity and danger. The situation of France was calamitous indeed, incessantly exposed, as it was, to internal tyranny; but with what other danger was it threatened at the present hour? its foreign enemies were thoroughly humbled, and ready to enter into terms of peace, provided they could depend on the permanence of the government with which they made them. Such a government was on the point of being settled to

the universal satisfaction of the French nation, when its rulers, for reasons which did not appear, thought proper to suspend the great expectations they had raised, by recurring to a precedent which had never failed to be accompanied with the worst evils of tyranny.

Regardless of these popular complaints, the convention proceeded in the adoption of the measures secretly planned by the leaders of the jacobins and terrorists, who seemed again to have gained an ascendancy in the convention, and to dictate whatever they thought proper. They had truly verified their own assertion, that activity and boldness peculiarly belonged to them. The other members bowed implicitly to their opinions, and confirmed, without hesitation, whatever they proposed. Meanwhile, the public remained in a state of surprise and alarm, at the conduct of a body of men, whom they were at a loss in what light to consider, whether as intending to adopt the constitution they had recommended for acceptance, or to pass it by, without farther notice, and erect themselves into a supreme power, without consulting the nation, and trusting only to the sword for their support, against the opposition of their countrymen.

The day was approaching that had been fixed upon by the convention, formally to lay down their authority; but no signs of such an intention were perceivable; the permanence of its power was the very subject on which the commission of five was busily employed. The people now saw, that the perpetuation of its authority was evidently the design of the convention, in which case the reign of barbarity

would certainly return, as the public, however terrified by the late success of that body, in suppressing the Parisians, would not remain entirely passive, in its submission to such unwarrantable usurpation. The days of Robespierre were now present to every man's memory; the very expression used by the convention, in appointing a commission to save the country, reminded the public of the many similar terms employed by that tyrant and his party, whenever oppressive and sanguinary designs were in agitation.

The jacobinical faction, that domineered in the convention, seemed resolved to persevere in the arbitrary plans that had so long succeeded in the hands of their predecessors of that party, when in power. But there still remained in that body a few men of a determined spirit, who, struck with indignation at the apathy or cowardice of those pliant members who suffered themselves to be so ignominiously governed, resolved, at all hazards, to stem the torrent that threatened to overbear the moderate party, and to render it a passive accomplice in the iniquitous schemes of that ambitious and unprincipled faction, which had again nearly accomplished its pernicious designs. The principal of those members, who exerted themselves on this critical occasion, were Thibaudeau, Lanjuinais, Boissy d'Anglas, Larevelliere Lepaux, Lariviere, and Lesage. The commission of five were about to enforce the report for the permanence of the convention, when the first of those members, inflamed with rage at the pusillanimous acquiescence that appeared in the assembly, undauntedly arose, and in a speech replete with fire and energy, opposed the

the passing of that ignominious proposal. He insisted, in the name of the nation, that the commission of five should instantly be suppressed, and that the constitution decreed, by the acceptance of the people, should take place, and the convention be dissolved on the day appointed. Thibaudeau was vigorously seconded by his friend, Larevellier Lepeaux: their joint exertions recalled the majority of the assembly to a sense of the injudicious and shameful measure they were about to sanction. They recovered themselves on this occasion, and notwithstanding the violent declamations of those who were interested in this measure, they voted the annulment of the commission of five, the constitution agreed upon, and the dissolution of the convention.

The gaining of these three points was a matter of serious triumph to the regular party, which was now that of the moderates. It shewed that the nation was not cordially disposed to approve of the measure that had been carried, to re-elect two-thirds of the members; and it forewarned those who were to constitute the majority of the future legislature, to be cautious in the exercise of a power with which they were invested evidently against the sense of their fellow citizens. The manifest disapprobation, expressed by the public at this proceeding, induced the violent party to coincide with the moderate in passing some acts previously to their dissolution by which they hoped to ingratiate themselves with the generality, and wipe off the stain of terrorism. By these acts, the punishment of death was to be abolished after the restoration of peace; and a general amnesty was also to be

granted: but this was clogged with a variety of exceptions that demonstrated from which of the two parties they proceeded: those which excluded the enemies to the new constitution, and the forgers of assignats, were judged treasonable; but the clauses against the emigrants and the clergy, sentenced to transportation, ought, it was said, to have been mitigated; and those affecting the late insurgents in the capital, ought never to have been enacted.

These blended acts of lenity and revenge, characteristic of the respective parties that framed them, terminated the proceedings of the convention. It dissolved itself on the 26th of October, after sitting upwards of three years. No political assembly, recorded in history, ever did much greater or worse things. As it consisted of men chosen by a populous nation, it partook of the dispositions that characterized the various partisans of the people of France. The fire and impetuosity of temper that marks the inhabitants of the southern provinces, and the pertinacity and unyieldingness of mind that is usually found in those of the northern parts; but that which will eternize the memory of this famous assembly, is the undaunted audacity with which it shook off those ideas that, implanted by education, and confirmed by the habit of years, remain so obstinately fixed in the human mind. Monarchy and catholicism, the two favourite objects of the French nation, sanctioned by the attachment and veneration of centuries, began to totter the very first moment of their meeting, and were completely overthrown as soon as they attempted to regain their preponderance;

so entirely had these artful and enterprising men obtained the confidence and prepossession of the multitude. When they had new moulded the public mind, according to their own form, they conceived the vast prospect of extending the same influence over their neighbours; and they succeeded beyond their own expectations, and even beyond the fears of their enemies. They did for the grandeur of France more than had been done in its most triumphant periods, and more than ever had been done for a country by its most victorious rulers. They did those things through means not heretofore imagined. All was new and unprecedented in their hands: they created, as it were, the very materials with which so many stupendous deeds were performed: their statesmen, their generals, their soldiers, were of their own formation. When they began the execution of the vast plans they had formed, they had the whole world to encounter: all kings, all states, all nations were at once their declared, and, as they menaced destruction to every establishment but their own, their necessary enemies. What rendered their actions peculiarly striking and marvellous, the actors in those astonishing scenes were men wholly unknown to their country, before they assumed the reins of government; they were not conspicuous either by birth, station, or riches: their consequence was innate, and called forth by a singularity of events, without which it must have remained in that obscurity which is the attendant of all those talents, however great, that are not brought forth by great occasions. No assembly ever displayed a more

astonishing mixture of shining qualities, and of atrocious vices. Ambitious, cruel, unprincipled, are epithets inadequate to convey an apposite idea of their enormities. They were true to their character from the very beginning; overturning without scruple or remorse whatever stood in their way, and compassing their ends without ever adverting to the rectitude or moral impropriety, or turpitude of the means employed. *The only qualifications, on which they seemed to set a substantial value, were courage and capacity, boldness and expedition. These, divested of all virtuous or sentimental feelings, appear to have been the real attributes of those extraordinary, but not respectable names that continued for three years to keep all Europe in unceasing alarms; that made kings tremble on their thrones, that progressively overcame all their enemies; that changed the fear of all christendom in some of the most essential respects; that introduced systems which, if through the hand of power they may be repressed, will never be eradicated: that founded in short an epoch, from which may be dated events that are only beginning to unfold themselves, and the ultimate issue of which it is not within the compass of the profoundest politics to ascertain; but which will probably, if not certainly, be felt in the remotest ages to come.

Such were the men who now yielded, for the first time, to their antagonists: but these were not the rivals, but the supporters of their power. To this they were compelled by the circumstances of the times; and they were too wise to oppose the irresistible will of a people

ple who had been taught to feel their strength, and might have exerted it to their cost. They resigned, however, only a name that was no longer tenable with safety; but they retained the substance of that authority they had so long exercised, and with their usual dexterity established it upon a constitutional basis, when they found that no other means would secure its existence. Conscious at the same time that the constitution, which they had been obliged to frame, would operate to their disadvantage, unless they were placed at the head of it, they never rested till, by their intrigues and machinations, they had found means to exclude, from the principal management of affairs, those men whose intentions were to abide with the strictest punctuality to the letter and spirit of the new constitution, upon whom the eyes of their countrymen were fixed, as individuals of unimpeached integrity, and who, in the midst of those atrocities which they could not prevent, had the courage to reprobate them, and to keep their own characters unstained. These being men precisely the reverse of themselves, they had no other method of preserving their own consequence with the public, than to represent them either as timid and fearful to act a strong and resolute part in the tempestuous scenes that had accompanied the formation of the republic, or as concealed partisans of royalism under the mask and denomination of moderates. They had even the insolence to brand them with the appellation of Chouans, the most odious of all those who opposed the revolution, on account of the barbarities and depredations with which they disgraced the cause they had espoused, and rendered

many who were not disinclined to favour it, suspicious that, should it obtain the upper hand, it would, under another name, renew the reign of terrorism, and fill France with proscriptions and massacres. These surmises against the Chouans, and their abettors, being founded on facts that could not be denied, operated powerfully against the royalists in general, and made people apprehensive that were they to succeed in their indefatigable attempts to crush the republican party, they would not make a more moderate use of their success than these had done. Hence multitudes, dreading the repetition of the horrors they had witnessed, were cordially willing to acquiesce in the government now established; and viewed not only with disapprobation, but with abhorrence, every endeavour that was made to overturn it, as tending necessarily to create new confusions, and replunge the nation into those miseries from which it was gradually emerging.

Could the predominant party have effected their intention to ruin, in the public esteem, those men who had so spiritedly opposed their attempt to annul the new constitution, they would have been uncontrolled masters of the new system. But, happily for the nation, its opinion of those men was so strongly, as well as so justly, settled in their favour, that small as their number was in the new legislature, its weight was such as to form no inconsiderable counterpoise to the great majority of worthless and profligate men it had to oppose. The respect of the public for these men had been testified in the most mortifying manner for their antagonists. The different departments vied with each

each other which should have the honour of being represented by them. Hence it happened however, that as each of them could only take his seat for one, and yet had been elected by many, the convention, conformably to the decrees carried by that party, which was thereby to become the majority in the legislative body, had a farther opportunity of adding to its superiority, by supplying those departments for which they had not made their option, with members of its own choosing. This was an advantage which it seems they had well foreseen, when they passed that decree, by which the convention should be empowered to nominate to the deficiencies occasioned by the defaults in the departments of not electing a sufficient number. But instead of a majority of members, the party which now acted in opposition to that which was superior in numbers, counted the major part of the nation on its side, and thus felt a consequence that emboldened it to enter the lists, unappalled at the multitude it would have to encounter.

It ought not, however, to be forgotten, that much of the rancour that actuated these opposite parties was owing to the refusal of the one to coalesce with the other. Advances of reconciliation had been made, by the chiefs of the predominant faction, with the heads of the moderate party. As those advances were prompted by interest, they may justly be presumed to have been sincere. Those who made them were conscious that their conduct had long been odious to the nation, which had always considered them as the coadjutors of Robespierre, and imputed their defection from him, not so much to their aversion

to his measures, as to the necessity of preventing the designs which they either knew, or suspected he had formed against them. To save their own lives they had rescued the nation from his tyranny : but their subsequent conduct had not sufficiently proved their abhorrence of his measures ; and the terrorists had always viewed them in the light of patrons, and testified a marked readiness to be subservient to them. In the late contest with the metropolis the reciprocal confidence subsisting between them and the terrorists had been too strongly evinced, to suffer any doubt that they were intimately connected, and that they would stand by each other whenever the one or the other was in danger. Such being the relative situation of the prevailing faction in the convention, and of the great body of the terrorists, the heads of the moderates disdained all connexion with that party, looking upon them as men of blood, who would not scruple to imitate their former leader, Robespierre, if they could do it with safety ; and who had, in fact, imitated him in their conduct towards the Parisians, and were preparing to imitate him still farther, by that despotic commission which was to have invested five of them with the whole authority of the state. Tallien, Legendre, and Freron, were the principals of this party. They were undoubtedly men of strong parts and great resolution : their influence was extensive, and those who were personally attached to them, were also men of known abilities and courage. Finding that their advances were slighted, and that the nation was manifestly inclined to favour their rivals, they determined to model the legislative

body, to be elected together with the new constitution, in such wise, as to frustrate the expectations of their rivals, that the supreme power would devolve into their own hands as soon as the people had the disposal of it. After succeeding in this bold project, they discovered, however, that notwithstanding their arts had been prevalent within the walls of the convention, they had completely failed in that point they

had next at heart, to conciliate the good will of the public. Here they met with invincible obstacles. The names of the chief members in the minority resounded every where with such applause, that they thought it prudent to abandon that part of their plan, which had for its object a total exclusion of their rivals from all the powers and dignities of the new constitution,

CHAP. VII.

Meeting of the New Legislature.—Strength of the predominant Party.—New and great Object of Ambition among the Leaders.—Characters of the Members of the newly-established Directory.—Pomp and Parade of the Directory.—Policy of keeping up a Taste for external Splendour and Distinction.—These hateful to the rigid Republicans.—The Terrorists, called now the Society of the Pantheon, resume their primary Designs.—The Directory alarmed, yet judge it expedient to court the Favour of the Terrorists.—Regulations of the Directory, and Contests respecting the public Songs of Paris.—The Spirit and Temper of the Parisians indicated by these Contests; a reasonable Admission to the Directory.—Decline of Terrorism.—The Terrorists, or Society of the Pantheon, suppressed, and the House itself shut up.—The Terrorists continue to assemble, and give vent to their rage, in small Parties.—A new Opposition to the Directory, more formidable than the Society of the Pantheon had been.—Reduction of the Galleries in the Hall of the Convention, to a Space not containing more than Three Hundred Spectators.—Utility of dividing the Legislature into two independent Bodies.—Remarkable Artifice of the Junior Council for commanding the Appointment of all the Members of the Directory.—Establishment of an Institution in France for the Advancement of Arts and Sciences.—End of Central Schools for Languages, Literature, and Philosophy, in all the Departments.—Perfect Enjoyment of Religious Toleration.—Bigotry and Presumption of the Roman Catholics.—Checked with Moderation by the Directory.—Treaties of Peace between the French Republic and other Governments.—Public Mention of them by different States.

THE meeting of the new legislature opened a scene of the most intricate nature. The predominant party held the reins of government in their hands, and entertained no apprehensions that the other would ever be able to supplant them. The people, it was true, favoured their rivals; but they were supported by that essential engine of absolute power, an army, which they had so artfully modelled, that it was entirely at their devotion. Still, however, they were agitated by those passions that always accompany men of aspiring dispositions. The great object of

ambition was now to occupy a seat on the directorial throne. All the great leaders of the ruling party were secretly exerting their interest for this purpose; and the public were suspended between the hope that men of parts and fair character would be raised to this high station, and the fear that the spirit of faction would fill it unworthily. Had the wishes of the nation been consulted, the most eminent of the moderate party would undoubtedly have been promoted to that dignity, or if any of the others had been admitted to a participation, in order to obviate the jealousies and complaints of too

much partiality to one side, still the preponderance of number would have rested with the popular choice. But the very reverse happened. Out of five directors, four were of the ruling faction. These were Reubel, Latourneur de la Manche, Barras, Sieyes, and Lareveilliere Lepaux. Reubel was a man of strong, though not shining parts, born in the province of Alsatia, where he exercised the profession of the law, and early distinguished himself, by pleading the cause of the lower against the upper classes, and braving ministerial power under the old royal government. He had been employed in some arduous and intricate affairs by the opposition to the court, and had always conducted himself with an inflexible determination never to abandon that party. He now reaped the reward of his attachment to it: no man was more confided in by the republicans. He was one from principle, and his very manners displayed an austere simplicity that highly recommended him to them. Latourneur de la Manche was originally an officer in the army: his abilities were moderate; but he was of a steady and resolute disposition: firmly and decidedly a republican, but averse to severity; and an avowed enemy to the violent measures pursued by the jacobins and terrorists. Barras was one of the most singular characters that have figured in the revolution. Descended from a very ancient and noble family in Provence, and heir to the title of viscount, he entered young into the army, like most young noblemen, during the monarchy. Through a series of adventures that rendered him peculiarly remarkable, he rose into notice, and became at last a decided partisan of

the revolutionists. His invincible courage extricated him more than once from very difficult and dangerous situations. This qualification recommended him to the convention upon three trying occasions: on the 27th of July, 1794, when Robespierre was overthrown; on the 20th of May, this year, when the insurgents of the suburb of St. Antoine were suppressed; and on the 5th of October, when the Parisians were subdued. His courage and conduct on each of these emergencies were greatly serviceable to the convention, and they now thought it prudent to place a man in the directory, in whose attachment and intrepidity they could confide, and who, though not possessed of splendid parts, knew how to command attention, and make himself feared, if not respected. Sieyes is a name better known, perhaps, than that of any man in France, since the breaking out of the revolution. Bred a clergyman, he made a distinguished figure in that profession, and would probably have risen to the first ecclesiastical dignities, had not the church been overturned as well as the state. He stood forth an able champion against the seizure of the clergy's revenues. He was, however, more conspicuous by the part he acted in favour of the revolution. From his ideas proceeded the famous declaration of the rights of man, and many other strong measures of the constituent assembly. His opinions on government have always carried much influence; yet he has often been suspected of indecision on these matters. The dexterity with which he had weathered all the storms of the revolution, wherein so many able men have been wrecked, subjected him to the suspicion of having

having more pliancy than fortitude, and of being rather a time server*; but by those who had observed him more narrowly, he was reputed more cautious than timid, and seemed less desirous of life itself, than anxious to see in what manner those stupendous events would terminate, in which he bore so considerable a share. He was by the rigid republicans considered as a concealed royalist; but the stern and decisive manner in which he voted for the king's death ill agrees with such a suspicion. Though fond of influence, and not easily foiled in his pretensions and efforts to prescribe in matters of opinion, yet he studiously avoided ostensibility, and left to others the danger, as well as the honour, of acting an open and explicit part; his known abilities made him a valuable acquisition to his party, but as he chose to guide unseen he never appeared as a leader; and his absence from the field of action, on many important occasions, had thrown a stigma of uncertainty upon his character, which he farther confirmed by refusing to accept of the high dignity now conferred upon him. This refusal occasioned some perplexity. Though Sieyes could not be charged with the various enormities that either preceded or followed the king's death, yet his unequivocal assent to this deed, and his connections with that sanguinary faction, styled the mountain, sufficiently recommended him to the jacobins and terrorists, as a man whose inclination, as well as extraordinary talents, fitted him for the highest trusts in their power to confer. His

place, after some intrigues and difficulties, was supplied by Carnot, a man of whose capacity the most brilliant proofs had appeared in the arrangement and direction of military affairs, during the three preceding campaigns. To him was originally attributed the constant success that attended the arms of the republic. He was in the cabinet what the celebrated Folard had been in the field; an oracle to all the generals that consulted him, and the author of those multifarious plans, in executing which they rose themselves to such celebrity: though bred in the army, and, in the progress of the revolution, necessarily connected with Robespierre, in the time of his exaltation, yet he was wholly guiltless of his barbarities, and was only known by his utility to the public, which now beheld his preferment with general satisfaction.

These four members of the directory were avowedly of the ruling party, which would willingly have added another out of their own body; but the fear of disobliging the majority of the nation, by confining these honours entirely to themselves, induced them to remit their partiality, and to allow a participation in the supreme power to one of their rivals. The man thus distinguished was Larevelliere Lepaux. He was professionally a lawyer, yet eminent not only for his parts, but his integrity; he was remarkable for the plainness of his manners, and his aversion to intrigue; his disposition was calm and studious, and he had cultivated literature with uncommon success; he

* Bertrand de Moleville affirms, that Sieyes was needy and desirous of coming over to the side of the court, in 1789, on the condition of his being appointed to a rich abbacy; a matter which was in agitation, but neglected by the archbishop of Sens.

had been elected to a seat in the convention entirely from the excellence of his character; and had acted invariably from principle. During the tyranny of Robespierre, he was proscribed with the adherents of the Gironde party, to which he remained firmly attached; and his life was perpetually in danger. He would have declined the honour proffered him; and he accepted it merely in compliance with the earnest solicitations of the worthiest men in the minority.

There was a man who did not view these individuals so highly promoted without secret indignation; and who thought himself greatly neglected by his party, in not seating him in the directory. This was the famous Tallien, who had acted so conspicuous a part ever since the abolition of monarchy, and had signalized his courage in effecting the downfall of Robespierre, at a time when few men had the boldness personally to encounter him. He was, in fact, at the head of the ruling party; but he had a number of secret enemies, who did not wish to see him so much exalted. His abilities and his spirit were unquestionable, but though he had so materially contributed to destroy Robespierre, he had acted with him, and was supposed to have abetted his conduct till he was compelled to accelerate his destruction to save himself. He was in high favour with the terrorists, notwithstanding that he had endeavoured to ingratiate himself with the moderates; but he was always suspected by them; and he verified their suspicions by joining with their adversaries against the unhappy Parisians, on the fifth of October, in support of the decree for a re-elec-

tion of two-thirds of the convention. His ambitious views were rendered manifest by the part he openly took in favour of that commission of five, which was to supersede the intended constitution, and to engross the whole government. Of that commission he had the address to procure himself to be nominated a member; and he had also the audacity to load with invectives persons of irreproachable character in the convention, and to insinuate, that without such a commission the country was not safe. But his behaviour on this occasion had, it seems, exasperated both the parties. When the majority of the convention became, through dint of argument, convinced of the scandalous impropriety of that commission, Tallien lost at once almost all his influence; and, instead of a place in the directory, saw himself excluded from the hope of obtaining any post of importance. To this it may be added, that he was thought to have had a hand in the massacres of September, 1792, and in those of La Vendée. All these considerations operated so much to his disadvantage, that, though he had been occasionally a useful agent to the republic, he had acquired no confidence nor esteem, and was viewed as a man governed by no other principles than those of the most iniquitous ambition.

There were others of his party no less aspiring than himself; but much the same objections militated against them. It appeared, in truth, that the ruling party was inclined rather to establish its principles, than to invest its chiefs with much authority. Their personal dispositions were too much dreaded, and too well known, to command implicit reliance

reliance on the self-denying principles they now so carefully professed. For this reason it was judged more consistent with the public peace and security, to fix them in secondary employments, than to constitute them the principal personages in the republic. Louvet, Legendre, Freron, Cambaceres, to mention no others, were individuals who answered exactly this description. Full of courage and parts, but no less of artifice and tergiversation, they had on several occasions acted undauntedly and faithfully for the service of the state; but they had also exhibited so much unsteadiness in their principles, and such variations in their conduct, that they had forfeited that confidence which can only be secured by an unquestionable stability in both.

The members of the directory were installed in their high offices with great pomp. Guards and all the magnificence of royalty were annexed to them; and their appearance in public, and upon days of audience, was in a style of grandeur, nothing differing from that of the sovereigns of Europe. To a great number of people this was very acceptable; it retraced the former splendour of the monarchy, and encouraged those arts that conduce to the elegance of social life. It also proved an incentive to those ambitious spirits, whose chief motive for exerting their abilities is the prospect of rising to such personal distinctions as may point them out to the gaze of the multitude; and the number of these is much more considerable in France than, apparently, in any other country of Europe. During the regal government, a prodigious proportion of the military had no other reward to

expect for their services than external decoration; and such was the temper of the French, that the highest value was set upon them, and they were preferred to more substantial recompense. To preserve such a spirit, appeared worthy of consideration to those who framed the new constitution; but there were others who professed an utter dislike to what they called the relics of royalty: they viewed them as incentives and temptations to restore it, and would willingly have banished all formalities from the exercise of government, and have stripped it of every appendage that was not indispensably requisite for the transaction of business. These were the rigid republicans, who were generally men of austere manners, foes to expensive gaieties, and desirous to reduce both public and private life to the rules of the plainest simplicity; through their influence, titles had been abolished, and the forms of social intercourse divested of complimentary phrases; no distinctions remained but those of public functions, and even to those no epithets were added; the official appellation was deemed sufficient, and to covet more was reputed the mark of a vain and frivolous disposition. To these men the superb ceremonial that encompassed the directory was extremely odious, and they laboured all in their power to depreciate it in the estimation of the public. The maxims they had so zealously inculcated came now to their aid: having for years inveighed against the luxurious pomp of courts, they had taught the people to look upon it as the trappings of vanity, purchased at the expence of the community. In pursuance of these maxims, their pro-

selytes loudly disapproved of all ostentation in the functionaries of the state, who were bound, in their opinion, to set the example in plainness of living, and to avoid all species of gaudiness in their appearance, especially as it could not be indulged without putting the public to expence, which, in the present circumstances of the republic, would be unpardonable in its principal representatives, who ought, in the spirit of true republicanism, to glory in the contempt of superfluities, and be the first to inculcate both the lessons and the practice of frugality.

These maxims had been embraced by multitudes, particularly of the lower sort, who complained in the bitterest terms of the costliness of the new government. Their discontents on this head were not to be slighted; they constituted that formidable mass which had overturned the monarchy, and had overawed those forms of government that had been erected on its ruins. It was with difficulty their repeated insurrections had been suppressed; and, though of late kept in some subjection, they were ready at a moment's warning to break loose on the first opportunity. The period was extremely critical. Though the new constitution met with the general approbation, it was chiefly of that class of society which was inclined to peace, and would, for the sake of a quiet life, have submitted to almost any system that seemed likely to procure it; but the violent in all parts of the country were numerous, and were still as obstinately wedded to their own system as ever; they began to renew their meetings and their activity. An object on which their attention was principally turned,

was the liberation of those of their party who were still detained in prison, in consequence of the two insurrections in the month of April and May; to effect this deliverance had been the great aim of those in the convention, who had procured the passing of an act of general amnesty; and who were themselves strongly, though not avowedly, connected with that party. Nothing could more effectually prove this connexion, than the formal exception, from this amnesty, of the Parisian insurgents, on the fifth of October. The real or pretended dread of these being actuated by the agents of royalism, prevented the moderate party from succeeding in their endeavours to procure their inclusion in this act. Thus the terrorists were again released, and reassumed immediately their primary designs in their fullest extent. They met in large numbers, and held consultations evidently hostile to the new constitution. Their intentions were clearly to subvert it, and restore the revolutionary government, as it stood under Robespierre, of whom they scrupled not to speak in terms of applause. Their audacity increased to such a degree, that they now formally assembled in a house selected for that purpose, and situated in one of the most public places in Paris. As it was contiguous to the Pantheon, those who held their meetings in that house were called the society of the Pantheon. Confiding in their powerful friends, in the new legislature, they now ventured to resume their long-prohibited correspondence with their provincial associates; which, however, was carried on with so much art, as to appear, to the undiscerning, legal.

Alarmed

Alarmed at the manifest danger that was threatened by this combination of the mountain party and the terrorists or jacobins, for their principles were the same, the directory was much perplexed in what manner to act. The council of juniors, or five hundred, patronized this party too strongly to disoblige it: and the majority of the directors owed their seats to its friends in the legislature. They thought it, for these reasons, the surest policy to conciliate the terrorist faction, by placing its favourites and chief adherents in the principal employments. It was not, however, without dread of the consequences, that the public now saw the release, from their imprisonment, of those members of the convention who had sided with the insurgents, in the month of May, and their promotion to places of trust. It was still with more terror they beheld the members of the revolutionary committees throughout France not only delivered from confinement, but distinguished by preferments. Those, however, who coolly investigated the proceedings of the directory, thought they perceived in them true and sound policy. It was their business to keep all parties in a due equipoise, and, at the same time, to obviate all suspicion that they inclined to royalism. The royalists had certainly formed sanguine hopes, that the ill treatment of the Parisians would induce these to make a common cause with them. In this expectation they were secretly endeavouring to rally their scattered force, in order to make a fresh attempt in that quarter, which now seemed the best calculated for such an intent. This was evidently the metropolis, where the resentments

of the most reputable part of the inhabitants flamed high, on account of the severity they had, and still experienced from the legislature, and the subjection they felt themselves under to the ignobler classes; from whose licentiousness they had so lately protected the convention. They were equally indignant at the ingratitude of the one, and the insolence of the others, and doubtless would have embraced the occasion of testifying their antipathy to both. But the royalists were unfounded, in presuming that they would have gratified their revenge at the expence of their principles. The Parisians were in general the most attached, of any of the French, to a commonwealth, and, from that very principle, had so violently opposed the power usurped by the convention, against the spirit of the constitution they had adopted. The directory, conscious of the dissatisfaction of the capital at the new legislature, determined, for that reason, to trust only to that portion of the inhabitants which had latterly stood by the convention; and those were the terrorists. They were now taken into favour by the governing party, as the only men that would boldly push forward every measure taken up by their friends in the legislature, and who might, through this favourable usage of them, be prevailed upon to drop their own designs, and acquiesce in the present settlement of affairs.

But the terrorists were so violently attached to their persecuting maxims, that no consideration could reclaim them. Nay, proud of the superiority they now possessed over their disarmed antagonists, they paraded the places of public resort, and lorded

larded it over the better sort of the citizens, who were compelled, from their helpless situation, to put up with perpetual indignities. In compliance with the desire of the ruling faction, and possibly from the motive of preventing disturbance, the directory prohibited the famous song called, *Le Réveil du Peuple*, the awakening of the people, from being sung at the public theatres. This song had been extremely popular ever since the downfall of Robespierre. It was by the generality of people, the Parisians in particular, called the true song of liberty. It breathed an abhorrence of every species of barbarity and oppression; but, being particularly levelled at his tyranny, the party of whom he had been the head, procured its suppression. This was partly done out of revenge to the Parisians, who, while preparing to resist the illegal decrees of the late convention, in the affair of the re-elections, were constantly used to sing that song in all their meetings. Three other songs were substituted in its stead, all formerly very popular; but as they were favourites of the jacobins and terrorists, the hatred borne to them extended to their very songs; and whenever any of these were sung, at any public place, by the jacobins, the Parisians immediately followed them with the *Réveil du Peuple*. The jacobins upbraided them for refusing to join in those three songs; but the Parisians answered, that they had been so often sung on the most execrable occasions, that to join with them would seem to approve the atrocious deeds which those songs had been made to accompany. The directorial prohibition having de-

barred the Parisians from the use of their own song, they were now constrained to listen with silent indignation at those of the jacobins: but as various passages of those songs were peculiarly levelled at tyranny, there the Parisians loudly united their voices with those of their antagonists, in order to shew how deeply they felt the tyrannical silence imposed upon them. This contest lasted a few weeks, when the directory, finding the Parisians obstinate in refusing to bear a part in those songs, thought it prudent to revoke their orders, and permit them to sing their own.

As occurrences, apparently of little importance, frequently, however, indicate the opinions and sentiments of men, this behaviour of the people of the metropolis proved a salutary warning to the directory, not to aim at such an extension of their authority, as by being impracticable, might at once subject them to ridicule and render them odious. It also admonished them of the great majority of those who disapproved of the principles of the terrorist faction, and induced them to put a stop to the excesses committed in various departments, by the commissioners they had appointed for the execution of their measures. Among these were two men who had imprudently been nominated by the late convention, its executive agents at Lyons, and other departments of the highest importance; the city of Lyons, the greatest mart of the inland trade of France, had suffered dreadfully two years before, in its exertions for the royal cause; but was beginning to recover its losses, when it was unhappily given up to the management of Reverchon, a no-

torious

rious terrorist, whose conduct was so violent, and who shewed himself so inexorable to those whom he looked upon as enemies to the republic, that the inhabitants, fearing for their safety, abandoned the city; as they were chiefly persons engaged in business and manufactures, the injury sustained by their desertion was heavily felt, and occasioned such complaints, that the directory, to prevent farther mischief, immediately recalled him.

The other was the celebrated Breron, a man of letters and considerable parts, but of a turbulent and wavering disposition. He began his career by acting a resolute and open part for the jacobin faction, of which he continued a noted favourite, until the destruction of Robespierre; in which, from motives common to others beside himself, that of self-preservation, he found it expedient to concur. He now changed his principles, and in a periodical publication, which had a great run, attacked the terrorists so effectually, that, for a time, they hardly durst appear in Paris, where all the young men of reputable condition, in the various sections, made it their business to load them with scorn and derision, and to point them out as objects of execration. His ambition, nevertheless, was such, that finding no other means to gratify it, after the terrorists had again obtained the superiority, than by returning to that party, he joined it; and, in consideration of his abilities, was appointed by the convention, which now was wholly guided by its influence, a delegate to the departments situated in the country formerly called Provence. Here he assumed so much state,

and exercised such improper authority, that he soon became extremely odious; he dismissed from their official employments those who held them by popular election, and filled them with individuals of the terrorist party, whom he delivered from prison for the very purpose of domineering over those who detested them. It has been alleged, in vindication of his conduct, that the departments, over which he had been sent to preside, were so much under the influence of the royalists and ecclesiastics, who had insinuated themselves clandestinely into those parts, that they could no longer be considered as faithful subjects to the state, and were almost in a state of rebellion; but his proceedings were so violent, and tended so little to reconcile them, that the directory recalled him, and sharply reprimanded him for the ill use he had made of the power with which he had been invested.

In order, at the same time, to convince the public, that they were averse to unnecessary severities, they sent an address to the departments which had been aggrieved, with solemn assurances of impartial justice in the administration of their concerns. This public act of conciliation removed in a great measure the apprehensions that had been entertained from the directory. The enemies to the new constitution had given out, that it would prove as despotic and oppressive a tribunal as any that had preceded it, in the very worst periods of the revolution: this surmise originated principally from the royal party. The directory saw the necessity of counteracting it, not only by words, but by deeds, and resolved, that henceforth no

causes of complaint against their exercise of power should be afforded to those who were endeavouring to misrepresent it, to the intent of casting a stigma upon the new system of government. This fortunate determination led them gradually to lay aside the maxims of the terrorists. Many of the heads of that party, who were now in office, perceived also the propriety of relaxing from them, if they meant to preserve the tranquillity of the public, and secure its acquiescence in the power which they were conscious had not been obtained by them through justifiable means. Thus terrorism seemed to decline of itself, and merely from the impracticability of reconciling it with the measures necessary for the support and credit of the new mode of government.

Still, however, the society of the Pantheon subsisted. It was, in fact, the jacobin society revived; it acted precisely on the same general plan, and was advancing, by rapid strides, towards the same ends. The directory were sensible of the consequences that must infallibly result from the sufferance of so dangerous an assembly; happily for them, the public viewed this assembly in the same light; the remembrance of the many evils occasioned by the jacobin club dwelt forcibly in every mind that was inclined to a renewal of them. The directory judiciously seized the critical moment of general disapprobation of this meeting. It issued an order, by which it was formally suppressed, and the house itself shut up, with a severe prohibition to open it any more for the purpose of such an assembly.

This was the first measure of

great importance adopted by the directory: it established, at once, their character for strength and decision, and shewed they were firmly determined to permit no competition with the supreme power of the state. This proved, at the same time, a no less severe than unexpected blow to the terrorist faction, who had promised themselves the paramount direction of affairs, in the same manner in which it had formerly been exercised by the jacobins. No invectives were spared to the authors of this bold measure; but the public applauded it loudly, as an action of men who had thereby shewn themselves worthy of the great honours and powers to which they had been exalted. The members of the suppressed society were asked, by what authority they pretended to controul a government established by the unanimous consent of the nation? they were told to look back to the confusions that arose from admitting of two governments in the state. These reasonings, which were evidently founded on truth, did not, however, silence the members of this society; though debarred from the opportunity of meeting in large numbers, they still continued to associate in smaller, and here they gave full vent to the rage they felt, at being deprived of the expectations they had formed, of treading in the steps of their jacobin predecessors, and of enjoying, under another name, the very same authority.

In default of the opposition, which the terrorist party had formed against the directory, in the society which these had the courage and good fortune to suppress, another subsisted of a much more

serious

serious nature. This was an assembly of those members of the legislature that had lately been of the convention. The design of this meeting was previously to agree what measures to propose, and in what manner to carry them through the two houses, or councils, as they were denominated. This meeting now became the receptacle of all the discontented and disappointed members of the legislative body; and being composed of the most numerous part of the legislature, occasioned much perplexity to the directory, which, they plainly perceived, was inclined to moderate measures, and more desirous to please the public than to gratify any party. The chief agents and conductors of this meeting were exactly those who had governed the late convention. The head of the moderate party, and the new-elected third, never appeared in this meeting, which they justly looked upon as an assemblage of factious men, who met together to concert how to perpetuate the principles of their party, and enforce the practice of them. As the publications daily coming out were not favourable to them, and manifested a decided predilection for the moderate party and the new third, this meeting came to a resolution to curtail the liberty of the press, by means that should place it under their own direction. But here a division took place in the meeting itself. This liberty was so clearly the great bulwark of all other liberty, that when the motion to shackle it was brought forward, not only the moderates and the new third strenuously opposed it, but when the votes were collected, a majority of the whole

legislature was found to concur with them.

This was a matter of no small surprize to the faction, that had hitherto so constantly carried every question it had thought proper to propose; but it was a subject of the highest satisfaction to the public at large. It shewed the spirit of terrorism was evaporating even among its former abettors, and that upon questions of essential importance, a majority for just and reasonable measures might be expected. What rendered this matter the more remarkable, the restriction was proposed by two public writers, Chenier and Louvet, both, the first especially, men of abilities. Private rancour, however, against persons who had taken up the pen in opposition to them, was well known to have prompted them, and it was chiefly for that reason their proposal met with a negative.

This precedent, in the mean time, opened an agreeable prospect to the nation. The dread of the terrorists began to abate, and people flattered themselves, that, between the directory and the moderates, an union of sentiments would be formed, of sufficient weight to counterpoise that odious faction, and to prevent its regaining that ascendancy of which it appeared so desirous, doubtless, in the general opinion, for the very worst purposes. But the faction itself, looking upon this discomfiture as of little importance, and affecting only a couple of individuals, for whom they entertained but a small regard, persisted boldly in its endeavours to domineer over their opponents in the legislative body, and to frustate the spirited

spirited and incessant efforts of these to resist their tyranny. Conscious that these opponents were viewed by the nation as its only true representatives, and themselves as intruders, they laboured to asperse them as false to the republican cause, and elected for that reason by its enemies; but the injurious epithets they bestowed upon the moderate party, being proofless, fell to the ground, while the charge of despotism and usurpation were retorted upon them with undeniable propriety.

Nor were the moderates deficient in counteracting their enemies by the same methods that were used by these to effect their purposes. The crowds that resorted to the galleries, consisted usually of those classes remarkable for their ferocity and violence. They were naturally the partisans of the terrorists, and seldom failed to support them by clamours and vociferations levelled at their opposers. The directory, consulting its own dignity, and strongly abetted as well as applauded by the moderate party, deprived their antagonists of these long-trying and staunch auxiliaries, by reducing the galleries for the admission of spectators to a space not containing more than three hundred.

Experience also soon proved the utility of dividing the legislature into separate and independent bodies. The upper house, or council of elders, consisting of two hundred and fifty members, soon conceived ideas of their importance, that led them to act with a reserve and deliberation suitable to the superiority assigned to them. The lower house, or council of five hundred, entertained so just a sense of their discretion, that at the very outset, as

it were, of the new constitution, not daring to trust them with a fair and reasonable choice of persons for the directory; and, being determined to have that option themselves, they contrived, by a remarkable artifice, to confine them to the choice of five out of six. The method of electing the directory, as prescribed by the constitution, was that each member of the lower house should give in the names of fifty persons; out of the numbers thus named, those fifty who had, on scrutiny, most voters, were notified by a written list to the council of ancients; who, but of these fifty, nominated, by election, the five directors. The majority in the lower house, influenced by their rulers, gave in the names of six persons whom these were desirous to promote, adding to them forty-four other names of persons so insignificant and obscure, that the council of ancients could not stoop to pay them attention, and were in fact restrained to the choice of six; but this artifice, mean as it was, evinced the opinion of the council of five hundred, and that they considered the council of ancients as too regardless of their own consequence to follow inconsiderately the impulse of the lower house, and to become obsequiously the passive instruments of any party.

This was farther confirmed by the rejection of a decree, passed in the council of five hundred, by which the parents of emigrants were, during the life of these, to divide their property with the nation. The injustice and inhumanity of this decree struck so forcibly the house of elders, that they refused their assent, to the great satisfaction not only of the persons interested, but

but of the public, which now looked up to the council of ancients as an effectual check on the inconsiderate precipitation with which the other council seemed liable to adopt the proposals of its leaders, and to be actuated by faction. The moderation displayed on several occasions of this nature by the council of elders, and the impartiality invariably observed by the directory, in its conduct towards all parties, procured them such attachment and respect, that the ruling members in the lower house began to apprehend that their credit would thereby suffer a considerable diminution: here-in they were not deceived. The popular voice of applause was manifestly in favour of the two former branches of the government; and the most discerning part of the public did not hesitate to affirm, that unless the lower house regulated its conduct by other maxims than those with which it had begun, it would lose all esteem and confidence, and the people no longer look upon them as their protectors but their tyrants, and transfer their affection, and possibly their allegiance, to those who by their humanity and discretion had shewn them to be more deserving of it. Discourses and surmises of this kind were not unfrequent; they produced a good effect: the principal members of the council of five hundred, who were men of too much perception not to foresee the tendency of these ideas, saw the necessity of removing their causes, by an alteration of the system that exposed them to so much censure. Thus by degrees the reign of terror subsided, and the nation cast off that gloom which continual apprehensions had introduced.

While these flattering prospects of better days were reviving the spirits of the public, the directory resolved to signalize their entrance into power, and the settlement of the new constitution, by one of those establishments that give a durable fame to their founders, by being calculated for national honour and utility. This was, the celebrated institution for the progress and encouragement of arts and sciences. It consisted of one hundred and forty-four members, among whom were some of the most illustrious names in France, and indeed in Europe. Not to appear inferior in the respect which Lewis XIV. had paid to men of eminence in these departments, by assigning them a place in his palace, the directory gave orders that they should be put in possession of apartments in the Louvre, formerly the royal residences of the kings of France; they were installed with great solemnity in the ancient hall of the academy of sciences. In order, at the same time, to procure a general diffusion of learning, in every part of the republic, a central school or college was established, in each department, for the instruction of youth, in languages, polite literature, and philosophy. The professors were allowed ample salaries, but to accept of no gratification from their scholars, whose education was to be entirely gratuitous. Thus, from the highest to the lowest classes of society, a communication was formed, during their early years, on a footing of perfect equality, and wherein no sort of distinction was allowed but that which arose from a superiority of parts and merit. No system could certainly conduce more effectually to obliterate all impression

sions of respect or deference, on account of family or of opulence, than this promiscuous mixture of youth of all descriptions, subjected to regulations and treatment common to all, and carefully taught to value nothing in each other, but personal worth and talents.

The attention paid by the directory to the public peace and welfare, and the lenity of its conduct upon all occasions, induced the multitudes, who adhered to the ancient forms of religion, to avail themselves of the liberty of opinions, and of worship, established by the new constitution: they now claimed and enjoyed whatever had been decreed in their favour; and, excepting the ecclesiastical grandeur of their former ceremonies, nothing was wanting to satisfy their reasonable expectations; but their zeal for the restoration of the pontifical authority in France would not permit them to rest contented. The government had even, under the primary constitution, and with a monarch at its head, dissolved the connexion with the see of Rome; but the bigotry of its votaries prompted them to form public assemblies, with the professed design of renewing it. But this proved too audacious an attempt to meet with the least countenance from government; the pope was justly considered as a decided enemy to the French republic, both in a spiritual and political light: it had not only cast off all submission to his authority, in church matters, but had also seized his dominions, and annexed them to France, notwithstanding the undisturbed possession of them by numbers of his predecessors, during many centuries. To re-establish a correspondence with the court of

Rome, in these circumstances, was an attempt so inimical to the republic, that it was immediately prohibited, and the synods, that had been appointed by the Romish party for the accomplishment of this purpose, were strictly forbidden to assemble. No resentment, however, was shewn beyond this simple prohibition; but as religious rancour has the fatal tendency to render men irreconcilable, the firmness exercised, on this occasion, by the government, raised them numerous enemies, in the superstitious multitudes they had offended, by refusing to comply with demands evidently unseasonable. The liberal minded beheld with grief the obstinacy of those unhappy prejudices, that peculiarly distinguish the Romish persuasion, and that render it so inimical to every other sect of Christianity.

While these great alterations had been taking place in the internal government of France, a variety of transactions with foreign powers had happened, conducive to the end which French politics had principally in view. This was, to diminish the number of their foreign enemies, in order to employ additional exertions against those that remained. Exclusively of the pacification with the two great powers of Spain and of Prussia, other amicable treaties had been concluded. Early in the month of February, negotiations had been opened with the grand duke of Tuscany. The successes of the French armies on the borders of Italy, during the preceding campaign, and their apprehended approximation to that prince's territories, had excited so much alarm; and the naval preparations, making in the ports on the Medi-

Mediterranean, were so contiguous to his own harbours, that, thinking it more advisable to put himself out of danger than to encounter it, without any visible motive of interest, he determined to detach himself from the coalition, and to negotiate a peace with France: the terms were readily agreed to on both sides. The French administration was glad of an opportunity to convince their people, that the war in which they were engaged, was purely defensive, and that they were ready to put an end to it, by embracing any reasonable offers on the part of their enemies. The grand duke was not a formidable one; but being the first in the coalition that formally expressed a desire to treat: to accept of his proffer, which was the only one that had been made, would be the first step towards breaking up the confederacy. The articles were few: the duke engaged, on his side, to relinquish his alliance with the coalesced powers; and the French, on theirs, to a renewal of the peace and good understanding heretofore subsisting between France and Tuscany; which was to remain on a footing of perfect neutrality.

Not long after the conclusion of this treaty, the ministry of Sweden, in April following, resolved to delay no longer the recognition of the French republic: the intrigues of Russia had hitherto prevented it, but the prudence of the regent dictated the propriety of being on a cordial footing with a state which, whether under a monarchical or a republican government, would always, from motives of interest, prove a faithful ally to Sweden. Baron Stael was appointed, by the Swedish court, to

perform the ceremony of the acknowledgment: the address to the convention, in that monarch's name, was conceived in terms of great friendship; but the enemies to the republic remarked, on this occasion, that Sweden had long before distinguished itself by acknowledging and paying court to usurpers: it had, in the last century, paid the same honour to Oliver Cromwell, the murderer of his sovereign, and the usurper of his throne. But these invectives fell to the ground, when it was recollected that neither France nor Spain, nor any of the European powers, had dared to act otherwise. This formal acknowledgment by a crowned head, though not of the first importance, yet of considerable weight, was highly acceptable to the French, as, together with the recognition on the part of Tuscany, it formed a species of counterpoise to the refusals of other powers to acknowledge the republic; but the chief difficulties of this sort being at length removed, by the two treaties with Prussia and Spain, other states became less unwilling to open negotiations. The cantons of Switzerland had been noticed, ever since the commencement of the revolution, for their aversion to those who had effected and supported it; they had explicitly espoused the royal cause, and adhered firmly to it; even after the dethronement of the king, the meeting of the convention, the abolition of the monarchy, and the erection of the republic, all these events, that followed each other so rapidly, had not been able to alter their determinations: they still continued inimical to French maxims and politics, though they cautiously ab-

stained from direct hostilities; but the uninterrupted career of success, that attended every where the arms of the republic, inclined the most prudent among the Swiss to act with more caution than they had hitherto done. The first of the cantons that acquiesced in the recognition of the republic, was that of Basle; nor was this canton prevailed upon to take that step, till the treaty between France and Prussia had been concluded: the lofty conduct of the French on that occasion had made a profound impression upon their neighbours. Their minister refused to sign his name in any instrument of negotiation, subsequently to the signature of any foreign minister: the consequence of which was, that each party signed separate papers, to be delivered by each other. As this determined spirit shewed how they were disposed to act, it was judged advisable not to exasperate them by delays, which must end at last by yielding to the necessity of coming to terms with them. The Protestant cantons followed the example of Basle, in acknowledging the French republic; but the Romish cantons, instigated by their clergy and by the French emigrants, still continued averse to any accommodation; and, by the inveteracy of their conduct, laid the foundation of an enmity to them, of which the consequence proved fatal, at last, to all their countrymen.

Among the preceding treaties, that between France and Prussia was peculiarly beneficial, by fixing a line of neutrality, beyond which the belligerent powers were not to extend their operation, and by producing two other pacific treaties;

the one was with the landgrave of Hesse Cassel, by which he agreed to furnish no more troops to serve against the republic; and the other with the king of Great Britain, as elector of Hanover, and by which he acceded to make the same conditions. These two treaties, which took place about the close of August, left the French at liberty to pursue their plans in other parts, without fear of molestation on their frontiers to the North, and on the Lower Rhine. This was an advantage of the greatest importance, as they proposed to direct their chief exertions against the countries situated on the Upper Rhine, and to open the next campaign by an invasion of the Austrian dominions in Italy.

In addition to the foregoing treaties, one of alliance, offensive and defensive, was framed, in the course of the year, between France and the Seven United Provinces, now styled the Batavian republic. As these provinces were wholly in the hands of the French, their government was entirely at their disposal; and whatever they demanded was immediately complied with, as resistance or complaint would be vain. They now drew up a treaty, the articles of which were manifestly dictated by their own convenience, and completely calculated to render their Dutch allies subservient, in every respect, to the interests of France, which were alone and exclusively consulted throughout the whole tenour of this treaty. All the strong towns, that guarded the frontiers of the provinces, were, without exception, retained by the French, together with Dutch Flanders, and the chief islands in Zealand.

land. The Batavian republic was to pay, as the price of its emancipation from the British and Prussian government, the expences of the war in Holland for that purpose, and a payment of twenty millions was immediately required. The free navigation of the rivers in

Holland was to be the right of both French and Dutch indiscriminately, without exacting toll from either. Such were the general outlines of a treaty, by which the French pretended to have restored their liberties and possessions to the people of the United Provinces.

C H A P. VIII.

Incorporation of the Austrian Netherlands with the French Republic.—An Object of Alarm to the Neighbouring Nations.—Debility of the French Marine.—Naval Exertions of France confined to Depredations on the British Trade.—Revolt under the Auspices and Conduct of Victor Hughes, of the French West-India Islands, that had been reduced by the English.—Superior Skill, Bravery, and Success, of the British Officers and Seamen.—The Dutch Colony at the Cape of Good Hope taken by the English.—Success of the French in Piratical Warfare.—Bold and masterly Retreat of Admiral Cornwallis.—Prosperous State of French Affairs on the Continent.—Interference of the French in the Government of the small State of Geneva.—This new-modelled after the Fashion of the French Republic.—Insurrections.—Violence.—A Revolutionary Tribunal.—Intrigues of the French, for bringing the City of Geneva under Subjection to the French Republic.—The Influence of the New Principles of the French extends across the Atlantic—and excites dangerous Commotions in America.—The Authority of Government maintained in the United States of America, by the Moderation, Prudence, and Vigour, of General Washington.—Insurrection of Emigrants from Ireland, and the Highlands of Scotland, in the Western Parts of Pennsylvania.—Quelled by the Approach of a great and irresistible Force under General Washington.—A Dispute between the American States and the Indians, on the Frontiers, supported by a Body of Canadians and British Colonists.—Settled by the spirited and judicious Conduct of General Wayne.

BUT the transaction which occupied the chief attention of Europe, was that famous decree which the convention passed a short space before its dissolution, and which it considered as a legacy left to the French nation, by those men who had founded its liberty, and preserved it, by their exertions, against the united powers of Europe. By that decree all the Austrian Netherlands were formally incorporated with France, and a solemn admonition given to consider them as constituent parts of the French republic, never to be ceded, but retained

at all events against all claims and pretences. This decree was universally viewed, by the political world, as a firebrand that would eventually kindle no less a conflagration than the celebrated decree of November, 1792, by which the convention had virtually invited the subjects of all princes to throw off their obedience. The Austrian Netherlands, if suffered to remain in the possession of France, would, in the perception of all discerning men, prove such an addition of territory, of population, of wealth, and of strength, to France, as would render it

it irresistible. Never, therefore, it was said, should the powers of Europe permit these countries to be annexed to France, whether it continued a republic, or resumed the form of a monarchy. Its neighbours especially, if they valued their independence, should think no cost too excessive in reducing France to its former limits. Unless this were done, not only the balance of Europe, but the national existence of every people around, would be continually exposed to the hostile enterprises of this ambitious and restless nation.

The great victory obtained by lord Howe, on the 1st of June, 1794, had so completely ruined the marine of France, and extinguished all expectation of its being able, during a long time, to meet that of Great Britain in battle, that the French government abandoned all designs of this nature, and determined henceforth to confine its naval exertions to depredations on the British trade and navigation: a system to which the politics of France had constantly resorted, under the monarchy, after experiencing such disasters at sea, as had disabled her marine from encountering that of Britain in open fight. In this species of maritime warfare they proved more successful than the other. The list of captures, by the French, at the close of 1795, amounted, it has been reported, to more than two-thirds of their own losses: they had taken three thousand vessels, and had lost only eight hundred. How far such estimates may ascertain the respective damages of either party, it may be difficult to decide, without a specific return of the tonnage and cargoes of the shipping thus taken. But the

detriment to this country must certainly have been very considerable, adverting only to the number of seamen that must have fallen into the enemy's hands, and allowing the other damages to have been equally balanced.

One material cause of debility, that befel the French marine, was the inexpertness of those multitudes that crowded their ships. The necessity of supplying without delay their armies on the frontiers, which were daily losing such numbers, compelled government to collect able-bodied men as soon as they could be procured, and wherever they could be found. Hence their shipping of all descriptions was stripped of sailors, who were sent to fight the battles of the republic at land. The French administration was severely censured for sacrificing their seamen, instead of the many others that might have been furnished out of those classes that had little or no employment in the general scarcity of trade and business: but necessity and expedition was their plea, and appeared unanswerable during the dangerous crisis to which the republic continued reduced, while pressed on the frontiers by the numerous armies of the coalesced powers.

Great complaints were made at the same time in England, that with a fleet superior in point of real strength, considering the skill of the officers and men, to that of all Europe combined, still the transmarine possessions of France were able to resist the exertions of the naval strength of this country, and to maintain the contest in some of those parts on more than equal ground. The year 1794 had been marked by the successes obtained in the West

Indies by sir Charles Grey, and sir John Jervis. Martinico, St. Lucia, and Guadaloupe, had been taken from the French; but before the conclusion of the year, the last was recaptured; and early in the year ensuing, the French compelled St. Eustatius, the great magazine of all the Dutch islands, to surrender; and put it into so strong a posture of defence as to frustrate all expectations of retaking it without the greatest difficulty. Encouraged by these advantages, they formed a plan for the reduction of the other islands seized by the English in the preceding year. The French forces were under the command of the noted Victor Hughes, a man of a ferocious disposition, but uncommon activity and courage, and remarkable for his hatred of the English. He had been sent from France, as commissioner from the convention, with particular orders to execute the famous decree by which the negroes were to be declared free. He carried it accordingly into the fullest execution, and furnished with arms and uniforms all the blacks and mulattoes that were willing to enter into the French service. It was at the head of this desperate multitude, aided by three or four thousand regular troops, that he had retaken Guadaloupe, and now projected to recover the other French islands. As a preparatory step to this undertaking, a secret correspondence was set on foot with the disaffected French inhabitants of those islands, and emissaries were sent among the negroes and people of colour to excite them against the English government. The result was, that, in the spring of this year, a concerted revolt took place at the same time in all these islands,

In that of St. Lucia it broke out so suddenly, and the insurgents were so numerous, that they overpowered the British garrison, most of which was obliged, after a gallant but ineffectual resistance, to retire into the fort. Collecting their scattered force, they attacked the principal post of the insurgents, and after a severe dispute, threw them into disorder. But they rallied, and after a second conflict, wherein the British forces were repulsed with great loss, the insurgents remained masters of the field, and the garrison retreated to the fort; and, after suffering a three months blockade, evacuated the island. Grenada being a place of more importance than the former, the French commissioner dispatched a body of chosen men; assisted by whom, the blacks, and their associates of all colours, furiously attacked the British troops, and defeated them in several engagements. As soon, however, as these had been reinforced, they fell with so much vigour on the insurgents, that they drove them from the open country, and forced them to take shelter in the mountainous parts of the island. Here they were reduced to the greatest distress for provisions: though such was their obstinacy, that they refused to surrender, and chose rather to encounter all hardships, in those wretched but inaccessible fortresses, than return to their former subjection. The island of Dominica was attacked in like manner by a body of troops sent from Guadaloupe by the French commissioner, and who were joined by a multitude of negroes and many of the old French inhabitants. The number of British regulars was very small; but the British settlers themselves supplied that deficiency by their

their valour. They engaged the enemy with so much resolution, that the rebellion was entirely suppressed. The French who had revolted were punished with great severity, and numbers of them expelled the island on account of suspicion. The Indians inhabiting St. Vincent had also, at the instigation of Victor Hughes, taken up arms against the English; but they were not without some pretence: they had been wrongfully deprived of some of their lands, and though years had elapsed since that deprivation, they were prompted, by that revengeful disposition common to the Caribbs, to seek for occasions to gratify it. They encountered the British troops with great courage, and discomfited them in some very bloody engagements; and though they were finally repressed, and confined within their own limits, they still continued to maintain their ground there, and remained unsubdued.

But the most melancholy event that happened this year, in the British West Indies, was the fatal dispute that took place in Jamaica, between the colonists and the ancient inhabitants of that lofty ridge of mountains which intersects the island. When it was conquered from the Spaniards, in the last century, during the government of Oliver Cromwell, these people refused to submit to the conquerors; and, withdrawing to their mountainous recesses, insisted that the lands they inhabited should be their own, and themselves remain free, and retain their former customs and privileges. This being agreed to, and solemnly ratified, they had lived ever since independent of the British government in Jamaica. In this situation they had now continued one hun-

dred and forty years; during which, though altercations had happened between them and the colonists, they had still preserved their privileges. Among these was a remarkable stipulation, by which they were not to be punished by the courts of judicature in that island, for any offence or crime, but were to be delivered up to their own people, to be tried, and suffer punishment according to their own laws. Such, it has been represented, was the right and claim of the Maroons, the appellation by which they were distinguished from the other inhabitants of the island. It happened, unfortunately, that one of them, being detected in a theft, instead of being put into the hands of his countrymen, to receive due chastisement, was, by the authority of a magistrate, sentenced to be whipped. This being executed upon him, he applied to his countrymen for their interference, in order to procure him redress for a punishment which, of all others, was to them the most odious and disgraceful, and had at the same time been inflicted upon him contrarily to established usages. The Maroons complained to the government, that their privileges had been violated, and required satisfaction; but as none was obtained, they determined to procure it by force, and had recourse to arms. Whether it proceeded from contempt, or a resolution to punish their temerity, no endeavours were used to bring about any conciliation, and they were proceeded against with unrelenting severity. They made a desperate defence, but were accused of having exercised horrible barbarities upon the prisoners they took.

They were at length subdued, and
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almost exterminated. The recesses, to which they fled for shelter, were so intricately situated, and so difficult of access and discovery, that blood-hounds were procured from the Spanish island of Cuba, in order to pursue and trace them by their scent. The exact number of the fugitives that escaped, was never clearly ascertained in England, and, it is probable, that from the inveterate rancour of the colonists, against a tribe of men who had so frequently withstood their efforts, they were little disposed to shew them any mercy. But the circumstance, which gave most offence to the public, was the employing of the same means for their destruction, as had formerly been used by the Spaniards, when they first discovered and invaded this new world. The cruelties exercised upon the Indians, by those blood-thirsty and inhuman conquerors, rendered them universally odious to all the Europeans; but that horrid practice of hunting and destroying human beings with dogs, trained up for that purpose, had particularly contributed to make them detested.

The checks received by the British forces, in the West Indies, were chiefly due to the immense superiority of numbers with which they were attacked. Notwithstanding the many difficulties the convention was incessantly struggling with at home, they were too conscious of the value of the French transmarine possessions, not to exert themselves to the utmost for their retention. No opportunities, therefore, were omitted of sending reinforcements to protect them from the attacks of the English, or to retake those that had fallen into their hands.

The conquest of Martinico, St.

Lucia, and Guadaloupe, by the forces under the command of general sir Charles Grey, and admiral sir John Jervis, had been attended with circumstances peculiarly brilliant. The difficulty of access to the places and positions occupied by the enemy, was such, that the French entertained a sanguine hope, that the English would be repulsed every where, especially as every post had been fortified with the utmost skill, and was in the strongest posture of defence, both with respect to number of men, and quantity of ammunition and artillery. The valour, conduct, and knowledge in tactics, displayed by the British commanders and officers on these various expeditions had been remarkable, and the courage of the soldiers had been no less striking. They encountered every obstacle with an intrepidity and perseverance which the French had not expected; and what was particularly deserving of notice, they obtained most of their advantages by means of the bayonet, a weapon with which the French had, in their European battles, gained signal successes; and in the use of which they considered themselves as decidedly superior to their enemies.

The skill and bravery of the officers and seamen of the squadron, employed in this service, had been eminently conspicuous. So established was their reputation at this juncture, that no intention of even meeting them in combat was entertained by the French, whose principal aim was to elude their vigilance, and to throw what succours they were able into their islands by stealth, not daring to try the chance of fight with British cruisers, when these were on a parity of strength.

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They acted so invariably upon this principle, that their ships were usually constructed with a stedfast eye to the celerity of sailing, wherein they commonly exceeded the British vessels. It was by dint of seamanship, that these were able to come up with the others, which, when brought to action, seldom could resist the valour and superior dexterity of the British seamen. The many engagements between single cruizers of both nations, during the present and the preceding years, amply proved this superiority.

Early in the commencement of 1795, captain Faulkner, who had so greatly signalized himself in the expedition to Martinico, fell in with *La Pique*, a French frigate of 38 guns, and near 400 men: His own ship, the *Blanche*, carried 32 guns, of an inferior metal, and little more than 200 men. The action lasted four hours, when she struck, after 200 of her people had been either slain or wounded, and only 30 on board the *Blanche*. But this brilliant success was fully counterbalanced by the loss of captain Faulkner, who fell during the engagement. He was succeeded in the command by lieutenant Watkins, to whom the honour fell of compelling the enemy to surrender.

In the two preceding years, other naval officers had distinguished themselves by exploits of a similar nature. Captains Pellew, of the *Nymph*; Saumarez, of the *Crescent*; Laforey, of the *Carysfort*; Paget, of the *Romney*; Newcome, of the *Orpheus*; to mention no others, rendered their names, and those of the ships they commanded, highly celebrated in the naval transactions of this war. The

zeal and ardour with which the officers of the British navy sought the enemy, and constantly overcame him wherever he was to be found or overtaken, excited the admiration of all Europe. It was not only in foreign parts the French were thus unfortunate: the like disasters attended them upon their own coasts. Few of their ships of force that ventured out of their ports, either single, or in squadrons, could escape the vigilance of the English; who either took or destroyed them, by compelling them to run ashore, and burning them. Many feats of this kind were performed in the most daring manner. They ventured close in with the land, exposed to the superior fire of formidable batteries, which they frequently silenced with their own guns: sometimes landing their people and committing the enemy's shipping to the flames, in spite of the most vigorous resistance. Those British officers who chiefly distinguished themselves by actions of this kind, were sir Richard Strachan, sir Edward Pellew, sir John Warren, and sir Sidney Smith, all tried men for uncommon valour and seamanship; and who, by their wonderful exertions and successes, became the terror of the French marine.

But, in defiance of their manifest inferiority in every trial of skill and bravery at sea, and of the numerous losses and disgraces on every part of the extensive coast of France, the principal speakers in the convention had the effrontery to represent the officers and seamen in their navy, as no ways unequal to those of the British fleet, and their conduct and actions as no less conspicuous. Their audaciousness was such, that they

they described the famous victory gained by lord Howe, on the 1st of June, as an action that terminated to their advantage, notwithstanding the capture of seven of their capital ships, and a loss of men that amounted by the clearest calculation, to upwards of ten thousand, in killed, wounded, and taken; while of the British fleet, not one ship was lost, and not one thousand men killed or wounded.

This great and decisive victory proved a prelude to their subsequent defeats, in some general actions, in the course of 1795. On the 14th of March, a British squadron, of fourteen ships of the line, engaged a French squadron, of fifteen, that was carrying a large body of troops to Corsica, in order to retake it from the English, who had wrested it from the French in the preceding year. So averse were the French to risk an engagement, that no other motive would have compelled them, but the necessity of rescuing two of their ships, which, by falling to leeward, had afforded an opportunity to the British squadron of attacking them with advantage. By the skilful management of admiral Hotham, who commanded it, they were accordingly cut off and taken, with upwards of two thousand of the troops destined against Corsica: the remainder of the French squadron was obliged to take refuge at Toulon. Though the success obtained on this occasion was not signal, yet it defeated the expedition, as intended for the recovery of Corsica; the importance of which, in the opinion of the French, may be estimated from the force embarked on this squadron, which consisted of eight. ten thousand regulars.

In June following, another action took place between a British squadron of five ships of the line, and two frigates, and a French squadron of thirteen ships of the line, besides frigates. They surrounded the British squadron, which, unable to cope with so superior a force, engaged it however in a running fight, which lasted a whole day. Through dint of extraordinary skill and bravery, the English fought their way through the French, who were not able to take a single ship of the squadron. This action; which happened on the seventeenth of June, did great honour to the naval talents of admiral Cornwallis.

Six days after, admiral lord Bridport fell in with twelve French ships of the line, and nine frigates: they were the same from which admiral Cornwallis had effected so bold and masterly a retreat. The British ships of the line were fourteen, and the frigates eight; the French endeavoured to avoid an engagement, and stood close in with the shore, in order to receive the assistance of some batteries that greatly annoyed the British ships; but this did not prevent them from taking three French ships of the line, and severely damaging the others, which escaped, with difficulty, into the harbour of l'Orient.

But the event which principally signaled the British arms at sea, in the course of this year, was the reduction of the famous Dutch colony, at the Cape of Good Hope, founded in the preceding century, with so much labour, expence, and industry, and which was now become one of the most valuable and important settlements of that commercial people. It was taken by admiral Elphinstone, and

and general Clarke, to whom, after an ineffectual defence, it surrendered on the 16th of September.

These defeats and losses not only diminished the strength of the French at sea, but, what was more detrimental to them, greatly discouraged their seamen; and reduced their hopes merely to such advantages as might be gained by depredations on the British commerce. Herein they met with considerable success, before the close of the present year; especially on that branch of trade carried on with Turkey, which, from the necessity of traversing the whole of the Mediterranean, lay more exposed to their annoyance than any other. In order to intercept this, together with that from the ports of Italy, a squadron, of nine ships of the line, was put under the command of admiral Richery, an experienced and resolute seaman. The trade of the Mediterranean, amounting to sixty sail, with valuable cargoes, was escorted by three ships of the line, and four frigates; it had proceeded, on its way homeward, as far as the latitude of Cape St. Vincent, where it was attacked by the squadron commanded by Richery, and one half of it was taken, together with a ship of the line.

Conformably to the predatory system of warring at sea, now adopted by the French, besides Richery's squadron, which was fitted out at Toulon, they prepared two others at Rochefort, in order to intercept the homeward-bound fleet from Jamaica; but they took only twelve, the value of which hardly reimbursed the expence of fitting out those squadrons.

But the defeats, losses, and disappointments, of the French, at sea,

were amply counterbalanced by their successes at land; their compulsory retreat across the Rhine excepted, they had succeeded in every other project, and completely frustrated the attempts of the coalesced powers. Two of the principal members of that formidable confederacy had been detached from it, besides others of secondary note. They had revolutionized the governments of all the countries they had subdued, together with the minds of a large majority of the inhabitants. The Austrian Netherlands, to which their ancient denomination of Belgium was now solemnly affixed, were, in general, well affected to the French republic, from the remembrance of the tyranny and haughtiness they had experienced under the house of Austria. The German provinces, on the left side of the Rhine, seemed mostly willing to unite with France, rather than to return to the dominion of their former masters; and the dispositions of the people of Switzerland, of the Protestant cantons especially, were becoming much more favourable to the French than they had hitherto appeared.

Unwearied pains had been taken, by the French government, ever since the commencement of the revolution, to conciliate the people of Switzerland. Though principles of democracy, nearly similar to those professed by the French, prevailed in some of the inferior cantons, the greater were governed aristocratically, and warmly opposed the introduction of French politics. The time was not yet arrived for the French to proceed to violent measures against the Helvetic body: they contented themselves with the private encouragement of those numerous

merous individuals among the Swiss who disapproved of the system of government prevailing in their country, and were desirous of innovations on the revolutionary plan.

They had, however, in one instance, laid aside their usual dissimulation, and openly countenanced the alterations that had taken place, in a state, which, though of small extent, had always maintained a respectable appearance. This was the city of Geneva, long famous for the industry of the inhabitants, and their inflexible attachment to liberty and protestantism. Their contiguity to France interested them more deeply in its concerns than any of its other neighbours: they were, indeed, descended chiefly from the French; particularly the refugees from that kingdom, persecuted for their religious opinions. French was the native language of the place, and all the social habits of life were the same as in France. The court of Versailles had formerly exercised great interference, in the affairs of this little republic; but had always acted with decided partiality for those classes that constituted the aristocratical party. Through such powerful aid, it maintained a superiority extremely offensive to the democratic body, which, though the most numerous, was not the most considerable. At the breaking out of the revolution, this party conceived immediately the design of rendering it instrumental for the purpose they had long meditated, which was, to destroy the power of their antagonists, and to establish a pure democracy. The sovereign authority of the state was lodged

in the general assembly of the citizens, who were such, either by inheritance or purchase. Individuals born of foreign parents were styled natives, but excluded from the privileges enjoyed by the former. This was a subject of much grievance to them, and they determined to remove it, the first opportunity. In 1791, the political ferments in France were so favourable to their wishes, that they seized the occasion to propose a law for their admission to all the rights of citizens, on paying a moderate fine: their demands were deemed so reasonable, that they were granted. Matters rested on this footing till the next year; when, after the dethronement of the king, and the abolition of monarchy in France, a French army, employed in the reduction of Savoy, advanced towards Geneva. The inhabitants, alarmed at this conduct, applied for aid to the government of Switzerland, which immediately dispatched a body of troops to their assistance. They sent, in the mean time, a deputation to general Montesquieu, who commanded the French, to inquire the motives of his conduct. His answer was, that the Genevese had behaved with undue partiality to the emigrants from France, by permitting them to settle in their city and territory. The Genevese replied, that, far from harbouring enmity to France, they had been the first and were still the only people that had acknowledged the French republic. These reasonings prevailed on the French administration to direct Montesquieu to remove from the Genevese territory. But the convention

convention disapproved of this measure, and determined to effect a total revolution in Geneva; solicited, as they observed, by a plurality of the inhabitants, who complained that the title of citizen was restricted to those only who composed the general assembly, but ought to be extended to every inhabitant without exception. The ruling party resolved instantly, for the sake of peace, to admit of these pretensions: but that portion of the citizens, who were styled natives, without waiting for the formal sanction of the general assembly, hastily took up arms, and insisted, that, for the security of their claims, all posts and places should be resigned to persons of their own party. Their strength and resolution prevailed, and they obtained all their requests. A convention elected by universal suffrage, assembled and took the supreme power into their hands. They new modelled the whole government; and, among other alterations, introduced the trial by jury. They met with opponents and censurers, in those whom they had ousted. But they paid the strictest regard to property, and acted altogether in so equitable and popular a manner, that, in a general assembly of the people, held for the purpose of accepting or rejecting the new constitution, it was confirmed by four thousand against only two hundred. The satisfaction of the generality was, however, disturbed, shortly after, by the machinations of an individual, who declaimed against the constituted government, as inclined to favour the rich in opposition to the poorer classes,

in the assessment of taxes that was then projecting. Through his suggestions, a desperate mob arose, and took possession, by surprise, of the arms of those whom they looked upon as enemies to their designs, and of whom they imprisoned such as they conceived the most dangerous. Suspending the constitutional government, they assumed the legislative and the executive power, under the denomination of a revolutionary tribunal, of which, Bousquet, the leader of this insurrection, was declared president. But their conduct was marked by too much lenity, in the opinion of multitudes of their adherents, who insisted on the immediate massacre of all the prisoners, amounting to near six hundred. They were compelled, in order to appease this multitude, to pass sentence of death upon seven out of eight individuals brought before them, two of whom only they had at first condemned. An appeal was made, to the body of the people in favour of the other five, and the sentence was, in consequence, reversed in behalf of three of them: but the violent party still persisted on the execution of the seven, and the tribunal did not dare to disobey. This merciless party proceeded to a variety of other oppressive and cruel acts. No man was spared, either in person or property, against whom they conceived suspicions. In the course of fourteen days, upwards of five hundred individuals underwent a trial before the revolutionary tribunal; out of these, thirty-seven were condemned to die, but only eleven were executed; the others not appearing to their citation:

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of the remaining four hundred and sixty prisoners, twenty only were acquitted; the others were either stripped of their property, expelled the city, or imprisoned. Geneva continued thus three months in a state of confusion and tyranny. The most prudent of the different parties found it necessary, at length, to drop their feuds and animosities, and to unite for the preservation of their civil independence against the private intrigues of the French and their emissaries, to bring the city under subjection. After a multiplicity of efforts to defeat these inimical projects, they succeeded so far as to obtain, from the convention at Paris, the recal of the French resident at Geneva, who had been at the bottom of the designs against its independence. They inflicted punishments adequate to their guilt on those who had been concerned in this treasonable business. They also reversed those judgments pronounced by the revolutionary tribunal, which had been dictated merely by the spirit of party. They laid an equitable assessment of taxes on the public: they prohibited party clubs, and threatened severe chastisement to those who abused the liberty of the press by incendiary publications.

But it was not only in the vicinity of France that the principles of resistance and innovation were felt: they extended their influence across the Atlantic, and excited dangerous commotions in the united states of North America. The necessities of the public had obliged government to adopt several of those methods of levying money, that are practised in Europe. That which appeared the most odious of any was the excise, so long held in ab-

horrence in all free states, notwithstanding the arguments not unjustly alleged for its propriety. A slight duty was imposed on the distilleries in the American states, by the congress that sat in 1790. It was submitted to by the generality, without complaint or dissatisfaction; but in the western parts of Pennsylvania it created discontents, that broke out into open resistance, in the course of 1794. These parts were chiefly inhabited by emigrants from the Highlands of Scotland, and from Ireland. As they had left their native country, in the hope of experiencing a happy and great change in their condition, which animates all emigrators from their native climes, and which, indeed is the only motive that induces men to relinquish the place of their birth, they saw with particular reluctance that mode of taxation exercised over them, which they had in their own country been taught to consider as highly tyrannical and oppressive. From murmurs they proceeded to actual resistance, and not only refused obedience to the laws enjoining the tax, but maltreated the officers that were employed to levy it.

Recalling to their minds the modes of resisting the stamp-act, and the other obnoxious methods of taxation that brought about the American revolution, the opposers of the excise duties expected that they would, in the present case, be attended with the same success, and they adopted them accordingly. They assembled at Pittsburgh, the principal place in the discontented counties. Here they agreed on a general remonstrance to congress, and on the establishment of committees of correspondence among themselves. They entered into resolutions

lutions against all communication with those who should accept of commissions for the levying of the duty. In consequence of these measures, the persons thus commissioned were so harshly used, in the execution of their orders, that, apprehending their lives were in danger, they had recourse to flight.

Intelligence of these transactions arriving at Philadelphia, excited much alarm in the government; averse to severity, and yet foreseeing that, without coercive measures, obedience to the law would probably be refused. The circumstances of the times were also particularly critical: the contest between Great Britain and France had occasioned material differences of opinion throughout the united states. Open parties had been formed in favour of each of these formidable powers, and they carried their reciprocal enmities to such a length, that it was becoming a task of great difficulty to contain them within bounds of any moderation.

Happily for that country, and Great Britain itself, general Washington still presided over the American councils. He saw the necessity of uniting vigour with conciliation, and of putting a speedy period to this spirit of resistance to the authority of government, before it rose to such a height as to become contagious, or through unforeseen casualties, be rendered instrumental in the hands of that party which sought to involve America in the quarrels that distracted Europe. Commissioners were sent to the refractory party, in order to negotiate with the heads of the opponents, who appointed sixty of their own people to meet them. But the pro-

posals on the part of government were rejected, and it was intimated to the commissioners, that unless the tax were repealed, the inhabitants of the opposing counties would renounce their allegiance to congress, and apply for assistance to Great Britain.

A menace of this nature raised in the commissioners a suspicion, that the disaffected were secretly instigated to their resistance by agents among them from the British government. This was farther confirmed by the treatment they experienced from the populace, which insulted them in the grossest manner. Thus the negotiations were broken off, and the commissioners departed without hopes of effecting a reconciliation.

The American government had now no other alternative but to repeal, or to enforce the tax. The general submission to it, as just and judicious, by all the other provinces of the union, soon determined the administration to act with vigour on this occasion; rightly confiding in a faithful and unanimous support. A proclamation was first issued, recalling, in friendly terms, the refractory counties to their duty, and warning them of the necessary consequences of their disobedience. But whatever motives prompted them, they openly bid defiance to all threats, and assembled, to the number of five thousand men, in arms, at Pittsburgh, fully determined to oppose force with force.

The exigency was now become too serious for any longer delay. The militia of the counties adjacent to those in insurrection, which were

were four in number, received orders to embody. General Miffin, who had made a conspicuous figure in the American war, took the field against them, at the head of six thousand volunteers, and another body of seven thousand men was on its march to join them. These different corps amounted to near thirty thousand men. This great force had been collected with the view of intimidating the insurgents into submission, without the effusion of blood. The plan succeeded completely. On the approach of general Washington, they gave up all ideas of resistance. The army entered, without meeting with the least molestation, into the country of the insurgents, who had at first assembled in considerable numbers; but finding that opposition would be vain, disbanded every where; their chiefs, thus defeated, were obliged to fly. Several of them, however, were taken. The insurrection being suppressed in this expeditious manner, a meeting was called at Pittsburgh, of the principal settlers in the disaffected parts, who came to a determination to submit to the tax, and to pay due obedience to the laws enacted by congress, and to maintain them to the utmost of their power. In order to reconcile the malcontents by moderation, after subduing them by force, their leaders, who had been seized, received a full pardon with the other prisoners, and the insurrection finally terminated, as the government had cordially desired, without effusion of blood.

This speedy and fortunate issue of a business, that wore at first so

menacing an aspect, did great honour to the American government. Through the firmness and prudence displayed throughout the whole of this transaction, not only a dangerous insurrection was quelled, but a strong precedent was established, of the inefficacy of resistance to the just and moderate demands of the legislature. It was also the more seasonable, that the state was, at this very juncture, involved in a quarrel with the Indians on the frontiers to the West of the United States, and not a little apprehensive that the dispute might, before long, assume a greater degree of magnitude, from the interference of that power which the Americans had most reason to dread.

An officer of noted courage and conduct had been placed at the head of the force dispatched against the Indians. This was general Wayne, who had greatly distinguished himself in the American war. He had, on this occasion, a difficult part to act. He had not only the Indians to encounter, but a considerable body of Canadians and British colonists, of Detroit, intermixed with them. A farther difficulty occurred from a circumstance unforeseen and unexpected. A fort, within the limits of the United States, stood behind the encampment of this force, and had a British garrison, which had lately retaken possession of it. This being an infraction of the treaty of 1783, general Wayne thence concluded, that hostilities were intended against the American states. He had also received information that a British agent among the Indians had excited

excited them to take up arms; unwilling to act aggressively, in so dubious a case, he proposed a negotiation for peace; but his offers were rejected. He now saw himself constrained either to make a retreat, or to engage an enemy, whose strength was double to his own; confiding, however, in the bravery and experience of his people, he resolved not only to stand his ground, but to proceed to an immediate attack. The position of the Indians, and their auxiliaries, was strong and well chosen, and they did not imagine that he would venture to assail them with an inferior force: this he did, however, with such impetuosity, and so much judgment, that they were entirely defeated, and forced to disperse in several directions.

So complete a success, obtained under the guns of a British fort, occasioned its commanding-officer to expostulate with the American general, for having made so near an approach, and to warn him against any act of hostility; as no war existed between Great Britain and the United States. The general replied, that he had of right expelled an enemy from the territory of the states; but that an act of hostility had been committed by the British troops, in re-occupying the fort of which they were in possession, as it stood confessedly on ground belonging to the states; he required him,

for that reason, to evacuate it, and retire within the British boundaries. The answer to this, which was no other than a summons to surrender the fort, purported, that being commissioned to occupy it, by superior authority, he could not deliver it up; expressing at the same time, his hope of an amicable settlement of the matter, by their respective governments.

Such was the substance of the letters that passed on this occasion, between major Campbell, commander in the fort, and general Wayne. The latter was too prudent to insist on a compliance with his requisition from the British officer, which might have produced consequences of a very fatal nature; he therefore withdrew, leaving the termination of this difference to a more friendly mode of decision. It was, however, shrewdly suspected, from a variety of circumstances, that inimical designs were in agitation; if not by the immediate direction of the British administration, still through the interference of its agents among the Indian tribes. Much was said and written on this subject by the American ministry, and the British resident; but it was not finally settled till the next year, when a formal embassy was sent from America to Great Britain, for that purpose, as well as others of equal importance.

C H A P. IX.

Successes of the Arms of France in every part of Europe.—Most of the Powers, engaged in the Coalition, alarmed at the Backwardness of their People to push the War for the Restoration of the French Monarchy.—General Partiality of the inferior Ranks, in all Nations, to the French Republic.—Different Sentiments entertained of the French Republic, by different Powers of Europe.—And of the necessary political Balance.—Treaties between the French Republic and several Members of the Confederacy.—Meeting of the British Parliament.—Speech from the Throne, recommending a vigorous Prosecution of the War.—Addresses, in Answer; from both Houses.—Debates thereon.—Motion, by Mr. Sheridan tending to the Repeal of the Suspension of the Habeas Corpus.—Negatived.—Motion, by Mr. Wilberforce, for negotiating a Peace with France.—Negatived.—Motion for a Repeal of the Act suspending that of Habeas Corpus.—Negatived.—Motion for continuing the Suspension Act.—Carried in both Houses.

THE conclusion of the year 1794, and the commencement of the year 1795, were marked by the splendour attending the arms of France, in every part of Europe, and the dejection with which their successes had impressed most of the powers engaged in the coalition. Exclusively of their continual defeats in the field, they had other motives to grieve them, of a nature distressing in proportion to their unwillingness to avow them; these were the backwardness of their own people in seconding their views, and the manifest aversion they openly expressed to a war, which they considered as undertaken merely to compel France to revert to a monarchical government. Herein the multitude could not perceive in what manner they were interested; their feelings led them to condemn an attempt from which they had

hitherto derived nothing but losses and disgraces abroad, and misery at home. Hence, in the anguish of their hearts, they were not sparing of censure on the conduct of their rulers; and looked upon themselves as victims devoted to their ambition, which could not brook that any portion of mankind should live under any other government than that of fellow-monarchs. Full of this idea, the inferior ranks, throughout all Europe, reprobated the coalition against the French republic, and styled it the war of kings against the people.

This idea was propagated by the French, with indefatigable industry, in every kingdom, and had, at this period, gained them prodigious numbers of well-wishers; nor were the lower classes alone under its influence: a large proportion of the more decent and reputable people were

were not averse to those maxims of liberty, both in political and religious matters, which the French inculcated with so much zeal, and supported with so much valour and success; they were secretly pleased at the ineffectual efforts of the coalesced powers to overturn the republic, and acknowledged their good wishes to it as far as they durst.

This partial disposition to France was too visible, in most of the European monarchies, to remain concealed from the heads of the state; but it was a discovery which prudence forbade them to promulgate: they were conscious that this partiality was produced by the sense that men entertained of the wrongs and oppressions they endured, through the misconduct and iniquitous government of their rulers; but they carefully abstained from the manifestation of such consciousness, and, in their addresses to the public, always expressed themselves as if perfectly satisfied of its attachment and entire approbation of their measures. By thus dissembling their own sentiments, they prevented, in a great measure, those of others from being propagated through those extensive communications that always take place between individuals, whenever complaints and proclamations are issued by government, against those who are obnoxious to them.

From causes of this nature proceeded, at this time, much of the discouragement that appeared in the enemies of the French republic. But, without adverting to such motives, there was a sufficiency of reasons to be alarmed at the continual victories and conquests of the French, and the rapid progress of their opinions. Their situation,

though agitated at home, was triumphant abroad. Notwithstanding that they were professedly foes to kings, yet, in the opinion of sound politicians, they were esteemed too judicious to carry this enmity beyond mere speculation, whenever their evident interest should require them to contradict that theory by a contrary practice. Thus it was, that a mutual good understanding first took place between them and Prussia, as it already subsisted between them and the two northern courts of Sweden and Denmark; which, instead of joining the coalition against them, obstinately persisted in a friendly neutrality; and even united together to maintain it, and to require a compensation for the damages done to their commerce, in violation of the treaties on which their commercial rights were founded.

These transactions evinced, at the same time, that all the European powers did not coincide in their ideas of the French government. Their nearest neighbours were, doubtless, so deeply interested in the diminution of their overgrown power, that it was not surprising they should strain every nerve to effect it; but those at a distance were no less interested in preventing the depression of France, without the weight of which, the political balance of Europe was no less in danger of being destroyed, than by its retention of the immoderate power it had now attained.

Ideas of this kind, operated more effectually in favour of France, than many have seemed to perceive, or thought proper to acknowledge; they prepared the way to those treaties, which the French found

means to conclude, in the course of 1795, with some of the most considerable members of the confederacy; whose dereliction of it, at the beginning of the preceding year, was not even suspected, and the apprehension of which would have appeared chimerical.

It was in the midst of the triumphs of France over all its enemies, and while the potentates of Europe were beginning to hesitate concerning the measures proper to be pursued, that the parliament of Great Britain, resumed its annual sessions: they were opened by the king on the thirteenth day of December; the royal speech insisted on the necessity of a vigorous continuation of the war, and on the rapid decline of the resources of France. Holland terrified at the dangers that threatened it, had sought to obviate them by negotiation for peace with the French government; but this was not to be confided in, and its enmity to Great Britain, in particular, rendered every attempt at a reconciliation disgraceful and impracticable: the most effectual means had, therefore, been used for the augmentation of the national force; and the operations of the next campaigns would be concerted with due care, in conjunction with those powers that were convinced of the necessity of acting with the utmost vigour. The acceptance of the crown of Corsica was mentioned, together with the treaty of amity and commerce with America, and the marriage of the prince of Wales with the princess of Brunswick. The commons were exhorted to make an ample and timely provision for the public service; the flourishing state of commerce, credit, and public resources, was strongly asserted;

and the prospect held out, that, by resolution and perseverance, security would be obtained at home, and Europe delivered from the dangers to which it was exposed.

In the house of lords, the address was moved by lord Camden, and seconded by lord Besborough: they warmly insisted on the prosecution of the war, and that the ill-success of the last campaign rendered negotiations for peace unseasonable, as the enemy would require concessions too dishonourable to be granted. The situation of France, compared to that of England, was far more critical, from its destitution of the many resources remaining to this country. Never had the strength of Great Britain been so powerfully exerted; the revenue was particularly flourishing, and the forces by land and sea had at no period displayed a more formidable appearance.

They were opposed by the earl of Guildford, who in strong terms, reprobated the continuance of the war, and alleged its impolicy, from the incessant disasters it produced to the country, which was in a much worse situation than when it commenced. The object, proposed by ministers, was as distant as at that time; and the allies, who were to assist in its accomplishment, acted as if they rather permitted than wanted the aid of this country. Our engagements tied us to them more than them to us, and were framed for the purposes of their ambition. Holland had been sacrificed to it, and, without a peace, was utterly undone; France, it was clear, could neither be conquered nor dictated to by the confederacy; to represent that country, as labouring under heavier calamities than England,

was no encouragement to proceed in a war that had proved so ruinous. The ministry had been equally improvident and unskilful in the directing of military operations, and in the framing of treaties. Their foreign politics were marked by inconsiderate prodigality, and their domestic proceedings by unconstitutional rigour. Immense subsidies had been trusted, for instance, to the king of Prussia, which he applied to the destruction of the liberty and independence of Poland. And alarms had been raised at home, in consequence of which, personal freedom was at an end. The earl concluded by recommending peace, without suffering the French system of government to stand as an obstacle, and made a motion to that purpose, as an amendment to the address.

He was supported by the earl of Derby, who, in answer to the earls of Morton and Kinnoul, who spoke against the earl of Guildford, went over a variety of those arguments so frequently adduced against the ministerial measures. He touched particularly upon the business of Corsica; the possession of which, he said, would be productive of more expense than utility. He complained of the enormous bounties given to recruits, amounting to twenty-five guineas a man, a price far beyond the competency of the country's finances at the present day, when, if not entirely exhausted, they were alarmingly diminished. The navy, he also complained, was sacrificed to the army; the supplies of men for which, prevented the manning of the navy with its usual proportion of one-third of landmen. He ended by advising a change of ministers, as

France would not treat with the present.

Lord Spencer, in reply, recommended a spirited prosecution of the war; stating that the navy would, in the following spring, assume the most formidable appearance ever known. He maintained the great use of Corsica, were it only for the reception it afforded to the British fleet, in the proximity of the many harbours occupied by the enemies to this country.

A recapitulation of the victories won, towns taken, and the other advantages obtained, by the French, was laid before the house by the marquis of Lansdowne, with his usual accuracy. He warmly inveighed against the continuance of the war; especially since the approach of the French to Holland, which would inevitably fall into their hands, now that the rivers were, through the intenseness of the frost, become passable every where. He noticed that Germany was inclinable to peace; Prussia, in particular, could not be deemed a real enemy to France, while Austria, the great rival to both, had an existence. National credit, the marquis observed, had long stood its ground; so it had in France, under the former government, but failed at last. This was an admonition not to be slighted. It was, in the mean time, absurd to deny the competency of the French government to form treaties. In the fluctuation and uncertainty of its internal situation, it had not violated its engagements with foreign states. Adverting to Corsica, he cited Volney and Neckar in proof of its little value. His opinion was, that the French government would refuse to treat

with the present ministry; he meant not, however, to cover their places; frequent ministerial changes he strongly reprobated, and thought that country the best governed, where ministers remained such; while their abilities, their diligence, and their honesty, stood unimpeached.

A variety of historical passages were adduced by lord Mulgrave, on this occasion, in favour of the ministerial determination to persist in the war. The French, he observed, had frequently met with the most signal reverses of fortune, after obtaining the most astonishing successes. Lewis XIV. was a remarkable instance of this in the last, and in the beginning of the present century; no monarch had been more victorious, but none was finally reduced to more distress. In the memory of living witnesses, the French had begun with triumph, and ended with disgrace; as particularly in the war of 1755. It was unmanly, therefore, as well as unreasonable, to look on the present progress of the French as irresistible. Whatever were our sufferings, they ought cheerfully to be borne, when it was reflected, that we were struggling for our national preservation. In speaking of Corsica, he noticed the intrinsic unimportance of Minorca and Gibraltar, which, however, by their local situation, were highly useful to Great Britain.

Lord Stanhope seconded, with his usual emphasis, the amendment moved by lord Guildford, and was replied to by lord Mansfield. This speaker represented the pecuniary resources of France as totally exhausted. The expenditure of France in the last campaign amounted to one hundred and forty-four millions

sterling; the assignats, in actual circulation, were two hundred and forty millions, and the quantity of forged assignats was immense: hence they were altogether so depreciated, that no person would take them but at an incredible discount, reducing their value almost to nothing.

It was remarked, on this subject, by lord Lauderdale, that if the finances of France were in reality so reduced, the French would never retain so haughty a style; nor ought they to be so heavily charged with ambitious views, when it was well known they were, at that time, soliciting peace from one of the coalesced powers; and had scrupulously observed the stipulations with neutral states. He dwelt severely on the prospect, held out by lord Spencer, of the most formidable navy, in a few months, ever put to sea; while, at the same time, the admiralty were not apprized, that the French were masters of the entrance of the Channel. He censured the ministry for not sending out a larger force to the West Indies, where the French were most vulnerable; and ascribed to their weakness, in rendering the public a security for the Imperial loan, the facility with which it was procured by the Austrian agents.

The arguments, that had been alleged for and against the continuance of the war, were reviewed by lord Grenville, who concluded for the prudence and propriety of continuing it with additional spirit. The marquis of Abercorn, and the duke of Leeds, rejected the amendment; though they refused to bind themselves with the ministerial party to the support of the war.

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The speech of the duke of Bedford, like those he had already delivered, was extremely animated. It had, he said, been explicitly affirmed, by ministers, that the French were utterly unable to defray the charges of another campaign; and yet, experience had shewn that they had, in the last, baffled all the calculations founded on their inability. It was absurd to infer their want of means from the prodigiousness of their expences; and of these no valid proofs had been stated. He condemned, with great warmth, the idea of a war of mutual extermination, which was, in fact, the object pursued and recommended by ministers. He concluded with pointed strictures on the exhortation of ministers, to unite in supporting what they styled the generous exertions of war: these words he stigmatised, as inconsistent with the miseries and distresses accompanying a military life; and, more than all, with the sensations that must be felt, by men torn from all domestic comforts, and compelled to leave their dearest relatives exposed to want and wretchedness.

Lord Grenville ended the debate, by declaring that, notwithstanding the insinuations, that the royal speech purported no peace would be made with France while it continued a republic, such a construction was erroneous, and could not be warranted by any part of it. On putting the question for lord Guildford's amendment, it was rejected by one hundred and seven votes against twelve.

In the house of commons, it being usual, previously to moving the address, to read the bill for the prosecuting of clandestine outlawries, the speaker, of course, presented the

bill; but Mr. Sheridan opposed its reading. His reason was, that it being a custom established, merely to assert the right of the house to proceed to any business they judged proper, before that of the royal speech, they ought to realize that right, with which they were, doubtless, invested for useful purposes. Instead of reading, therefore, the outlawry bill, he would move the reading of another of much more importance, at the present juncture. They were called together to give their advice to the king, on subjects of the highest consequence to the nation; but before they could consider themselves in a situation to advise with freedom and impartiality, it was proper they should be in a state of liberty; and this they could not be while under the terrors of a suspension of the habeas corpus act: his intention, therefore, was to move for a repeal of that suspension.

This motion was warmly opposed by Mr. Dundas, who declared himself of opinion, that instead of being repealed it ought to be renewed. He was supported by the solicitor-general, who, in a speech of some length, asserted that the evidence on the late trials had proved the reality of a conspiracy, though by the verdict of the jury, the persons acquitted could not be brought to a second trial. Others beside himself were, he said, of this opinion. He then detailed the proceedings of the several societies, and concluded by condemning, in violent terms, their claim to universal suffrage.

The solicitor-general was opposed by Mr. Fox. According to the spirit as well as the letter of the law and the constitution, it appeared to him, that a jury's acquittal established

the innocence of the party accused; but the speech he had now heard tended to overturn the validity of a jury's verdict, which was the strongest fence of the constitution, by securing the personal freedom of the subject. The intent of that speech was to maintain the doctrine of constructive treason: which, if it were not vigorously opposed by the house, might, in time, be held out as the law of the land. If the solicitor-general thought himself better informed than the jury, why did he not communicate this superior information to them on the trial, or to the house at present? but the truth was, that jury consisted of disinterested men, who had no favours to ask, nor to expect from government. Was it the opinion of a crown-lawyer, or of an English jury, that would have the greatest weight in deciding the character of an individual?

In answer to Mr. Fox, Mr. serjeant Adair reviewed the proceedings of the societies, and demanded whether it were probable that their designs did not aim at the destruction of the monarch, or the constitution? The guilty were often acquitted in courts of justice; not because they were considered as innocent, but merely because there was no strictly legal evidence produced against them. A doubt of their guilt was sufficient, in the breast of the jury, for their acquittal; but that did by no means clear the character of the accused.

There was no reason, Mr. Pitt alleged, for repealing the bill, unless it were proved that it had been enacted upon erroneous grounds, and without sufficient deliberation; or that government had abused the power it had entrusted to them.

Those causes of alarm that had occasioned it had not been disproved, nor that the accused were involved in a conspiracy as dangerous as treason itself. The verdict in their favour could not, therefore, operate as a motive for repealing the act, even admitting that their indictment for high-treason had not been supported by legal proofs; and if the judicious and unbiassed public looked upon them as guilty of an attempt, for which the law had not provided a due punishment, it was the duty of parliament to make such provision.

In reply to Mr. Pitt, it was asserted, by Mr. Sheridan, that the bill had been hurried through the house in two days, without the usual notice, a circumstance far from implying requisite deliberation. He was convinced, by what he had heard, that a farther suspension of the bill was determined upon; but he was resolved to oppose it with every argument he was able to adduce, that ministers might have no opportunity of grounding it on apprehensions of their own creating, and reasons which, if not combated, they might represent as unanswerable.

Mr. Sheridan proceeded next to call in question the propriety of Mr. Dundas's appearing in the house as a member. By Mr. Burke's bill of reform, the office of third secretary of state had been abolished, and an act passed, that if it should be revived, and conferred on a member of parliament, his seat should thereby be vacated. Mr. Pitt answered this objection, by intimating that the duke of Portland was the third secretary of state: an explanation that Mr. Fox and Mr. Sheridan thought disrespectful to that

that nobleman, who had formerly concurred in the abolition of that office.

These discussions being thus terminated, the address was moved by sir Francis Knatchbull, and seconded by Mr. Canning; who observed, that though unfavourable circumstances had occurred abroad, they ought not to prevent a vigorous prosecution of the war: they had been occasioned by the desertion of our allies, and not by the misconduct of ministers. The fall of Robespierre, and the subsequent changes in the government of France, did not warrant this country to attempt a treaty. The French divided their enemies in two classes: the instigators of the coalition against them, and those who had joined it through compulsion. We were in the first class, the Dutch in the second: the treatment of the latter would shortly shew what we had to expect; but a pacification with them, at present, would bring so little security, that no diminution of our fleets and armies could ensue, and our expences must remain as great as ever.

Mr. Wilberforce objected to the address, as pledging the house to carry on the war till a counter-revolution was effected in France. The alterations in that country made it appear, in his opinion, more inclined to moderation than heretofore. Jacobinism had been suppressed; and the government had assumed an aspect of lenity, in compliance with the general sense of the people, who were sincerely desirous of peace. The coalition, he observed, was dissolved, and we could not expect to overcome, with our single strength, a nation that had resisted so powerful a confederacy,

pressing upon them from abroad; while they were, at the same time, assailed with near fifty insurrections at home. He did not think a monarchy the fittest form of government for the French, at the present juncture. Were monarchy restored, the country would not be pacified, as its friends and enemies would still preserve their animosities, and the latter still remain the superiors in number. It ought to be recollected, by those who thought a counter-revolution in France, practicable, that six years had now elapsed since the first revolution; during that space, a new generation of young men had been carefully trained, and brought up, in republican principles; and numbers of the elderly, and others averse to these, were either dead, or had emigrated to other countries. He concluded by moving a negotiation for peace, which, whether successful or not, would prove to the people that the government desired peace. The nation would then feel the necessity of uniting with ministers, whose offers of reconciliation had been rejected by the enemy, and would cordially give their vigorous support to what no one could deny, in such a case, to be a just and necessary war.

The motion of Mr. Wilberforce was seconded by Mr. Duncombe and Mr. Burdon, but opposed by Mr. Windham. The ill success of the war he solely imputed to the misconduct of some of the allies. Comparing the events of the present with those of former wars, he asserted that all that could be said on this subject was, that hitherto it had only been negatively successful. The most alarming circumstance attending it,

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was, he said, that we were not true to ourselves. The political societies, in England, had propagated principles inimical to it. The acquittal of those members belonging to them, by a jury at the late trials, he represented in the most odious light, styling them no better than acquitted felons.

This expression was so highly resented, that he was immediately called to order. He explained himself by saying, that though proofs had not been adduced of their legal guilt, it did not follow that they were free from moral guilt. He justified the interference of Great Britain in the affairs of France, by the authority of Vattel, whose opinion was, that every government, that is threatened, has a right to resist the power that threatens it, till it is secure from that power. Henceforth, he said, the characters of men would be known, by their condemnation or approval of the French revolution, to which those who had hitherto acted as enemies, could not, with propriety, change their conduct, and declare for terms of conciliation with that people. He deprecated the opening of a treaty with them, as it would lead the way to an intercourse, between the two nations, that might introduce into England all the calamities and horrors that desolated France. We were not yet reduced to the necessity of recurring to so disgraceful a measure; we still were able to make the most spirited and powerful exertions, without suffering from them; all classes were competent to the weight of the burdens laid upon them; neither the rich nor the

poor had yet reason to complain: while the former felt no inconveniences, the latter would feel none, as the expences and luxury of the wealthy were the support of the indigent. He concluded with an exhortation, to display as much firmness and perseverance in a good cause, as the French did in a bad one.

The desire of terminating a ruinous war was strongly approved by Mr. Bankes, as equally just and indispensable; after the fruitless trial to reduce the enemy to our own terms. If no peace were admissible, while France was a republic, the war might be endless. The time must, nevertheless, arrive, when we must treat: the sooner, therefore, the better, for both parties. The desertion of our allies, in particular, afforded a motive, which alone was sufficient for putting an end to a contest of which they were the original movers. Sir Richard Hill expressed himself of the same opinion.

These explicit avowals of a disapprobation of farther hostilities, on the part of members who had hitherto coincided with the ministerial system of war, seemed to strike Mr. Pitt with great surprise. He denied the tendency of the King's speech, to inculcate the continuance of the war till France reassumed a monarchical form; though he acknowledged his persuasion, that no peace could be depended on, till a royal government was re-established; the only proper one, in his opinion, for all the European nations. The coalition, once dissolved, would not easily be restored; and we then should be left

left alone to contend with France. Was it probable, that if we were to abandon the contest, the French would alter their present system? Would their immense armies be peaceably disbanded? Would not the French government find it necessary to give them employment, and what other could be found, than to complete the ruin of the royal party, which still remained in sufficient force to afford us a powerful co operation? Could the low countries be given up to France, consistently with our safety? Should the French islands, in the West Indies, be restored to them; not only those who had placed themselves under our protection would be ruined, but our own possessions would soon be thrown into confusion. The real losses of the French far exceeded those of the coalition, and the resources of the latter were greatly superior to those of the former. The pecuniary strength of France arose from the immense extortion of money and property from all ranks of people; a method of procuring supplies that could only be supported by terror and violence, and could not, in the nature of things, be lasting. France had expended, since the revolution, no less than three hundred and twenty millions sterling. The paper money they had created, had hitherto supported this prodigious expenditure. But paper credit was at an end, and it was evident, by the debates in the convention, that they did not dare to venture on farther emissions.

A reply was made to this speech by Mr. Fox. Had the minister, he said, avowed that his

design was to destroy the French government, he well knew that he would not have been so numerously supported; but his determination, to procure approvers of his plan, led him to disguise it: and what was the consequence? a series of the most astonishing successes on the part of the enemy, and of the most mortifying disasters on that of the coalition. He might be reproached for this favourable representation of the exploits of an ancient and inveterate foe; but he felt himself bound to speak truths, however disagreeable, from which only, motives of conduct could be formed. Folly, not fortune, was the cause of our disasters. If other nations could live peaceably with France, why could not Britain? Denmark, Sweden, and North America, had stood aloof from the contest without detriment, and so we might have done. Could England, with honour, it had been asked, submit to treat with France? But in what consisted this submission? in no more than allowing the French to have a bad government. But had we not treated with governments as bad? Had the government of France been better for a century past? Had we not tamely submitted to the infamous treatment of Poland? Could we, without disgracing ourselves, it was said, sue for peace to the French? He would answer this question by another. Were nations, at war, bound, in honour, to exterminate each other? for such must be the issue to one, if neither were to request a peace. The royalists had been mentioned, as standing through our

our engagements to them, in the way of a pacification; but surely the nation was not to be sacrificed to the rash promises of a minister. Experience had shewn we could depend on none of our allies, who were gradually deserting the cause into which they had drawn us. Prussia had forsaken it, and so probably would Austria, at a convenient season. The French finances were said to be entirely exhausted; but this assertion had been repeatedly made, and as repeatedly belied, by the events of every year. It had also been affirmed, that whenever the French reverted to a more moderate system, which they must necessarily do at last, there would be an end to their exertions, which were only supported by violence; but had their activity and efforts been diminished, since the fall of Robespierre, when they undeniably adopted a plan of moderation?

Mr. Jolliffe coincided with Mr. Fox, and objected to the address, as binding the house to an implicit support of the war. He expressed himself, however, highly averse to any treaty of peace, of which the French should dictate the conditions. The debate concluded at four in the morning, when, on a division, seventy-three voted for the amendment, and two hundred and forty-six against it.

On the 5th of January, the discussion on the suspension of the habeas corpus act was resumed by Mr. Sheridan. The preamble to that suspension stated that a dangerous and treasonable conspiracy existed in this country; but a verdict in court had shewn this conspiracy to be a mere fabrica-

tion of ministers, who had exercised an illegal influence over the grand jury, that found the indictment against the parties accused. He severely animadverted on the expression of acquitted felons, used by Mr. Windham, in the preceding debate, as scandalously misapplied. The parties had undergone the strictest trial, and no pains had been spared to criminate them. Eight thousand pounds had been paid to the crown-lawyers, and no less than two hundred witnesses had been procured against one alone, at a vast expence. He strongly ridiculed the epithet of formidable, bestowed on the supposed conspiracy; the strength and preparations made by which, he jocularly stated, as consisting of an arsenal furnished with one pike and nine rusty muskets, and an exchequer containing nine pounds and one bad shilling. These were the ways and means with which the conspirators proposed to overturn the government of Great Britain. The suspension of the habeas corpus act, Mr. Sheridan explicitly affirmed, was, in fact, to suspend the whole British constitution. Nothing less than imminent, as well as evident danger, could warrant such a measure. But ministers now acted on the most questionable of all information, that of spies; a species of agents more numerous and more employed and relied upon than at any preceding periods. He described, with great force of language, the various evils resulting to society, from the encouragement of persons base enough to assume so detestable, as well as so despicable, a character. The people

people at large had, he observed, been lately charged with a seditious disposition; but the fact was, that they were discontented at the measures of administration, and apt to express their sentiments of persons in power, without disguise. The only method of preventing the complaints of the public would be, to alter the ruinous system hitherto pursued. Mr. Sheridan, then resuming the subject of the late trials, asserted, that the persons tried were not certainly more culpable than those well-known members of the societies, in 1780, that had acted precisely on the same principles, and that ought strictly to be considered as having set them the example. If their imitators were guilty of treasonable practices, they had also incurred no less criminality, and merited equal punishment. Look to France, he noticed, was now the cry, whenever the reform of abuses, demanded by those societies, was insisted on, as necessary to remove the complaints of the people. But, were he to look to France, he would look to the causes of its present calamities; the pride and oppression which the French had so long endured; the miseries of a despotic government, deaf to the repeated remonstrances of a suffering people; and spurning at all entreaties, for an alleviation of their burdens. These were the objects that would claim his attention, as they doubtless would that of every man in England who reflected, that, in order to avert, from this country, those evils that now afflicted France, the causes that had produced them must be removed.

Mr. Windham replied, with great warmth, to Mr. Sheridan. He imputed the favourable verdict of the jury, in the late trials of the persons accused of conspiracy, to ignorance and incapacity to discern the true state of the case before them. He asserted, that the real object of the societies was to overturn the constitution, and that the principles imported from France would produce the worst effects, unless they were opposed with the strictest vigilance. He took this occasion to deny his having uttered such an expression as "perish the commerce of England," which he attributed to another member, Mr. Hardinge, who did not disavow it.

The propriety of continuing the suspension of the habeas corpus was discussed, in a long and elaborate speech, by Mr. Erskine, who concluded, from what had passed on the trials, which he accurately recapitulated, that a conspiracy had been explicitly disproved. This being the basis on which the suspension rested, no pretence could remain for its continuance; which would be to suspend the liberty of the whole nation, on the mere suspicion of some individuals.

If the determination of a jury, it was replied by Mr. Adair, were never to be called in question, upon what feeble ground the subject's liberty would stand! Parliament was clearly entitled to investigate the conduct of juries; otherwise there would be no redress against the corruption of juries or of judges, nor against ministerial oppression. On this maxim he justified the discussions on the late trials, the issue

of which, though in favour of the accused, had, by no fixed rule, established their innocence. The suspicions entertained against them had not been cleared up to their advantage: in one particular case, the jury hesitated two hours. Would the judges, would the grand jury, have countenanced the accusation, unless it had appeared founded? but the transactions of the societies sufficiently proved their treasonable intentions. The general statement of a conspiracy was undeniable. The same circumstances on which the suspension-act was grounded in the preceding year, still existed, and no valid motive could be alleged for its repeal.

In answer to Mr. Adair, it was asked by Mr. Fox, upon what argument the repeal would be founded, the former argument having been legally disproved? the decision of a jury, though doubtless revisable by parliament, could not, consistently with reason and equity, be questioned without the most evident necessity. In the present cases, no acquittal had taken place, but after the strictest and severest trial: In that of Hardy, which decided the others, had a conspiracy been proved, he must, unavoidably, have been condemned, as he was privy to all the transactions of the parties accused. His discharge was, therefore, a proof that no conspiracy existed. Such being the fact, what was to be the motive of the suspension? the house ought to reflect, that they were now sitting as a jury, on the palladium of English liberty. To say, that a suspension of the habeas would obviate the necessity of bringing people to trial, was precisely the argument urged in defence of the *lettres de cachet*, under the old

government of France, by which a person might remain a prisoner for years, or for life. He concluded, by reproaching ministers for charging opposition with promoting discontents, in the same manner as they accused the dissenters of being bad subjects, and encouraged an ignorant and bigoted populace to treat them with barbarity.

The propriety of the bill suspending the habeas was maintained by the master of the rolls, and as earnestly opposed by Mr. Thomson, and Mr. Milbanke. After a concluding speech in its support, by Mr. Pitt, the debate closed, by 41 votes for a repeal of the suspension, and 185 against it.

Ten days after the decision of this matter, a motion for leave to bring in a bill, to continue the suspension of the habeas corpus, was moved by the attorney-general, and carried by 71 against 13. But the second reading, which was on the 23d, met with a strong opposition. Mr. Lambton observed, that the power entrusted to the minister, by the intended bill, was enormous: he might imprison individuals on what pretences he thought proper. The whole nation was in a manner surrendered to his discretion. The worthiest men were liable to be thrown into confinement, without being informed of the particular crime or offence for which they suffered, without knowing their accuser, and without the benefit of a trial till it suited the minister's convenience. Was such treatment of the subject to be endured, in a country, calling itself free, without the most glaring and self-evident necessity? The trials, that had taken place, had proved the innocence of the parties accused, of every charge brought

brought against them. What more was required, by the law of the land, to clear them of those accusations that brought them into court? was not this sufficient not only for their discharge, but to shield them from all malicious imputations? No acts of treason had been substantiated against them. This being the main intent and scope of their trial, and having entirely failed, what remained for the candid parts of society, but to acquiesce in the verdict of an unbiassed jury, and to acknowledge them, what they certainly were, after such a decision, not guilty of the crime laid to their charge? The grand jury, it was alleged, had found the bill against them; but upon what evidence? that of persons suspected of being spies and informers, and whose occupation it was to discover guilt in hope of a reward for their discovery. Were these characters worthy of the least credit, either in private transactions or in a public court? did it become either ministers, or their partisans, to insist upon the weight of such testimony? Had they not been confuted in open court? was it fair, was it legal, to build on the reports of such men, so weighty a measure as the suspension, which was to affect the public tranquillity, and the domestic quiet of a whole nation? for who was safe, when once suspicions were deemed sufficient motives to rob a man of his liberty? These were not surmises, nor groundless insinuations: every man that had spirit enough to avow his disapprobation of ministerial measures, laid himself open to the severest treatment. Before a trust of such magnitude as that which was given to government, by the sus-

pension of the habeas, could be assented to by the representatives of the people, they ought to be well persuaded, that it was indispensably required; they ought also to have proofs of such necessity: without these they had no right to inchain their constituents at the foot of a minister, subject to all those passions that are the natural concomitants of an exalted post, and whose native uprightness of disposition, however it might be asserted by his adherents, ought by no means to command implicit confidence. Various societies had of late years been established throughout the nation, and obtained great popularity: it was usual, in the ministerial circles, to represent them as consisting chiefly of disaffected people. But these societies were the very life of liberty in a free country: those only disapproved of them, who were better friends to the agents of the executive power, than to the freedom of the constitution; the existence of which depended on the avowal and circulation of free and manly ideas on political subjects. To oppose, or to depreciate these societies, was a proof that ministers dreaded their investigating spirit. This alone shewed a consciousness of deserving censure; but this was the strongest argument in favour of these societies, and how firmly they ought to be supported by a nation that valued its freedom. The incessant complaints of their seditious tendency proceeded solely from the mouths of notorious tools of power. He was himself, Mr. Lambton said, a member of one of these societies, that of the friends to the people, and defied any unprejudiced man to tax their proceedings with the least

least impropriety or disaffection to government. They canvassed its measures with unreserve; but were steadily attached to the constitution itself; which indeed had so little to apprehend from these societies, that it was chiefly among them the warmest supporters of it were found. The reform of parliament had long been their principal object. Motives of prudence and moderation had, in the present tempestuous season, suspended their efforts to accomplish it; but they would certainly pursue their determinations on that point at a more auspicious period.

Such was the purport of the remarkable speech made by Mr. Lambton, on this occasion. It was answered by the attorney-general, who solemnly declared, that he was induced by no other motive than conviction of its propriety, to support the continuance of the suspension-act. It was with grief, he said, that he had heard the arguments of so able a speaker as the last, in opposition to it, as they seemed calculated to encourage persons ill-affected. It was not, he said, the guilt of particular individuals that was now under examination: it was the existence of a conspiracy of which parliament was clearly competent to decide the reality, whatever might have been the opinion of a court of justice. The accused had indeed been pronounced not guilty: but that did not impose silence on the supreme court of the nation; which, without interfering with judicial authority, had still a right to retain its own opinions. Who could deny the prepossession of the societies in favour of the French and of French principles, as well as that of the writings of Paine, Barlow,

Macintosh, Mrs. Wolstencroft, Mr. Christie, and other champions of the revolution? Was it not incumbent on persons in power to guard against the dissemination of such dangerous doctrines? From the conduct of those who formed the convention in Scotland, it fully appeared, that the societies, and their abettors, had no intention to apply to parliament for those alterations they required; they had determined, it was plain, to depend solely on their own energy.

Mr. Jekyll contended for the propriety of conduct in the societies, in commissioning their agents to insist on a reform in parliament, which would never, of its own accord, undertake a task, so irksome to most of its components. No punishment, it had been said, was inflicted, by holding persons in custody, as if their very detention were not a sufficient punishment. He warmly reprobated the unqualified manner in which the persons acquitted at the late trials had been stigmatized in the house. The suspension-act, he insinuated, was gliding into an annual motion, and unless arrested in its progress, would be, at last, considered as a standing rule for every session. He resolutely exposed the ignominious employment of spies, wherever they could be introduced on any part of society. He read, in proof of what he asserted, a letter, describing the artifice and bribery that had been used, in order to prevail upon a certain person to become a spy.

Mr. Curwen, and Mr. Francis, zealously opposed the suspension-act: Mr. Francis particularly exposed the inconsistency of pre-
ferring

fering the opinion of a grand jury, to the verdict of a jury on a legal trial. No case of treason having arisen since the late trials, there was no ground for the suspending-act, which, previously to them, had rested on that pretext of a conspiracy, by which they were occasioned.

In order to prove that a conspiracy might be real, and yet no proofs of it be produced, the solicitor-general alleged the well-known case of captain Porteous, during the reign of George II. not one of the agents in which was ever discovered, though the transaction itself happened in the midst of a large and populous city. In the same manner, though proofs had not been yet brought home to the present conspirators, yet the reality of there being such in the kingdom, was strongly in the persuasion of a majority of the legislature, which, of itself, was a valid reason for continuing the act of suspension.

The authenticity of the proofs, adduced to ascertain the existence of a conspiracy, was insisted upon, in a long and laborious argument, by Mr. Hardinge, who was replied to, in one no less elaborate, by Mr. Erskine, who objected to the intricacy and obscurity of his reasoning. A conspiracy, he allowed, might exist, and the conspirators not be known or convicted; but this was not the case in agitation. The conspiracy, now in question, was specifically to assemble a convention, independently of government: papers of various kinds had been brought forward to substantiate it; the authors of which were ascertained: but had these papers been treasonable, how could their authors have avoided conviction? these papers;

therefore contained no treason, and the acquittal of their authors proved that they were not engaged in a treasonable conspiracy. This pretence, of course, fell to the ground, and could not, consequently, warrant the continuance of the suspending-act. A traitorous spirit was attributed to these papers, and a design to degrade and vilify the national representation; but to complain of the misconduct of parliamentary men was not treason. The best answer to the complaints of the public would be to listen to them, and correct those errors and flaws in their conduct that had given occasion for discontent. "Was it a time, said Mr. Erskine, to treat the people with severity, and repeal their most essential privileges, when the very existence of government depended on their affections?" Ministers ought, he added, to take warning from what had happened in the low countries; the people there had loudly demanded the restitution of their ancient rights and immunities, as the people in England now did a reform in parliament; but they were treated with neglect and scorn by the Austrian government. What, in the issue, was the result of this contempt and haughtiness? as soon as the French carried their victorious arms into that country, the power of Austria fell before them: the people flocked to their standard, and preferred submission to a foreign conqueror, to the slavish subjection required of them by a family descended from their ancient sovereigns. The history of Holland spoke the same language; and that of America held up a precedent of which a British ministry ought, on the present occasion, to be earnestly reminded.

minded. He concluded by saying, that, "the friends of kings would never be quiet until they had destroyed all the royal governments; the loss of their people's affection, and of their power, had uniformly arisen from the pernicious counsels of those friends."

Mr. serjeant Adair maintained the reality of a conspiracy, from the constant language and transactions of the popular societies: though, possibly, not yet guilty of treason, they bordered upon it; and government acted wisely in taking timely alarm, and obviating evils, which, if left unchecked, would rapidly have become irresistible. It was through the seasonable interposition of government, that the enemies of the state were still so weak in number, and so insignificant in character.

The principle of punishment upon suspicion was reprobated by Mr. Fox, as incompatible with the law, and with the spirit, of the English constitution: it was the principle of all the tyrannical governments in existence. The suspension of the habeas corpus had only that treason in view which was clearly defined by the statute of Edward III. but, if constructive treason were once admitted, any species of misdemeanour might come under that interpretation. So strong and positive had been the acquittal of the persons lately tried, that government was completely deterred from farther prosecutions. It was asserted, by the supporters of ministry, that the reasonings of opposition, against the suspension, were few in comparison of those that militated for its propriety; but, if few, said Mr. Fox, they were apposite to the case; they were founded upon law, the best of all

reasons. He denied the disaffection imputed to the opposers of ministerial measures: to these, he allowed there were multitudes of enemies; but these the truest friends to the constitution, and to the means of its duration; the most efficient of which means, was to treat the people with lenity, and to restore to them that safeguard of their constitutional freedom, the habeas, of which they were so causelessly deprived. Discontents would always exist; but that was no argument for wrath and resentment at a whole community. The loyalty of the people at large was unquestionable; they had hitherto submitted to the executive power, without the least shadow of resistance; their desire of a reform in the representation was well founded, and ought to meet with compliance, before discontents rose to an alarming degree. Parliament, though elevated to the supreme authority of legislation, should remember who exalted them, and consult at once the interests and the wishes of their constituents. When opinions became general in a nation, its rulers should act conformably to them; as it could not reasonably be supposed, that the body of an immense people were not able to judge for themselves so well as those whom they deputed and authorized to act for them, merely to prevent turbulence and confusion. It were a happy circumstance for nations, if their rulers would more frequently condescend to receive impressions from them: had not the British government unfortunately disdained such impressions, Britain and America would, at this hour, be but one people. Inauspiciously for states, these impressions were usually felt

too late, and when the retrospect of past errors forced them upon ministers and their followers; but then they served only to fill them with repentance at their haughtiness and folly. Till then they persisted in scorning to place any advice on a level with their own councils, and in giving these an exclusive preference, not only to the admonitions of all other men, but to the experience enforced upon them, by the disasters arising from their own obstinacy.

In support of the suspension, it was argued by Mr. Pitt, that it was a constitutional remedy, the application of which had always proved effectual in cases similar to the present; it was prudent, therefore, to apply it before the evils apprehended became incurable: prevention was proverbially preferable to cure. Through the measure proposed, the revolution that seated William on the throne was confirmed, and the accession of the house of Brunswick secured. The times required that a discretionary power should be lodged in government, and that a speedy execution of measures should follow the determinations that circumstances pointed out as indispensable. Were legal proofs of inimical designs to be waited for, they might be carried into execution with the most fatal facility, as they would then be only known by being executed. It were nugatory to deny the existence of hostile projects to the constitution; allowing that nothing had been strictly proved, all nevertheless was suspected that had been alleged against the parties accused. It would, therefore, be unpardonable in government to remain inactive in the midst of so much danger.

This was the greater, for the industry and art with which it had been kept out of the reach of legal proof; for that was the utmost that could be affirmed of the conspiracy alluded to; in every other respect it was evident and notorious. Those who were parties, those who were privy to it, did not, in general, seem in the least anxious to conceal the plans they had in contemplation; they did not directly avow them, but their hints and insinuations were easily comprehended, and left no room to doubt of their intentions.

The actual necessity of the suspension-act was denied, by Mr. Grey, on the ground that no precedent could be cited of its being put in force, unless in cases of manifest and pressing danger to the state, or to the person of the sovereign. Neither of these could now be said, with any propriety, to be exposed either to public or private machinations, worthy of the least attention. To pretend apprehensions, while none were entertained, was a deception which could not be practised upon the public, without weakening its confidence and attachment: the preservation of which depended on the openness and candour of its rulers, but would irrecoverably be lost, whenever so unwarrantable an imposition was detected. The suspension-act was justified, it was said, by the necessity of guarding against jacobinism; but how could the seizure and imprisonment of individuals prevent the propagation of their principles? experience, in all ages and countries, had invariably proved, that harsh treatment had always a contrary effect. Public murmurs were not to be silenced by such means; the discon-

zents of nations were not produced by the writings of men, but by the bad conduct of governments. While these acted irreproachably, they might safely bid defiance to calumnies and misrepresentations.

The debate continued till three in the morning, when the bill for the suspension was carried by two hundred and three votes against fifty-three.

In the house of lords, much the same arguments were used for and

against the bill. The speakers in its support were lords Grenville, Carlisle, Warwick, Hawkesbury, Spencer, Sydney, Auckland, Hay, and the chancellor, with the dukes of Leeds and Portland. Its opposers were the dukes of Norfolk and Bedford, the marquis of Lansdowne, and the earls of Lauderdale and Guildford, who, on the bill's passing, entered a protest against it, conceived in the strongest and most animated terms.

C H A P. X.

State of the Coalition.—Motion in the House of Commons for augmenting the Number of Seamen and Marines.—Army Estimates.—The Conduct and the Result of the present War.—Loan of Four Millions to the Emperor.—Discussions on Continental Alliances.—Statement of the Force, requisite for the Service of 1795.—New Taxes.

IN the mean time, daily intelligence was arriving of the rapid and irresistible progress of the French in Holland, which might now be considered as totally lost to the confederacy. The inhabitants of the Seven United Provinces were never, indeed, sincerely cordial in the cause of the coalition, looking upon themselves as sacrificed to the interests of the house of Orange, by whose influence and authority the people complained, they had been forced into the present war.

In order to supply, if possible, the place of so considerable a member of the coalition, no other method appeared than that of increasing the force to be employed against the French, by numbers proportionable to those which were furnished by the Dutch, previously to their reduction by France. To this purpose, ministers found it necessary to prepare, by times, the funds that would be requisite to keep the coalition together; and to prevent the whole weight of the victorious enemy from falling upon Britain, without alliances to divert it.

The opinion of the British public, at this juncture, was, that, being involved in a ruinous war, it was

indispensable to exert the full strength of the national resources, in order to extricate the kingdom from the dangers that threatened it. Discussions on its justice and necessity, as well as on its judicious or imprudent management, should be referred to a future opportunity; and all the vigour and abilities of the different parties, that had divided the nation, ought to unite, on this pressing occasion, for its defence, against the formidable enemy that now threatened it with a destruction which would become unavoidable, without a sincere and spirited union at home. This alone could save the country; no dependence ought, in prudence, to be placed upon foreign assistance; our allies wanted either power or inclination to make sufficient efforts to resist France. The truth was, that they relied upon Britain much more than Britain could rely upon them; nor was even their good will to this country unquestionable. Its superior state of prosperity, and the perpetual obligation to have recourse to its finances, were circumstances highly offensive to their pride, and excited their envy much more than they conciliated their gratitude and attachment. The intended

tended desertion of Prussia and of Spain was well known, and the apprehension of their changing sides not less suspected. In this complication of difficulties stood the only remaining members of the coalition, Austria and England, when the ministers of this latter were summoned to call forth their resources for the joint support of both.

The house of commons met on the second of January, in a committee of supply. Mr. Fox, who foresaw the large demands that would be made, required notice when the loan would be proposed, that the house might have a due attendance. The imperial loan was an object of disagreeable speculation to all parties, and they felt with disgust the necessity of supporting a power that had drawn this country into his own quarrel, and whose readiness to abandon it, the moment he could procure tolerable terms, no intelligent person doubted. This necessarily created a reluctance to answer his calls for fresh supplies, which as soon as granted, might be converted to quite other purposes than those for which he should obtain them. The case of Prussia was exactly in point; twelve hundred thousand pounds were acknowledged, by the minister in the house, to have been advanced to the Prussian monarch; who employed that immense sum in executing his designs on Poland.

On the seventh of January, a motion was made, by admiral Gardner, for an augmentation in the number of seamen and marines. The service of the navy would this year require a proportion of eighty-five thousand of the former, and fifteen thousand of the latter. A remark-

able discussion took place, on this occasion, upon the construction of the English ships of war. Mr. Robinson asserted their inferiority to the French, in the circumstance of quick sailing. Captain Berkeley admitted they were better built, but denied their sailing faster; the French models he acknowledged to be superior to the English; but these had the superiority in workmanship. Admiral Gardner, however, allowed the quicker sailing of the French; and ascribed their superior construction to the premiums given, by their government, for the best models, which were regularly submitted to the examination and decision of the academy of sciences. But the vessels taken from them had lately been the means of considerable improvements in the building of our own.

In consequence of this discussion, it was observed by Mr. Fox, that the knowledge and experience of the people of this country in naval affairs ought, long ago, to have enabled them to surpass their French rivals, in a point of such importance to the honour and security of the nation. It was neither creditable to the ministry, nor the admiralty, to have so long suffered this degrading inferiority. The sooner it was remedied the better, at this critical period, which required uncommon exertions of skill and valour in every active department, but principally in the naval, on which the safety and glory of the nation so visibly depended. He complained that, considering the decided superiority of the British navy, its achievements had not been adequate to the expectations which the nation had a right to form. Our exertions at sea had, he noticed, been greatly

greatly impeded; by the extensive efforts lately made to strengthen the service at land. The bounties given to recruit the army took off numbers of able men from the navy; on which, however, every judicious man placed more reliance against an invasion of this country, than upon its land forces. The incessant threats of the enemy ought to render government peculiarly solicitous to provide, in time, the means to frustrate them. The navy was the bulwark of the realm, and it were criminal at the present juncture, not to pay it a much higher degree of attention than military operations on the continent; which the experience of three campaigns had shewn to be ineffectual for the main object of the contest, the reducing France to submit to our own terms.

Mr. Dundas, in vindication of ministry, stated, that no efforts had ever been made superior, if equal, to those which had taken place in the naval department of the kingdom, since the commencement of the present war. The number of seamen, at that period, amounted only to sixteen thousand, but was, at this day, no less than ninety-five thousand. He was convinced, from good information, that our acting force at sea was double to that of the enemy: much, he observed, had been said in favour of the superior skill of the enemy in naval architecture; but we were confessedly the superior in action, and while we retained this superiority, the collateral advantages of construction and expeditious sailing would be of little avail to the enemy.

Mr. Sheridan made several observations on the assertions of Mr. Dundas; he particularly noticed the difficulty of overtaking vessels

so much more advantageously constructed for quick sailing than ours, as the French seemed to be generally acknowledged; and reprobated with much severity the neglect of government, in not accelerating the improvements necessary to remedy so essential a defect.

Mr. Pitt confessed that extraordinary efforts had been made by the French to increase and strengthen their navy: but, like their exertions at land, they would not be of a durable nature: they were too hurried and precipitate to last. He proceeded from this topic to the general state of that country; the vigour and resources of which he represented to be on the decline. Herein he was contradicted by general Tarleton, who described both as very far from being exhausted; and their ingenuity as incessantly on the stretch to profit by every opportunity that occurred. Their system of acting had, since the fall of Robespierre, undergone material alterations; convinced that severity and terror were not so effectual as lenity and conciliation, they had wisely adopted these wherever they could be applicable. Hence the aversion formerly excited, by the merciless proceedings of their late government, had given way to sentiments less hostile and repugnant to the principles they were labouring to establish. The treatment of their prisoners, in particular, since that time, had been much more humane, and they seemed, upon the whole, studious to acquire a character of mildness and moderation: all these circumstances should be taken into consideration. When we animadverted on the present state of that nation, as they had been lately described with justice,

tice, as ferocious and sanguinary, they ought, by the same rule, to be represented, at present, in more favourable colours. It was, by treating each other with equity, that nations at variance drew nearer to reconciliation, and not by indulging in reciprocal defamation, which only tended to eternize enmity.

In answer to some strictures, on the conduct of the admiralty, that were thrown out in the sequel of this debate, it was observed, by admiral Gardner, that, in the course of the last year, applications were made for one hundred and eight convoys, which had been accordingly granted. This service had employed one hundred and forty ships, exclusively of sixteen constantly cruising on the coast to protect its trade.

Mr. Lambton took this opportunity to notice the efforts of the French, to put their navy on a formidable footing. Models of the various parts and timbers, proper for the construction of ships of the line, were sent to the several provinces, where wood for such purposes was procurable. Here the labouring people were directed in what manner to cut down and prepare the trees selected for ship-building, which were conveyed, in the rough, to the dock-yards, there to be completed by the ship-wrights, and put together with all possible dispatch. By this expeditious method of proceeding, they would be able, according to their calculation, to add sixty new ships to their fleet in a very short time. Such a process, in their construction, would not certainly admit of much solidity and duration; but these were not wanted: the quan-

tity, not the quality of the ships, for immediate service, was the only object in request. Such being the plans and intention of the enemy, government could not be too anxious in preparing to meet the numerous marine that might so shortly be created, through these extraordinary exertions. In consequence of these various discussions, one hundred thousand seamen were unanimously voted for the service of the present year.

On the 21st of January, Mr. Windham presented to the house the estimates of the army. These amounted, including the regulars, the militia, and the new levies, to one hundred and fifty thousand men; a force that was deemed amply sufficient for the preservation of internal tranquillity, and the protection of the kingdom against all enterprises from abroad. The expence of maintaining it was computed at six millions six hundred and fifty-two thousand pounds. He moved, that the army establishment, for the present year, should consist of the number stated.

General Tarleton severely reprehended the methods used for the ordering and recruiting of the army. Veteran officers thereby were loaded with heavy expences, to which, if inadequate, they were liable to have raw young men set over them. He cited some precedents of promotions of this nature, equally offensive to officers of long standing, and detrimental to the service. Hence, he said, the recruiting business had fallen into the hands of crimps and school-boys. The avarice of the former and the inaptitude of the latter, was accordingly visible

sible in the individuals whom they enlisted. He next adverted to the expence of maintaining the army; the statement of which he censured, as not sufficiently explicit. To the enormous sum already mentioned, were still to be added, those wanted for the support of the ordnance, and for the extraordinary, to say nothing of the immense subsidies to foreign powers. These, he observed, necessarily absorbed a fatal proportion of the money that ought to be reserved for the various expeditions that employed our own people, whose numbers, from that cause, had proved inadequate to the services on which they were sent. Hence it was, that instead of ten thousand men, sir Charles Grey was placed at the head of only half that number, to reduce the French West Indies, that were provided with a larger force to defend, than he to attack them. He then reviewed the events of the campaign upon the continent, where he ascribed many of the disasters that had befallen the coalition, to the perfidious conduct of our allies, as well as to the avarice with which they economised, for their own purposes, the vast sums of money which they received from our profusion and credulity. Whatever successes might attend the arms of the coalition, in the next campaign, they would never compensate the misfortunes of the last.

In answer to general Tarleton, and to Mr. Hussey, who seconded him with arguments of much the same import, it was replied by Mr. Pitt, that, in order to enable the navy to make a proper impression on our foes abroad, we ought to place ourselves in a state

of complete security at home, which could be done only by keeping a formidable army on foot. The expences arising from this necessary measure were, doubtless, great, but the dangers thereby averted were much greater. True it was, that the confederacy had suffered severely; but this country not only maintained its superiority on the seas, but had, in the midst of every pressure occasioned by the war, increased both its commerce and its resources, in a manner that opened the most promising prospect of being able to carry it on with the utmost vigour, and that afforded the strongest presumption of terminating it finally to our honour.

To these assertions Mr. Fox opposed the continual failure of every attempt of the coalition, and the perpetual success attending the arms of the French, in all their undertakings. To speak in a style of exultation, after experiencing such a series of calamities, was, he said, to insult the understanding of those who heard him. But what was now the object he proposed, by persisting in this unfortunate contest? it could not surely be the reduction of the French, who were now in a situation that entitled them, without vanity, to assume that style of superiority which it so ill became the minister to affect. A counter-revolution was no longer to be expected; the powers of which the coalition consisted had been so completely humbled by their defeats, that they did not seem to harbour the least idea of that tendency. It would, therefore, be temerity, not fortitude, on us to continue a quarrel on our single strength, which

which the united force of so many potentates could not maintain. The pecuniary resources of Great Britain were immense; but our people were too advantageously occupied in adding to the wealth, by which our greatness was supported, to be taken from those beneficial occupations. It was not, therefore, at home we were to look for men to fight the battles of the confederacy; that task belonged exclusively to our allies: but such had been the slaughter of their own people, that they would themselves find it difficult to replace the number of the slain. In the mean time, though a competent force was necessary for the land service in this country, it was a secondary object, when compared with the navy. This claimed not only our attention, but our utmost anxiety, and he lamented, that so large a proportion of the fencible inhabitants of this country were to be employed in the army, in lieu of the navy. It no less grieved him to perceive, by the tenour of the ministerial speeches, that thousands more of our people were to be sent abroad to fall in battle, or endure the miseries of a prison. To sum up the conduct of ministry, they were, he asserted, equally imprudent and unfortunate; but what was still worse, they acted with an obstinacy, that no misfortunes could counteract. Experience, instead of reclaiming them from error, increased their determination to persevere in the encountering of difficulties which every day became more insurmountable. What name could be given to so fatal a delusion? It was mainly to cherish hope in the

midst of distress; but it was folly to persist in distresses that could be avoided. A fair trial had been made to compel France to alter the system she had embraced; the trial had terminated in her favour, and had lasted long enough to convince all the members of the coalition, the English government excepted, of the inefficacy of all farther attempts. It was time to follow the advice contained in the example they seemed willing to set before us, by remitting of the violence and animosity with which they first engaged in this war. If they were not averse to its termination, we could have no reason to be more inflexibly determined upon its prosecution. Events had so decidedly declared against the probability of recovering the losses sustained by the confederacy, that they could not be censured for preferring a treaty with the French, to a continuation of the contest. Our situation afforded, undoubtedly, a powerful security from hostile designs; but our expences were so great, and our debts so enormous, that as their increase was incessant, prudence forbade to stretch them to any farther extent, lest, in an evil hour, we might find it impracticable, at once, to pay the interest of the one, and to provide for the support of the other.

The misfortunes of the present war, Mr. Pitt replied, did not arise from the neglect or the incapacity of ministers, but from causes which it was not in their power to obviate. Whatever depended on their exertions had prospered. The management of the navy had been such, that we were

were not only masters of the seas, but had obtained one of the most signal victories that ever graced our annals. The commerce and credit of Great Britain never were on a more splendid footing, while that of the enemy had literally no existence; their commerce was reduced to a precarious communication between their own sea-ports, subject to a destructive interruption from our cruisers; and their credit consisted of promissory fabrications, founded on extortions from their own people. In the worst days of our adversities, no disgrace had sullied our military character. We had been unsuccessful, but true courage was not to be dismayed by disappointments, while contending for all that was dear and valuable. The expeditions, so bitterly censured, had succeeded in the completest manner; and the number of troops, sent to the West Indies, had proved fully sufficient. The reinforcements intended for that quarter, had been retarded by the insurmountable obstacles of wind and weather. The disasters that had befallen the allies, in the Netherlands, certainly were not imputable to the British ministry, whose faithful performance of every engagement with foreign powers was undeniable, and who ought not to be blamed for misfortunes produced by the misconduct and want of punctuality in those who were bound, by every tie of honour and interest, to be true to the cause for which they had taken up arms, in conjunction with this country. The debate closed by the passing of Mr. Windham's motion.

On the 22d, when the report of the committee of supply was brought up, Mr. Fox renewed his objections to the greater degree of attention paid to the augmentation of the army, at the present than at any former period. Mr. Pitt replied, that circumstances required this extraordinary attention. The land and sea service were so much connected in the operations of this war, that it was indispensably requisite to put them both on a formidable footing, for their mutual assistance. It were, doubtless, bad policy to sacrifice the one to the other; but this could never happen, while able-bodied landmen entered in such numbers into the navy, and while so many soldiers, as well as marines, were continually employed in ships of war, and had constant opportunities of becoming good seamen.

It was observed, on this occasion, by Mr. Dundas, that, so far from apprehending a diminution of the number of seamen, he found it was, upon the best information, a matter of much more difficulty to provide a sufficiency of marines. Landmen, desirous of going to sea, entered as sailors, and those who preferred the army, listed as soldiers. Hence the marine-service was recruited with much less facility than the two others. He complained of the severity with which opposition spoke of the treatment of the sick soldiery, on board the transports for foreign service, to whom, he asserted, every attention was shewn, that duty and humanity could require. After some altercation concerning convoys, and the employment of the

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the naval forces, the resolutions of the committee of supply were agreed to.

The expeditious manning of the navy, without the odious expedient of pressing, was, at this time, an object in the serious contemplation of government. Many schemes had been proposed, of late years, in order to avoid the disagreeable necessity of this oppressive method, but none had appeared sufficiently practicable to be adopted. The public, in the mean time, loudly condemned this violation of personal liberty, and expressed much impatience at the tardiness of those whom it concerned, in bringing forward a more effectual, as well as a more humane regulation, for supplying the navy with seamen.

In compliance with the repeated desire and expectation of all parties, Mr. Pitt produced, on the 2d of February, the plan he had formed to that intent. The mercantile shipping of the nation was, he observed, the great seminary of our seamen: to this, therefore, he would chiefly look for the support at present wanted. The proposal he had in contemplation was to levy a number of seamen, proportionable to the quantity of tonnage in every vessel, on its clearing out. There were, he asserted, according to authentic statements, one hundred thousand seamen, employed in the service of the merchants of Great Britain. The proportion of sailors was one to fourteen tons; one man out of every seven able seamen, or two landmen in their stead, was the requisition he proposed. None would be required from vessels under the burden of thirty-five

tons; but every vessel upwards, from that measure to seventy, was to furnish one landman, and every one above that, to one hundred and five tons, was to find either one seaman or two landmen; and from all vessels above one hundred and fifty, one landman for every fifty tons would be required. The number of men, that might be procured by this method, was computed at near twenty thousand. But beside this supply, another was to be obtained by the intended scheme, from the different parishes in the kingdom. These amounted to ten thousand, and from each one man would be required. To the above would be added, those numbers of idle and disorderly persons, whom the magistrates would be authorized to apprehend, for that purpose.

These proposals were opposed by several members, as harsh and oppressive. Mr. Harrison proposed, that every one enjoying a place or pension of three hundred a year, should furnish one seaman or two landmen; those who had four hundred, to find two seamen or three landmen; such as had five hundred, two seamen or four landmen; and that for every hundred pounds above five hundred, one more should be required.

Mr. Joliffe was of opinion that unnecessary men-servants, men-milliners, and hair-dressers, and all men employed in occupations that might be filled by women, should, on this occasion, be called upon to find people for the service. After a variety of strictures on Mr. Pitt's proposals, they passed with a few alterations.

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The extraordinary expences of the land-forces, for the year 1794, were laid before the house, on the 20th of February, by Mr. Windham, who moved, that three millions and sixty-three thousand pounds should be granted to defray them. Mr. Fox and others objected to several of the charges, as exorbitant and improper. But they were justified by Mr. Pitt, on the ground of expediency, in some cases, and of justice to individuals in others. To the censures, on the expences for the erection of barracks, he answered, that they were of essential utility, for the health and good order of the soldiery, and relieved the publicans and inn-keepers from a heavy burden. Mr. Windham's motion being agreed to, he added another for four hundred and twenty-seven thousand pounds, in order to raise a corps of emigrants.

But the principal subject of parliamentary debate, in the month of February, was that which took place on the 4th, when Mr. Pitt brought a message to the house, from the king, signifying the earnest inclination of the emperor, to make the most vigorous exertions, in the next campaign, against the common enemy, but intimating, at the same time, the necessity of a loan of four millions, on the credit of the revenues arising from his hereditary dominions. Through such assistance, he proposed to bring two hundred thousand men into the field. Great as this force was, the king was still desirous to have it augmented, and had, for that reason, commissioned the British minister, at the imperial court, to signify this desire, and that he purposed to

apply to parliament for the pecuniary arrangements that would, in that case, be requisite.

This message occasioned a discussion on the subsidy granted in the preceding session to the king of Prussia. Mr. Sheridan explicitly complained, that the ends, for which that subsidy had been put into his hands, were not answered, and that he had employed the immense sums, entrusted to him, in services quite foreign to the intent of the treaty, by means of which he had obtained them. Yet, in the present circumstances, this ought not, he said, to obstruct a loan to the emperor, who might be expected to act with more punctuality in his engagements, as more deeply concerned in the present contest. Ministry ought, however, to be more cautious whom they trusted, and to frame such stipulations, as would compel the contracting parties to a strict performance of the conditions to which they acceded. He blamed, as unconstitutional, the engagement entered into by the crown, to guarantee the imperial loan, without previously consulting parliament. This, he observed, was placing a confidence in the Austrian ministry, to which the fluctuation and insincerity of its conduct did not entitle it. The faithless behaviour of Prussia ought to operate as a warning to beware of continental engagements. Had the stipulated aid of sixty thousand men, promised by that court, been brought to act with the forces of the coalition in the Netherlands, during the campaign of 1794, it was the decided opinion of the Austrian ministers, that Brabant and Flanders would have been effectually

tually protected, and that the united provinces would, of consequence, have been preserved. Such a breach of faith, after receiving twelve hundred thousand pounds for services promised and not performed, merited, Mr. Sheridan observed, to be duly noticed by parliament; and he concluded, by making a motion to that purpose.

Mr. Jekyll supported the motion; but Mr. Pitt opposed it, admitting however, that the conduct of Prussia was highly censurable, though it had contributed, in some measure to arrest the career of the French in other parts. Sir William Pulteney declared himself of the same opinion. They were vigorously opposed by Mr. Whitbread, and Mr. Francis, who considered the question before the house, as requiring the severest investigation. Great Britain was not thus to be sported with by German despots, who took its money on false pretences, and expended it in prosecuting measures not only foreign to their engagements, but odious to the British nation itself. Mr. Fox, and general Tarleton, seconded the two last speakers; but Mr. Pitt's motion for the previous question was carried, and put an end to the debate.

The minister then considered the propriety of the imperial loan, which, he said, would enable the emperor to make the most formidable exertions against France by land, and thereby empower the navy of Britain to act with the greater vigour and success. Austria was the power to which he could look with just expectation for the most effectual assistance in the present contest; the cause at issue was peculiarly its own: the house of Austria was the ancient and natural ally of England, and the peo-

ple under his dominion were brave and warlike, and remarkably hostile to the French. Now was the time to exert the united strength of both powers against France. The internal pressures of that country were so heavily felt, that the principal heads of the convention had unequivocally acknowledged the indispensable necessity of diminishing them; which could be done only by a reduction of the immense quantity of paper currency that deluged the country; and banished all confidence from the common transactions of society. But this step, however necessary, could not be taken without a considerable, or rather a prodigious diminution of the French armies, which must, at once, debilitate the republic to an alarming degree, and evidently deprive it of the power of resisting its numerous enemies. Would it therefore be policy in England, to withdraw itself from a connexion with Austria, at a time when so much wanted for our own purposes? It was the sincere wish of France to disunite us from that powerful ally, as well as from all others, by concluding treaties of peace with them, that would leave us alone to contend with the whole strength of France. Every motive ought therefore to induce Great Britain to come forwards with her treasures for the support of the Austrian interest, which was in fact become our own. It were even more prudent to maintain, at our expence, the whole military force of Austria, than to suffer it to remain inactive, at a time when we stood in so much need of the powerfulllest diversions in our favour on the continent. But this, happily, was not the case. The loan required by the emperor was perfectly reasonable, and

and the re-payment of it was secured on the fairest terms.

Mr. Pitt then entered into a minute discussion of the conditions proposed by the Austrian ministry, and concluded by moving, that they should be complied with, as the safest and most appropriate line of policy that could be adopted by Great Britain, in the present situation of public affairs.

He was replied to by Mr. Fox, who reminded the house, that he had foretold, when the Prussian subsidy was voted last session, that it would prove the prelude to other loans of a similar kind, and which probably would be attended with the same consequences. It was highly imprudent, he asserted, to quote as proofs of facts favourable to our views, the affirmations of members of the convention, that were contradicted by others. We had already been egregiously deceived in our calculation of the resources of France, and it were scandalous to repeat our mistakes at a time when it behoved us to look with a stedfast eye upon our remaining resources, and to compare them without exaggeration, to those of the formidable and unyielding enemy, with whom we still continued a quarrel that threatened so many dangers. But was Austria that firm friend to this country, so warmly represented? Had the conduct of Austria, during the last campaign, been wholly free from suspicions? Was it wise to entrust such a mass of wealth as four, or perhaps six millions, to hands that might divert it to quite other purposes than those for which we were solicited to grant it? Experience had shewn, that neither Prussia nor Austria were to be trusted. Those who governed their

councils had acted with notorious perfidy, and it were despicable weakness to treat with them in any expectation of meeting with honour and punctuality. The interest of the emperor in this war, so strongly insisted on by ministers, was certainly a very dubious point. He had joined with the diet of the empire in concerting terms of peace, which, if they were to take place, would clearly preclude him from continuing the war. How could he, in such a case, perform his stipulations with this country? at all events, his country was exhausted of fencible men, as well as of pecuniary resources.

Mr. Fox advised a subsidy to the emperor, rather than a loan; we could, if occasions warranted it, stop the payment of the former, but not of the latter, however emergencies might require it, as the money would not remain at our command. The subjects of the emperor were so desirous of peace, that he might think it prudent to gratify their wishes: but were he willing to prolong the war, he could not do it without applying to this country for loans or subsidies: these would be regularly expected and demanded every recurring year, and were we in a condition to comply with these demands, and to support the war-establishment of Austria together with our own, to say nothing of the numerous claims on our finances by other members of the coalition? Mr. Fox detailed, with minute accuracy, the circumstances of the loan required by the imperial ministry, and concluded, by moving for its rejection: but his motion was negatived by a majority of 115.

A royal message of the same import was delivered to the house of lords,

lords, on the 9th of February. The marquis of Lansdowne opposed it with remarkable warmth. Herepro-bated the connexions of Great Britain with the continent, especially with the princes of Germany. He reminded the house of the reduction from six to four per cent. interest in the bank of Vienna: a proof how little reliance could be placed on the security to arise from the imperial finances. With his numerous subjects, and his wide extended domains, the emperor was not, it fairly appeared, able to raise four millions to support himself in a contest, in which he was more deeply involved than any other prince in the coalition. Was this a situation wherein he could be expected to refund the prodigious advances which his ministers had the confidence to claim from this country? There were other powers to have recourse to, if we wanted allies. Denmark and Sweden, for a fourth of what was demanded by Austria, were able to secure to us the uncontrolled superiority of the North and Baltic seas, and to protect our trade in those parts from all molestation. This would be acting more wisely than to provoke them by injudicious restraints upon the freedom of their navigation, which could not fail to render them inimical to this country, and favourable to its enemies. He concluded by moving, that the house should so far take the royal message into consideration, as to deliberate what measures were advisable in the present circumstances of the nation.

He was answered by the earl of Mansfield, who supported the propriety of continental alliances, particularly with the house of Austria, in conjunction with which we long

had so effectually curbed the ambition of France. Lord Mansfield was seconded by the lords Hawkesbury and Auckland, and opposed by the earls of Guildford and Lauderdale: the latter of whom observed that the emperor's subjects were notoriously averse to the war, and that it was absurd to expect that they would make greater efforts to regain than they had done to retain the possession of the low countries. The Imperial troops were well disciplined men during the two last campaigns, and yet were repeatedly defeated by the French. Was it consistent with reason to presume, that unexperienced recruits would be more successful? for of such must the Austrian armies be chiefly composed, after the destruction that had been made of them during the three last years. It was ridiculous, he said, to build on the pecuniary resources of the Austrian dominions, after the loss of the Netherlands, the richest part of the Austrian domains, when even these were not considered as sufficient security for the loans solicited by the Imperial ministers. The issue of the debate was, that the address in approbation of the loan was carried.

The disasters of the preceding campaign had been so fatal to the coalesced powers, and had so thoroughly broken the spirit that had hitherto kept them together, that England and Austria were the only sovereign states that remained true to each other. But the exertions of both, it was apprehended, however earnest and zealous, would not prove adequate to the object they still had in view, the reduction of the French republic. It now seemed so firmly established, by the uninterrupted successes that had every where at-

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tended its victorious arms, that the world in general considered the resolution of Great Britain and Austria, to persevere in their primary designs respecting France, as proceeding from the rage of disappointed ambition and revenge, rather than as the effect of cool deliberation. Others, however, were of opinion, that notwithstanding the successful career of the French republicans, the seeds of discord were so profoundly sown among them, that little would be wanted to disunite them, especially when they looked upon themselves as wholly secure from foreign attempts, which alone had compelled them to unite for their preservation. Could, therefore, the coalesced powers have remained firmly connected, and acted patiently on the defensive, it was imagined, that the fervour of the French would gradually abate, and give way to that desire of returning to a state of tranquillity, which was evident in the majority of the French nation.

A circumstance in the connexion between Austria and Great Britain, that rendered it highly unacceptable to the people of this kingdom, was, that they were to bear the burdens of their ally in addition to their own. Though convinced that unless they submitted to this heavy weight, they must forswear his alliance, and singly encounter the whole power of France, yet they considered it as an unreasonable pressure upon them, to defray the charges of a confederate, who was reputed more deeply involved in the issue of the quarrel than themselves, and to whom far greater advantages would accrue from its prosperous termination.

But the European world, though convinced of the impracticability of

restoring monarchy in France, through the efforts of England and Austria, decidedly approved of their union against it, without which the situation of either would become alarming, from the vast exertions that France would make to reap every possible advantage from their separation. It was on this ground, that the British government thought itself entitled to call upon the nation for its concurrence with their determination, to assist Austria in resisting the attacks of the French, to the very utmost of its abilities.

A statement of the force, that would be requisite for the service of 1795, was accordingly produced to the house of commons on the 23d of February. It amounted to one hundred thousand seamen, one hundred and twenty thousand regulars, for the guards and garrisons of the kingdom; to fifty-six thousand militia, and forty thousand men employed, partly in Ireland, and partly in the West Indies and the plantations, exclusive of fencibles and volunteers, of foreign troops in British pay, and of embodied French emigrants. The sums required to maintain this force, together with the extraordinaries of the army, and the expences of the ordnance, were calculated at sixteen millions twenty-seven thousand pounds, of which six millions three hundred fifteen thousand five hundred pounds were appropriated to the navy, two millions seven hundred seventy-seven thousand to the army, two millions five hundred sixty-four thousand to the forces in Ireland and the plantations; to the militia and fencibles sixteen hundred and seven thousand; to foreign troops in British pay nearly a million; to the regimented em-

grants, four hundred twenty-seven thousand; to the army extraordinary, two millions six hundred sixty-four thousand; to the ordnance, two millions three hundred twenty-two thousand. The other articles were, two hundred thousand pounds annual subsidy to the king of Sardinia; miscellaneous services, two hundred fifty-seven thousand pounds; monies due, one hundred and ten thousand pounds; annual addition to the sinking fund, two hundred thousand pounds; deficiency of grants, seven hundred forty-five thousand pounds; deficiency of the land and malt tax, three hundred fifty thousand; exchequer-bills, six millions. The total of these sums amounted to twenty-seven millions five hundred forty thousand pounds. The ways and means proposed for raising this supply, consisted of the land-tax, producing two millions; the malt-tax, seven hundred fifty thousand pounds; the consolidated fund, two millions two hundred thirty-five thousand pounds; the India Company, five hundred thousand pounds; exchequer-bills, three millions and a half; the loan, eighteen millions; making altogether twenty-seven millions one hundred forty-five thousand, nearly four hundred thousand short of the supply.

In order to make an ample provision for this and all deficiencies in the articles enumerated, the following taxes were proposed: upon wine, five hundred thousand pounds; foreign and British spirits, two hundred and sixty thousand pounds; tea, one hundred and eighty thousand pounds; coffee, forty thousand pounds; insurances, one hundred and sixty thousand pounds; raisins and foreign grocery and fruits, seventy-seven thousand pounds;

timber, one hundred and ten thousand pounds; writs and affidavits, sixty-eight thousand pounds; by abridging the privilege of franking, forty thousand pounds; the hair-powder license, two hundred and ten thousand pounds. Such was the valuation of the taxes proposed by Mr. Pitt, according to which, their produce would amount to one million six hundred and forty-four thousand pounds, a sum that more than covered the apprehended deficiencies.

He took this occasion to observe the extraordinary increase of the national commerce. It had, by authentic documents, exceeded in the preceding year that of the most flourishing periods of peace. He also adverted to the Imperial loan, which he represented as extremely beneficial to the subscribers, yielding an interest of no less than six per cent. and secured to them by being made payable at the bank of England.

Opposition was very severe on ministry, for not having raised the supply by an open competition between the lenders, by which a considerable saving would have been made. Mr. Fox was very circumstantial in the investigation of this subject. He represented the advantages that would accrue to those who subscribed to the emperor's loan, as a strong presumption how little attention had been paid to that business by his ministers, and as strong ground for suspecting that they did not mean to refund the money procured. He censured some of the taxes proposed, as injudicious, and others as oppressive. He accused the minister of having described the commercial prosperity of the kingdom in terms much too
advan-

advantageous: he mentioned the high price of insurance on shipping, as a proof of the precariousness of trade, and how liable to be intercepted by the enemy. He took an extensive view of the national expenditure, and adverted to the probability of its annually increasing, if we persisted in our claims to dictate a form of government for the French: but he could not persuade himself that the representatives of the English nation, would proceed to such a degree of infatuation, as to continue voting the money of their constituents in support of so absurd a claim, or that the nation itself would long consent to be made the victim of so fatal a delusion.

A minute explanation of the propriety of the taxes, and of the advantages to arise from the loan, was entered into by Mr. Pitt, who insisted, that by the arrangements to be made, the commodities consumed, chiefly by the poorer classes, would be obtained at a cheaper rate, and in a better condition than before. This occasioned a farther altercation, which closed at last by the resolutions for the supply being put, and agreed to by a majority that admitted of no competition.

A tax that met with the approbation of all parties, was that which abridged the privilege of franking. It had long been scandalously abused: it was computed that the loss to the revenue by the franks of about forty members of parliament, and by those of about a hundred clerks in public offices, was not less than fifty thousand pounds annually: ten years before it did not exceed six thousand: so rapid and enormous an increase rendered an abridgement immediately necessary, and fifteen franks a day was the

limitation appointed for each person allowed that privilege.

The tax on the wearing of powder was heavily felt by the numerous body of hair-dressers, whose profits by it were considerably diminished. Numbers, also of those individuals who only wore powder occasionally, complained that they would be as highly rated as those who were in the constant practice of powdering: the exemptions were by many not deemed sufficient: clergymen not possessing one hundred a year, subalterns in the army, and officers in the navy, under the rank of masters and commanders, were the only persons in public characters exempted from it, and in private families all the daughters except the two eldest.

Some members of the house were so weak as to object to this tax, on account of the expence they must incur to entitle their servants to wear powder: others objected to the very wearing of powder at a time when, through the scarcity of flour, bread had risen to a price that alarmed the whole nation, and reduced the lower classes to the most serious distress; and when, through the severe winter experienced throughout all Europe, general fears were entertained every where for the next harvest. The answer to these was, that upon the strictest investigation, there was no reason to apprehend any scarcity, and that the greatest plenty was, on the contrary, to be expected, both in our own and in other countries.

The immensity of the sums levied in Great Britain, for the service of the current year, was an object of astonishment to all the European nations: they amounted, including the interest for the national debt,

to forty millions sterling. Neither the annual revenues of Ireland, nor of the West or East Indies, made part of this account: and these were computed twelve millions more. This prodigious income, instead of suffering the least diminution from

the pressures of so extensive a war, was incontrovertibly on the increase, through the irresistible exertions of the British marine in every part of the globe, and through the spirit of enterprise that animated the commercial classes of the nation.

C H A P. XI.

The Sentiments of the French towards the English.—Motion in the House of Peers by the Earl of Stanhope, for Non-interference in the Internal Affairs of France.—Unanimously rejected.—Motion of a like Tendency in the House of Commons.—Negatived.—Motion in the House of Peers for facilitating the Opening of a Negotiation with France.—Negatived.—Motion for a vigorous Prosecution of the War.—Carried.—Sundry Motions for Preparing a Way for Peace with France.—Negatived.—Motion in the House of Commons for an Inquiry into the State of the Nation.—Negatived.—Another to the same Intent in the House of Peers.—Negatived.—Motion in the House of Commons, tending to a General Pacification, by Mr. Wilberforce.—Negatived.—A Motion of a similar Tendency in the House of Lords.—Negatived.

THE French, in the midst of their successes, against all their other enemies, were deeply exasperated at the unconquerable resistance of the English, and at the resolute perseverance with which these ancient rivals seemed determined to oppose them every where. The principal speakers in the convention were not wanting in their endeavours to depreciate the British character, as degenerated and fallen from that height to which it had risen in former periods: but the people of sense and knowledge, with which France abounds, were strongly impressed with the conviction, that the English were the most formidable of their enemies, and that more danger was to be apprehended from them than from all the other powers of the coalition. It was from this conviction that the ruling men in France were so earnest in stirring up the people to exert themselves, in order to overcome their other foes with all possible speed,

that they might be able ultimately to encounter England, deprived of all foreign assistance, and reduced to depend solely on itself. Until they could compass this point, they were persuaded that the utmost effect of their successes, however great, would only be to produce a temporary and precarious state of security: which, while England animated the coalition with its spirit, and supported it with its treasures, would always be liable to be shaken and destroyed through the undiminished efforts which the English would never cease to make, and the unabated courage their example would infuse into their allies.

Such were the general ideas of the French at this critical period. They were no less those of the English themselves. But the heavy burdens, necessary to be borne by the public for the prosecution of this expensive contest, excited the more discontent, that the object of it did not appear clearly ascertained, and

seemed continually to vary in those whom it principally behoved to free it from uncertainty. Prompted by motives of this nature, the principal members of the opposition, in both houses, resolved to renew their endeavours to procure the government's assent to their motions for a negotiation with France. So early as the sixth of January, earl Stanhope moved, in the house of lords, that a declaration should be made, purporting that Great Britain neither ought nor would interfere in the internal affairs of France. He supported this motion with a variety of arguments: he particularly insisted on the numbers, the discipline, and the excellent condition of the French armies, which consisted of more than a million of men, and had vanquished, during the course of a single campaign, the bravest and most expert veterans in Europe. He stated their pecuniary resources at four hundred millions sterling, exclusive of their possessions in land. He compared the depreciation of their paper-money to what had happened in America, which, notwithstanding the hopes conceived in this country from that circumstance, had maintained its ground against all the boasted might of our treasures. It was absurd, he said, to pretend that our strength was unimpaired, and that we had suffered no loss. Had we not lost Holland, and the Netherlands? Had not upwards of one hundred and thirty thousand of the choicest troops of our allies, either fallen in battle, or been made prisoners? Were not these mortifying circumstances to a people whose reputation had stood so high previously to this unfortunate contest? But what was its object? one that ought to cover

the British nation with shame: to deprive the French of a government, erected by them on the ruins of their former servitude. Were we the only people entitled to be free? The pretence for this quarrel was a resolution passed in the convention, which had been rescinded the moment they found it had given offence to our government. On these, and other allegations of a similar import, lord Stanhope moved the propriety of entering into a pacific negotiation with France.

The earls of Abingdon and Carlisle opposed the motion, for the many reasons that had already been alleged in preceding debates against treating with France. Lord Auckland seconded them, and attributed the disasters of the foregoing campaign to the bad management of the allies, and the want of concert in their operations. Nevertheless, it were, he said, bad policy to betray despondency, and prudence dictated perseverance in the contest, until we could terminate it honourably. Were it once made evident that France had renounced the ambitious designs she had unquestionably been prosecuting, in consequence of the unexpected successes, no objections could lie to a fair and just negotiation with her on safe and equitable terms: but till this were unequivocally manifested, our only security was to continue the war with vigour. He did not mean, however, that the restoration of monarchy should be insisted on at all hazards to this country: but only that while hostilities lasted, we should employ our whole strength to restore it, as that species of government which would best answer the purposes of general peace and safety to all the powers in

in the coalition. Neither the fortune nor the power of the French were objects so formidable as represented. Their prosperous career was incontrovertibly owing to peculiar circumstances, which would have enabled any enemy to be victorious. Their means of resistance had, however, been stretched to such a degree, that it was highly improbable they would bear much more extension. It was, therefore, incumbent on the coalition to remain firmly determined to improve the circumstances of their interior pressures to the utmost. Notwithstanding the French had displayed uncommon firmness in bearing the many calamities they had brought upon themselves, yet it was clear that their patience was almost exhausted. This was the favourable moment for exerting our strength: our means were unimpaired, and with unanimity and resolution we yet had it in our power to compel the enemy, if not to submit to our own terms, at least to treat with us on a footing of equality.

The earl of Mansfield insisted on the right of a nation to interfere in the government of another that acted on principles dangerous to its neighbours: the French having indisputably adopted such principles, those against whom they were levelled, might justly challenge their renunciation, and till this were procured, to the satisfaction of all the parties concerned, the latter could not be censured for exerting all the means in their power to accomplish an object they had the clearest title to look upon as their indubitable claim.

The duke of Bedford, and the marquis of Lansdowne, coincided with earl Stanhope's motion, though

they did not approve his manner of expressing it. The earl replied to the animadversions of his opponents with much accuracy, asserting, among other particulars, that the obnoxious decree of the 19th of November, 1792, was erroneously attributed to the convention, by which it had never been regularly adopted. His motion was rejected by a majority of sixty-two, himself standing alone against all his opponents.

In the house of commons, a motion of a like tendency was made by Mr. Grey, on the 26th of February. The direct purport of it was, that the present government of France ought not to be considered as precluding a negotiation for peace. Two years of a most bloody and expensive war had, he observed, now elapsed without bringing us nearer to the object proposed, than at its commencement. It was a war which, from the ministerial language, could only terminate with the destruction of one of the combatants. He asked whether the house seriously approved this dreadful determination? The nation had a right to know the minister's mind on so important a question. The French themselves had a right to demand from the English, what the object was for which they were contending. He noticed that, prior to the commencement of the war, the king had received the thanks of the house for his prudence in abstaining from interference in the affairs of France; and yet the people of that country had dethroned their king at that time, and abolished the monarchy. Hence it plainly appeared, that we did not consider the republican form of government they had adopted, as incompatible with the safety

safety of our own. If, however, the sense of the house went to the indispensable necessity of destroying the system now established in France, it was their duty to reflect, without animosity or prejudice, whether such an attempt were practicable. The only chance we could reasonably look to, for the accomplishing so arduous a task, was a counter-revolution, to be effected by the French themselves, or such a depression of their finances as would absolutely deprive them of the means to resist their enemies; but was either of these the case? was it not clear, to unbiassed observers, that an irresistible majority of the French were decided republicans, and sworn enemies to a monarchy? their finances, however unfixed and irregular, had hitherto answered every purpose they had proposed. The example afforded, of the uncertainty of pecuniary calculations, by the late contest with our lost colonies, ought to teach us, that national energy and spirit are the best and surest resources, and that money is far from being the principal sinew of war. The real debts of France, free from exaggeration, did not at the present hour exceed, if they approached, four hundred millions; but, to counterbalance them, the landed possessions of the state amounted to more than six hundred. Great Britain, doubtless, abounded in resources; but, what were those of our allies? Did they not explicitly acknowledge that they depended on our treasures for the maintenance of their armies in prosecuting this war? Were they not, therefore, rather mercenaries, than allies, fighting for pay, and not from principle? Could we trust such confederates? Had not a principal one of these al-

lies betrayed us, in the most scandalous manner, and materially injured the interests of the coalition? Thus we were undeniably reduced to the necessity of supporting every one of our confederates, with the alarming reflection, that we could not place the least reliance upon any one of them. Was this a situation to be embraced by a people who were not governed by the most fatal delusion? Ought not the consideration of these various circumstances induce us to listen to those who hold up the propriety of terminating the contest, upon any terms that were safe and honourable, rather than to continue it at an expence that must ultimately involve us in the most obvious and unavoidable danger? To treat was not to submit; if the French, grown presumptuous from our moderation, should make unreasonable demands, it would become our duty to refuse them; and the magnanimity of the British nation would cordially adopt every measure that a spirited ministry might think proper to propose.

To these and other allegations, Mr. Pitt replied, that, notwithstanding the French had been so successful, there was no motive sufficiently strong to induce this country to look upon the affairs of the coalition as in a state of danger: he would not, therefore, swerve, in the least, from his resolution to move, that it was the determination of the house to prosecute the war, as the only means of procuring a permanent and secure peace; relying on a vigorous employment of the force of this country, to effect a pacification with France, under any government capable of maintaining the relations of peace and amity. This surely, said Mr. Pitt, was not to in-

sist on the restoration of the old monarchy, as an indispensable condition of peace. He eagerly maintained, that the perils attending the present war, did not equal those that would result from such a peace as could be made between the two countries, at this uncertain crisis. The internal situation of France, and the well-known disposition of its rulers, rendered every compact with them precarious and unstable. Terror and severity, though somewhat abated since the fall of Robespierre, still subsisted in full force, and parties were still animated against each other, to a degree that left them no other security for their respective existence, than the destruction of their antagonists, whose measures they obstinately reprobated, as tending to the destruction of the commonwealth. While such were the reciprocal sentiments of these furious and implacable enemies to each other, whatever was effected by the one would be controverted by the other, as injurious to the state; and annulled on the very first opportunity. Could, therefore, any other state securely rest on the faith of any contract or stipulation made with people of this character? Until another system took place of this one, he could not think himself authorized in reason to enter into any negotiation with those who held the reins of government, in the midst of such incessant fluctuations. A powerful proof, how great the number was of those, in France, who were inimical to the present government, evidently appeared in the prodigious sums levied by confiscations: the total had not been less, during the foregoing year and a half, than three hundred millions sterling. Did not this sufficiently

evinced the fallacy, or the error, of those who asserted the inconsiderable quantity of adherents to monarchy? These were, to a man, the friends to this country, and waited only an occasion to declare themselves ready to second our efforts in their cause. Would it be policy to deprive ourselves of the good wishes and co-operation of the multitudes, whom no terrors nor barbarities had been able to reduce to any degree of submission to the existing system? but were we disposed to negotiate with the French republicans, could we be certain of a similar disposition on their part? was it not notorious, that they harboured an irreconcilable hatred to this country, and its inhabitants; and that the principal motive of their willingness to make peace with the other members of the confederacy, was, that they might convert their whole rage against us? would they not interpose such obstructions to a pacification, that it must remain unattainable without sacrificing, at once, both our honour and our interest to obtain it? The very principles on which the French republic was founded, were such, that to acknowledge it, which must be done in case of a treaty, was to confess all other governments founded upon injustice. A peace built on such grounds would be not only disgraceful, but fatal to our own constitution, by undermining its principles, and empowering its many domestic enemies to represent it as inequitable and oppressive. Such a peace would be worse than war. French emissaries; under the various pretences of business and commercial transactions, would be let loose upon us in swarms; and, united with the discontented and factious here, would

would gradually poison the public mind, while the suspicions and jealousies of government, would compel it to remain in a state of preparation and defence that would continue to exhaust the country; and to perplex the people.

It was observed by Mr. Wilberforce, that though parliament was agreed in declaring the republican form of the French government no obstruction to peace, yet the language of our ministers, in unison with that of the princes in the coalition, afforded strong reasons to suspect that their real intention was to restore the monarchy. But it were more prudent to give up this design, which past endeavours had shewn to be vain, than to prolong the contest, probably to no other end than to find ourselves obliged, at last, to accept of terms which we might have procured at first. Peace would, in all likelihood, prove more prejudicial to the enemy than to us. The immense armies of France, when returned to that country, would certainly take part in its internal dissensions, and effectually contribute to reduce it to desolation. But by persevering in the war we should necessarily constrain them to act with unanimity in their own defence. The increase of their paper-money would follow, with that of confiscations, and the holders of the one, and purchasers of the others, would augment in the same proportion, and add to the numbers and strength of those who supported the republican system. History had shewn how much it was our interest to remit of our native obstinacy in the prosecution of foreign wars. We had more than once rejected terms of peace; which, after expending much treasure, and shedding much blood, we

had, at length, thought proper to accept.

Mr. Fox reminded ministers, that they had branded opposition with the most injurious epithets, for having moved the adoption of sentiments similar to those which they had this day brought forward as just and proper. It was time, he said, to be fair and explicit in the manifestation of our thoughts on the present situation of affairs, and on the measures we meant to pursue. The restoration of tranquillity to France, on the plan proposed by ministers, was evidently unattainable. The royalists themselves were the principal champions in their own cause, and so far from relying upon our exertions in their favour, they had constantly added fresh vigour to their own, on the failure of the various efforts we had made to assist them. The consistency of parliament had been pleaded for its continuing to insist on the conditions it had held out at the commencement of the contest. But events had not corresponded with the sanguine expectations then formed, and necessity required, that we should consult what was feasible, in preference to what had been projected antecedently to those disasters that had defeated our schemes. A refusal to treat with the French, unless they submitted to our demands, was no less unjust and absurd, than if they were to require the English to yield to theirs, previously to their consenting to listen to terms of peace. Arrogance was not to be tolerated in the intercourse between nations that sought to re-establish amity. While we challenged the right of dictating forms of government to the French, we must expect that they would resist us with all the rancour and

and enthusiasm of justly excited indignation. As to the apprehension of danger, from the influx of French principles, experience had taught the English to beware of imitating their unhappy neighbours, and to adhere, more firmly than ever, to the principles of their own constitution. He concluded, by reminding Mr. Pitt, that, notwithstanding the declaration made by his father, that the English should die, on the last breach, before they consented to the independence of America, he did not think himself bound to abide by it, and had commenced his political career, by declaring for their independence. By the same rule he ought to retract his determination respecting France.

Mr. Dundas opposed the motion in question, on the ground that it would interfere with the plans of government, and that the arrangement for the ensuing year were so promissory, that we had every motive to expect a change of fortune in our favour. The allegations of ministry occasioned Mr. Grey to resume the subject with great warmth and perseverance. He dwelt principally on the improbability of those calamities that were pretended by the adversaries to a negotiation. Other powers had treated with France, without expressing any dread of the consequences; why should Great Britain, therefore, entertain any? His motion was negatived by a majority of 183, and that of Mr. Pitt carried.

In the house of lords, a motion was made on the 27th of February, by the duke of Bedford, the purport of which, like Mr. Grey's, was, that no form of government that might prevail in France, should preclude a negotiation with that

country, or prevent a peace, whenever it could be made consistently with the honour, interest and security of this nation. He supported his motion with a variety of arguments. Such a declaration would not oblige ministry to accept of any other conditions than they chose, nor to treat but at their own time. Were it to be admitted as a fixed rule, that no peace should be sued for but by the aggressor, wars might be endless. But the French, strictly speaking, had not begun the contest. They had formerly retracted the decree that had given so much offence, and had made it an article of their new constitution, to interfere with the government of no country. As to that permanency of peace so scrupulously required, had the world ever witnessed any peace that lasted beyond the interest or convenience of either of the contracting parties? the duration of a peace was chiefly founded on its equitableness, and, he would add, more likely to be lasting with a republic than with a monarchy: the decision for peace or war in the former of these, rested on the judgment and consultation of many; but in the latter was in the breast of only one individual, usually influenced by personal motives, and whom no one dared to contradict. Our proposed exertions, doubtless, would be great, to repair the disasters of the preceding campaigns: but could they possibly be greater than those that had already been made to so little effect? Our allies manifested unequivocal dispositions to peace; why should we be more averse to it than they were, who certainly could not be more interested in procuring peace than ourselves? The situation of the French republic was in no wise to be

be considered as less formidable than at its primary formation. The successes of France had been stupendous, and the people were animated with the conviction, that they were fighting for their existence, and that no medium remained for them, but to conquer their enemies, or become their slaves. While this idea, which was a just one, was uppermost in their minds, they would sacrifice their property without reluctance to preserve themselves from so great an evil as that of becoming a conquered nation. This war, he noticed, had been dignified by its abettors, as waged in the cause of God, and humanity: but was it promoting the honour of the divine Being, or the welfare of the human race, to sacrifice hundreds of thousands of men in the field of battle, and to involve whole countries in misery and desolation? The unbiassed and unprejudiced agreed, that the condition of the generality of people in France, especially the inferior classes, who constituted every where the bulk of society, was preferable to what it had been under the former monarchy. What, therefore, could be our pretence for insisting on the propriety of a change of government in that country? Whatever had been asserted about the vast proportion of royalists, and their resolution never to submit to the republicans, facts had proved that they could not avoid submission, and that they were constantly not only overcome, but outnumbered wherever they ventured to rise against the government. Their resistance now was no other than of banditti, associated for the purposes of plunder. Was it on such men, without order or discipline, that we could depend for

any regular and substantial assistance? Peace therefore was the most judicious, as well as the safest measure we could embrace: France, it was experimentally found, was not to be subdued by force of arms. Neither did it appear that we should be able to weary out the French by dint of superior finances: the depreciation of their assignats had not operated as we had long expected and predicted. Such as they were, they still upheld the fabric for the support of which they had been created, and had proved more serviceable than our hatred and prejudices would permit us to acknowledge. Our own finances had undeniably suffered through this war, and it would be wise to terminate it before we made a much longer trial how far the resources of this country might be stretched, without bringing it to ruin.

The duke was answered by lord Grenville, who re-adduced those numerous arguments, so often alleged against treating with France in its present situation. He asserted, that it appeared to him that a majority of the French were inclined to the royal cause. A Frenchman, of sense and erudition, had lately published a performance, wherein he expressed a doubt which of the two parties was the most numerous in France, the royalists or the republicans. But so great was the alarm of the French government, lest the royal party should be proved the most numerous, that the work was suppressed, and the author threatened to be brought before the revolutionary tribunal. A proof of the instability of that system of moderation, said to prevail at present, was the difficulty which that party experienced in bringing to justice,

justice, Lebon, one of the most wicked and execrated associates of Robespierre. Other instances might be mentioned to prove that tyranny and terror were far from being laid aside, and that the violence and audacity of those who opposed the ruling party, were supported by such numbers, that its duration was daily becoming extremely precarious. In such a state of uncertainty, no confidence could be placed in the faith of negotiations, framed with either of the parties. No peace, therefore, was desirable in the present circumstances of affairs, and he would, for that reason, move a vigorous prosecution of the war, as the most effectual means of arriving at a solid and secure peace.

This motion was opposed by the duke of Norfolk, and supported as earnestly by the earl of Darnley. The bishop of Landaff took this occasion to make an animated discourse on the subject of the war. Though Scripture, he observed, did not condemn, in express terms the practice of war among nations, yet few were the occasions when it could be lawful. Justice and necessity were indispensable to authorize the use of the sword: but what might be just, was not therefore necessary: no war could conscientiously be undertaken, without previously employing all the possible means to avoid it. He would not assert, whether we had or not exerted our utmost endeavours to avert it; but he would declare himself of opinion, that the close of the campaign of 1792 had offered a fair opportunity to prevent the calamities that followed. After the attempts of

Austria and Russia had been frustrated, Great Britain might, with great propriety, have interfered, so far, as to have insisted that France should have used her successes with moderation; and, conformably to her constitutional principles, have confined herself within her ancient limits. But this interference should also have been accompanied with a solemn engagement, on our part, to have abstained from obtrusion in their domestic affairs, and to have left the settlement of them entirely to themselves. It was absurd to consider the war as indispensable, to stop the propagation of republican principles. Armies and coercion were feeble instruments against opinions that were acceptable to mankind, and lenity alone could render royalty desirable. In this country especially, while the crown remained within the limitations assigned by the constitution, a king had nothing to apprehend. The disaffected among us were few, and could easily be contained within bounds by the existing laws. The title of republic might be assumed in France, without causing any alarm in England. The history of those nations that had adopted republicanism had nothing fascinating nor enviable; and neither the constitutions of France nor of America, however founded on the popular maxims of universal rights and equality, could be proposed as objects of imitation, till the experience of many years had shewn they were deserving of it: this experience was conspicuously on the side of the British constitution; and the people of this country were so well convinced of it, that there

there was no necessity to destroy the French government, in order to secure the continuance of the English; the superiority of which was too well established in the minds of the people here, to need so harsh and unjustifiable a method of confirming it. Peace was therefore preferable to the continuance of a war that only tended to perpetuate a spirit of enmity: which was certainly both impolitic in itself, and injurious to both nations; as a pacification must of necessity take place at last, unless we both were resolved on mutual extermination, and as the calamities we brought on each other became daily more difficult to be remedied. To persist in a contest, in which we had been so unsuccessful, was not fortitude but obstinacy. It was thus we had lost America, and might now plunge ourselves into difficulties and misfortunes of a much more tremendous nature. It had been asked, whether the atrocities, of which the French had been guilty, ought to remain unpunished? But what right had we to assume the task of avengers? This should be left to the discretion of heaven. But, were we to succeed in re-establishing Lewis XVII. on the despotic throne of his ancestors, would he make this country any compensation for the blood it had shed, and the treasures it had expended, in his cause? Would his subjects permit it? Would our allies consent to it? The French were accused of atheism: this, doubtless, was an enormity, as well as a folly, of a most deplorable nature. But was it curable by war and destruction? Christianity stood on better founda-

tations than force and violence, and needed no such support to triumph over its enemies.

The bishop was eagerly opposed by lord Hawkesbury, who resorted to those various arguments in favour of the ministerial measures which had been so repeatedly urged. The marquis of Lansdowne was equally vehement against them. He dwelt principally on the loss of Holland, as an essential diminution of strength to the coalition, and an unanswerable motive for immediate peace. The revolutionary governments that had arisen, in consequence of the surprising events produced by the present contest, instead of preventing a pacification, ought, he asserted, to incline us to it, for the most obvious of all reasons, lest we should be affected by the storms that had wrought such unexpected alterations among our neighbours. We had treated with our revolted subjects in America; why should we refuse to negotiate with the French, who were neither our subjects, nor the first to provoke us to a contest.

The earl of Hardwicke, lord Hawke, and earl Spencer, supported the ministerial motion; lord Mulgrave seconded them; observing, that though defeated, the coalition was too formidable a body to be considered without terror, even by the victors, and while acting firmly together, had every thing to hope. We were masters of the West Indies, that immense repository of trade and riches, and our fleets were universally victorious; but if we offered to treat of peace with the French, they would claim a surrender of all the advantages we had obtained in

in that quarter of the globe, and would quickly take occasion to turn them against us.

The debate continued with great warmth, and a multiplicity of arguments were brought forward by the respective contendants, of much the same description as the many so often reiterated. It closed at length with a majority of eighty-eight in favour of ministry, against a minority of no more than fifteen.

Opposition, though discomfited, still returned to the charge: Mr. Grey moved, in the lower house, on the 6th of February, that it was incumbent on government to remove every impediment that stood in the way of peace between Great Britain and France; and that without acknowledging some competent power to treat with in that country, the war must necessarily last till one of the two nations was subdued or exterminated by the other: he proposed, therefore, that the house should, for the purpose of avoiding so dreadful an extremity, formally declare itself of opinion, that the government now established in France was competent to negotiate and conclude a peace with the government of this country. He made a copious and animated speech on this occasion, and was vigorously seconded by the principal speakers in the opposition; and no less warmly opposed by the adherents to ministry. The previous question being moved, by Mr. Dundas, was carried in the affirmative, by one hundred and ninety, against sixty-nine.

In the house of lords, the duke of Bedford moved, on the 12th of February, that the government of France was no obstruction to a treaty; but that if, through the

ambitious motive of aggrandizing the republic, or in order to propagate their principles, the French should refuse equitable conditions, the house would give a vigorous support to the war. He was seconded, and opposed, in the usual style of arguing upon this subject; and the previous question being moved, by lord Hawkesbury, was carried by a majority of sixty three: a protest, however, was signed, against the ministerial measures, by the duke of Bedford, and the earls of Guildford and Lauderdale.

These reiterated defeats of all the endeavours to induce ministers to turn their thoughts to peace, induced Mr. Fox to make a motion, on the 24th of March, that a committee of the whole house should take into consideration the state of the kingdom. The case was so important, the dangers threatening it so obvious, that such an inquiry ought not to be delayed. He had, in consequence of our defeat at Saratoga, during the American war, made a similar motion, and it had been acceded to: though our situation at that time was far from being so perilous as at present. An idea pervaded the mass of the people, that the commons could not fairly be reputed the representatives of the nation, from their undeviating compliance with every measure proposed by ministry, notwithstanding the ill success with which they had conducted the war. The obstinacy they constantly displayed, in resisting every motion for peace, required the strictest investigation; what could be the motives for so extraordinary a confidence in men who were continually unfortunate? While ministers were able to set themselves, in this unprecedented manner

manner, above all inquiry, they were in fact above responsibility; and those who complained that the constitution was on the decline, and that a system of despotism had taken place in this country, could not be refuted. Men that dreaded inquiries into their conduct, afforded the clearest presumption that it would not bear examination: and the high hand with which they kept it at a distance shewed, at the same time, that the spirit of that constitution was departed from those whose duty it was to call ministers to account for the misfortunes that befel the state, in order to ascertain whether they were owing to irresistible causes, or to the perversity of ministers themselves. The most evident necessity now dictated such an inquiry: the war had lasted only two years, and, in that short period, the enemy had made a progress unknown to former æras; they had overcome all resistance, and acquired such an extent of territory, as placed them in the most alarming state of superiority to the confederation formed against them. Could we with safety and prudence proceed in this war? Did our resources warrant its prosecution, even allowing it to be just and necessary? but was it in truth either of these? Had ministers acted an upright and spirited part in undertaking and conducting it? these were questions to be resolved previously to engaging more deeply in so serious a business. Our losses had been immense; but the utmost industry was used to conceal or diminish them. Mr. Fox then entered into an elaborate investigation of the numbers that had perished by the sword, or been taken by the enemy. He adverted to the

state of population throughout the kingdom, which he thought on the decrease. He calculated the expences of the war at seventy millions; and the permanent taxes it had occasioned at three millions. He asserted the trade of the country to be diminished, the exports being much less than in the year before the war, and insurance as high as in the American war, while contending with our colonies, Spain, France, and Holland, united. We had allies, he said, but could we trust them? one of them, Prussia, by the treaty of 1788, was bound to furnish thirteen thousand men, and had received twelve hundred thousand pounds to double that number: had he effectually done it? Had we the least reason to presume that Austria would treat us more honourably, after receiving the four or the six millions it had demanded? the like demands would ensue, year after year, until we were entirely exhausted. The Sardinian subsidy was perfectly useless; that power had done nothing, and Spain was already so reduced, that it must also be subsidised, or have recourse to an immediate peace for its preservation. Our conduct to neutral nations had been highly disgraceful. We had first provoked them by the tyrannical haughtiness of our behaviour, and, after injuring their commerce, had found it necessary to indemnify them. Our councils had been so equivocal, that neither friends nor foes could form a precise idea of our real intentions: the very emigrants and royalists mistrusted us, and looked upon the coalition as a scheme for dismembering France much more than for restoring it to the Bourbon family. The naval part of the war, consider-

ing our superiority at sea, had, he said, been very injudiciously managed, and our losses greater than during the American contest, though we were now confederated with those very powers at that time our enemies. The situation of Ireland, he observed, required no less the strictest inquiry: the extreme irritation of the great mass of the people ought to warn ministers not to render themselves responsible for the very possible event of its dismemberment from the British empire, by the refusal of an inquiry into the discontents of its inhabitants. While rulers of such a description as the present presided over our affairs, he was thoroughly convinced these would never prosper; but before he would enter on the propriety of their removal, he would move for an inquiry into the state of the nation.

Mr. Pitt, in reply to this speech, allowed the subjects proposed for inquiry to be of the highest importance; but this was not a season to discuss them. So extensive an investigation demanded more time than the remainder of the session could allow; besides, that every subject alluded to had already undergone an ample discussion: he would advert, however, to some material errors: the loss of men, for instance, was tenfold greater with the enemy than with us; and the increase of manufactures was prodigious, without the decrease of any particular branch. The numbers wanted for the navy and the army were great, and yet the exports for the last year had exceeded those of any preceding year of war. Without justifying the conduct of Prussia, still he would recommend the strictest alliance with Austria, of whose

finances we should readily supply the deficiency, in consideration of the auxiliary strength we derived from that quarter. He did not deny the rise of insurance; but attributed it to the extraordinary augmentation of our foreign trade; and, in a great measure, to the destruction of the naval power of the French, which had induced them to convert the remainder of their marine into privateers, by which means they now carried on a predatory war: but methods, he affirmed, would, ere long, be found to resist this new system of depredation. He complained of the propensity of those who disapproved of the war, to lessen our successes, and to magnify our losses; but whatever changes, he added, might happen in the ministerial department, these were not the men in whom those who felt for the honour of their country would repose confidence. He concluded by moving the previous question, after strongly admonishing the house to wave all notice of the affairs of Ireland, as entirely improper at the present period, and productive of more perplexity than service to either of the two kingdoms.

Mr. Sheridan censured, with great asperity, Mr. Pitt's answer to Mr. Fox, as totally irrelevant of the main subject. Mr. Canning asserted that the actual situation of Ireland was a sufficient exculpation for declining all discussion on the subject. They were followed by Mr. Fox, who resumed the subject with great warmth and energy. He was not surprised, he said, that ministers should object to an inquiry that would endanger their places: but was the nation thus to be sacrificed to their convenience? They had in-

sultingly hinted, that if they were dismissed, still he stood no chance of succeeding them; but whatever ministry took their place, however superior their abilities might be to those of their predecessors in office, never should they meet with his co-operation while they adopted the principles now acted upon by those in power. His conduct, he observed with great emotion, had been represented as tending to lower the dignity of the British nation; but how could a man presume to tax him with so heinous a charge, who had, through his obstinacy, brought it so near to absolute ruin? Mr. Fox reminded the house, how earnestly he had recommended conciliatory measures with France, before the commencement of the war, and with what disdain they had been rejected by the minister. Did he now imagine, that as advantageous terms would be obtained from the French as at that period? dared he to hope, after so many disappointments, for a more auspicious opportunity than the present? The time to negotiate on an equal footing, with the French, was before an appeal had been made to the sword, and not after repeated defeats, which had placed them on the vantage ground, and lowered our own consequence. We then were rich in resources, and our reputation unimpaired; but who could be so bold as to deny that both had suffered? Our allies were then strong in numbers, and high in their military character; but how much fallen since? how depressed in spirit, how much weakened and disunited? how desirous to drop the contest? It was insufferable, Mr. Fox said, that a minister, who had so grossly miscalculated the progress

of events, and so unhappily managed the affairs of this country, should accuse another of endeavouring to debase the national character, who had uniformly forewarned him, that, by persisting in this fatal contest, he would expose this country to the most alarming dangers. This debate concluded by Mr. Pitt's moving an adjournment; and carrying it, by two hundred and nineteen against sixty-three.

On the 30th of March, a motion, similar to that of Mr. Fox's, was made, in the house of lords, by the earl of Guildford, who supported it by much the same arguments, and inculpated, with great acrimony, the measures of government, as marked with negligence and want of judgment, both in the naval and military department.

He was replied to by lord Grenville, who spoke on the subject of Ireland, in the same manner as the minister. He explicitly affirmed, that, however the forces of the coalition had been unsuccessful on the continent of Europe, the fortune of war had declared for the British flag in every other part of the world. The commerce of France was nearly annihilated, and our fleets ruled uncontrollable in every sea. The blow given to the French at Toulon would long remain irretrieved; and the repeated defeats of their squadrons had so thoroughly established our naval superiority, that they had abandoned all thoughts of meeting us in battle, and confined themselves to a war of piracy and plunder, whenever chance offered them our commercial shipping unprotected and defenceless. The victorious career of the French on the continent, he

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considered as a powerful argument for the necessity of counteracting them, and of exerting the strength of Great Britain, in opposition to its most inveterate enemy.

The marquis of Lansdowne expressed himself with his usual fervour against ministerial measures. He was particularly severe on the frequent refusal of ministers to lay before the house copies of instructions to admirals and generals. This practice had begun, he observed, in the reign of George I. to the high disgrace of parliament, of which it had greatly wounded the dignity in the eyes of the nation. It was incumbent on this body to assert the right it had enjoyed till that period, of claiming, without denial, a participation in the knowledge of those public documents, on which alone it could form a clear conception of the propriety of ministerial measures in matters of the most essential consequence. The marquis entered with great accuracy into an examination of the relative interests of the chief European powers. He represented the desire of Russia, to form a connexion with England, as flowing from the dread entertained by that power, that the potentates of Europe were meditating an union against this overgrown empire, in order to set bounds to its ambition. This was a measure of such necessity, that it were the height of impolicy to counteract it. But no nation could so effectually oppose the enterprises of Russia, as the Germans assisted by the French, who had always been the surest friends to the independence of the German princes. This connexion ought not therefore to be disturbed, nor the

French prevented from acting the part they had already done in behalf of Germany, merely on account of their having changed the form of their government, from monarchical to republican. The interests of France were invariably the same, whether a monarchy or a republic; but the infatuation of those who opposed the establishment of the republic, might induce it, in order to attain that object, to connive at the pretensions of its principal enemies, and permit them to swallow up the smaller states of the German empire, provided the settlement of the republic was no longer obstructed. The prospects that arose from this new arrangement of things, were, in the opinion of the marquis, more critical than any alterations that had happened in the course of many centuries. It was easy to foresee, that if France allowed the greater powers to adopt the system of partition, they must in return permit the same to the French. Thus Europe would be thrown into a state of confusion highly unfavourable to the interests of this country, which evidently required that the political situation of Europe should remain as heretofore, and that no power whatever should be aggrandized at the expence of another. The greater the number of smaller powers, the greater must be the safety and influence of Great Britain. Were Europe to be divided, on the partitioning plan in contemplation at the ambitious courts well known to desire it, no peace could henceforth be lasting or secure. The thirst of dominion once excited, and partially gratified, would never rest, and the dividers of states and kingdoms would,

would, like plunderers on a smaller scale, fall out among themselves about the division of the booty, and keep the world in continual alarms and dissensions. Two of the members of the coalition had already acted on this plan, in the business of Poland. One of them, Prussia, had deserted us, and the other would probably do the same, were France to proffer better terms than England. Thus, after throwing away immense treasures, we might at length be abandoned to our sole exertions against an ancient enemy, provoked at our endeavours to reduce him to a worse degree of servitude than he had ever experienced; and become, through our folly, more able than at any former period to make us feel the weight of his resentment. It was in the mean time illusory to boast of the extent of our commerce. Insurance, the best criterion of loss or gain, was continually rising; and of three islands taken by us in the West Indies, one only, Martinico, remained. Instead of inciting the Chouans and other insurgents to persevere in a fruitless resistance, were it not more consistent with humanity and good policy to treat with the French government for an amnesty to the emigrants, or on failure, to make them a donation of half a million, or more if necessary, to enable them at once to fix themselves in some settled way of living? The marquis concluded by adverting to the affairs of Ireland, on which he expressed himself in the same manner as the other speakers in the opposition.

The other adherents and opponents to ministerial measures took part also in this debate. Lord Lauderdale in particular took notice, that, according to ministers, our

allies were the whole human race, and our wealth that of the whole world. Yet, with allies innumerable, and wealth inexhaustible, we could not, he observed, bring the French to our terms. The earl of Guildford's motion was negatived by a majority of ninety.

As a final struggle on the part of opposition, Mr. Wilberforce, on the 27th of May, moved the house of commons to declare itself of opinion, that in the present circumstances of France, the British government ought not to object to proposals for a general pacification, and that it was the interest of the nation to put an end to the war as soon as just and honourable terms could be obtained. He supported his motion in a long and pertinent speech. Though he would not, he said, insist on the common axiom, that the voice of the people was the voice of God, yet much weight should be allowed to sentiments generally received. Thus the public being in the persuasion that a speedy end ought to be put to the present ruinous war, it was incumbent on the legislature to pay a due deference to the inclinations of its constituents, and earnestly to seek for every facility in the way to attain it. The people were the more justified in their warm expression of so reasonable a desire, when they heard how readily the most potent of our allies acceded to the wishes of his people in this particular: the very day on which the emperor signed the treaty for a loan of money from this country, he also signed a rescript, expressing that he was ready to enter into a negotiation with the French. What were we to think of such behaviour? Did he really mean to be true to the conditions on which

which he accepted our subsidy? or to sacrifice the faith he owed to this country, to the interest and the entreaties of his subjects. Which-ever of these determinations he adopted, he could not be exculpated from duplicity, as he must necessarily deceive one of the parties. Could we proceed in security with such allies? Were the French themselves less worthy of being trusted? The condition of these, however deplorable in the representation of those who argued for the war, was now much more formidable than when it began: they had suppressed all domestic insurrections, they had made peace with Prussia, and were negotiating with the other members of the coalition, which in fact was, if not actually dissolved, on the point of dissolution; they had conquered Belgium and Holland, and expelled all their enemies from the low countries: they were masters of the spacious and opulent provinces on the left side of the Rhine, and were preparing to cross it in great force: their deliverance from insurrections at home, and the pacific treaties they had concluded abroad, had strengthened their armies against the remaining members of the confederacy, to the amount of near three hundred thousand men. Were such a people to be declared unfit to be treated with? Much had been hoped from the depreciation of their paper-money: but was it not strange that we would not take lessons from our own woeful experience? How had America combated and overcome us with paper, one hundred per cent. below par? The French were proceeding directly in the same track. Provisions were cheaper in France than in England, and the republican armies had remitted nothing of

their attachment to the principles of the revolution, nor of their enthusiasm in its cause. We still continued to trust to the commotions reported to be breaking out among them, and to the number of discontented people daily looking for opportunities to rise against government: but might not the French on their side allege the multitudes in this country that disapproved of the war? The excessive bounties given, and the difficulties found to procure men for the navy and army? the resistance in some places to the injunctions of our legislature? might they not adduce these particulars as proofs how much we were exhausted and inadequate to the farther prosecution of the war? Neither was our situation in the East or the West Indies on a footing of permanency: in the East, the princes of those countries were watching the opportunity to distress us, and from their natural superiority in numbers, in opulence, and in native resources always at hand, would probably soon or late reduce us to such straits, as might compel us to revert to our primitive situation of merchants and traders. In the West the same system of emancipation from thralldom, held out by the French to the negroes, had already effected a revolution among them. In the island of Hispaniola they had in a great measure thrown off the yoke of servitude, and their numbers were such, amounting to some hundred thousands, that a reduction of them was hardly practicable. We should not, therefore, in prudence build much on our acquisitions there. Our situation nearer home was extremely serious. Ireland, our sister nation, felt deeply, and expressed loudly, every species

of discontent: at home itself the people were exasperated at their sufferings, and the less disposed to bear them, that they did not clearly comprehend why they should. The effects of the war were of a truly alarming nature: it not only spread calamity through the land, but diverted a large portion of the people from peaceable occupations, to which they never returned with alacrity after they had been used to a military life, and contracted those habits of idleness and dissipation always attending it. Another effect was, that the Americans were apprehensive, lest, if successful in our attempts against the French islands, we might narrow their commerce in those parts: nor were they disposed to bear with patience the haughty and contemptuous language bestowed on republican principles and governments. The longer the war lasted, the stricter would be the union of the French, and the more fervent their resolution to maintain their domestic independence, with which their present form of government was daily becoming so intimately connected. The rulers in that country, sensible of the general inclination to peace, were very far from averse to it themselves: the difficulties perpetually arising in providing the means to continue the war, and their anxiety not to run counter to the reasonable wishes of the majority, were motives that must strongly influence them to close with equitable offers. All these were objects that called for the most serious attention on our part. He had proposed them in the clearest point of view they appeared to him, and to those who coincided with his sentiments.

This speech occasioned a warm reply from Mr. Windham, who contended, that it was nugatory to talk of the willingness of the French government to listen to overtures from this country, after the explicit manner in which they had determined to reduce its power and influence throughout Europe. France was at the present hour in a state of universal agitation: jealousies and mistrusts of each other distracted its rulers, and irritation at their conduct pervaded the mass of the people, who had never been so prone to shake off the usurpations of their governors, as they appeared of late. Motions to treat for peace were totally unseasonable for those reasons: they tended to dishearten the public from the prosecution of a war which promised to terminate so favourably to the cause of this country and its allies: they promoted disaffection, and placed government in an odious light. He would, therefore, oppose the present motion, by moving the order of the day.

Herein he was seconded by sir B. Hammet; but vigorously opposed by Mr. Fox, who amidst a variety of other allegations, particularized the satisfaction expressed by the subjects of those powers that had made peace with France. He instanced the grand duke of Tuscany, who had rendered himself highly popular by abandoning the coalition; which was an object of hatred to the commonalty of all Europe. The constitution which the coalition held out to the French, as the price of peace, was precisely that which they had proscribed. This alone was sufficient to excite their aversion to it: no spirited people

ple being willing to accept of a government upon compulsion. But did our allies require from us a continuation of this war? Were they not all inclined to peace? Was it not also a fact, that so far from extinguishing jacobinism in this country, which was one of the most common pretences for the war in those who approved it, those who went under that name rejoiced in its continuance, from the prospect it afforded of accelerating the ruin of ministry, and of the party that sided with them, and of promoting all the views of their adversaries. The good faith of the French was at least equal to that we had experienced from our allies: were the French to deceive us, they would do no more than had been done by our allies under the mask of friendship to this country, and after having, through that pretence, drained it of as much treasure as they could prevail on our credulity in their promises to bestow. We had sufficiently felt the evils of war: those prognosticated from peace had no existence but in the speculations of persons who did not feel the calamities of the times: but ought the mere speculations of men in power to outweigh the contrary opinions of the great mass of the community? among whom it were an insult to common sense and experience to deny, that as much knowledge and understanding might be found as in any ministry.

It was argued by Mr. Pitt in reply, that to represent it as the duty of ministers, to acknowledge themselves ready to accept of overtures of peace from the enemy, was taking from them the advantages they ought to possess in relation to them: they must, from their situation, best

know the language to be held with him. For this reason the constitution had invested the executive power with the exclusive right of foreign negotiations, from the superior degree of information it could not fail to derive through the various channels of which it had the sole direction. From sources of this nature proceeded the reluctance of government, to comply with the opinion of those who were desirous to shew a willingness to treat with the rulers in France. From authentic intelligence, the situation of that country was more critical than ever: the resources were universally diminished in every quarter from whence they had arisen, or been extorted. Disunion reigned in every department of the state, and dissatisfaction extended through all classes. Was this, therefore, a time to come forward with proposals to negotiate, while, through the patient delay of a short lapse of time, alterations might happen in the internal parts of that country, more favourable to us, than we could expect from the most advantageous treaties that could be framed at the present moment? To negotiate now would therefore be precipitation and imprudence unbecoming the discretion of government, while so thoroughly acquainted with the diminution of strength in the enemy, and that notwithstanding the apparent vigour and success of his exertions, they could not last much longer. This description of the state of France he compared with that of England, of which the resources still remained unexhausted, and where, though impositions had been numerous, they had not depressed the industry, nor affected the general welfare of society. The debate closed by the

order of the day, which was carried by 209 against 86.

The earl of Lauderdale made a similar motion to that of Mr. Wilberforce, in the house of lords, on the 5th of June, and supported it with much the same reasonings. Spain, he observed, was the only ally that was not in the pay of Great Britain. The loss of Holland rendered an augmentation of the military strength of the coalition impracticable. Every power in Europe, even those hostile to France, had virtually if not formally, acknowledged the French republic. It was indecent in government to arrogate the exclusive privileges of deciding on the propriety of negotiation: in so weighty a case as the present, parliament had a right to interfere; he would therefore move, that an address should be presented to the king, requesting him to enter into a negotiation with France for a speedy and honourable peace.

Lord Grenville opposed this motion, chiefly on the ground that the French would construe a negotiation, thus recommended by the voice of parliament, as proceeding from despair of success. The hands of ministers would be tied down, and freedom of action would be taken from them in the most essential execution of their office. Such, in the mean time, were the preparations for the ensuing campaign, on the part of the emperor, aided by the powerful subsidies of Great Britain, that a force would be brought into the field fully competent to meet that of the enemy. A vigorous resistance to the ambition of France was necessary for the security of Europe. To speak of the empire as disposed to a pacification, without recovering the provinces seized by the

French, betrayed a total want of insight into its indispensable interests. The presumed willingness of the French to negotiate was a manifest error, as they had even refused to treat for so usual a thing in war, as an exchange of prisoners. After a few other observations from both sides, lord Lauderdale's motion was negatived by 53 against 8.

The Imperial loan was the next subject that engaged the attention of the house: it was brought forward, on the 28th of May, by Mr. Pitt, who observed, that every security had been provided for payment of both the interest and principal to the lenders, and moved that the whole should be guaranteed. Mr. Fox objected to the agreement made by government with the emperor, as placing ourselves in his power, without any certainty that he would perform the stipulations agreed upon. From four to six millions were to be advanced him, proportionably to the augmentation of the force to be employed against France, beyond the original stipulation of two hundred thousand men. But nothing precise had been decided, and we were totally uninformed of the exact proportion intended. The conduct of the emperor in the military transactions that had taken place, did, by no means, entitle him to such implicit faith from this country. It had been asserted, and not contradicted by ministers, that, in a situation of the most imminent danger, he had refused the assistance demanded of him, and evidently needed by the British troops. Notwithstanding this ungenerous and inequitable treatment, we still continued to pay him one hundred thousand pounds a month, and this

too at a time when he had quite deserted us. Other breaches of good faith, in the court of Vienna, were particularised by Mr. Fox, which ought, he said, to render us extremely circumspect in our pecuniary negotiations with that ministry. Should it conclude a peace with France, as not a little to be apprehended, what an immense sum would have been lavished to no effect: he dwelt with great indignation on the uncertainty to which we submitted in the emperor's conduct, and demanded, with great firmness, that the committee of the house, now sitting upon that important subject, would express their sense of it in explicit terms. After several reasonings, by other members, the ministerial resolutions in favour of the loan, were carried by 77 to 43.

The second and third readings of the bill relating to this loan, were attended with very animated contests. The two-fold character of the emperor, as head of the empire, and as the sovereign of other dominions, occasioned a variety of discussions; some insisting that he could not well separate these characters in practice, and others alleging, that neither of them interfered with the other, and that were he to conclude a peace with France in his Imperial capacity, he might still continue the war as king of Hungary and Bohemia, and sovereign of other states, from which he derived far greater importance and power than from the Imperial dignity. A repetition took place, as usual, of the many other arguments already employed by both sides on this subject, which terminated, at length, by the passing of the bill.

In the house of lords, the bill was strongly opposed by the dukes of Norfolk and Grafton, as introduced too abruptly, and without a sufficient explanation on the part of ministers: it was a measure involving the dearest interests of the nation, and tending to deprive it not only of its property, but of the very right of disposing of it; which, by the present arrangement, was in reality lodged in the hands of ministers.

Their conduct was zealously vindicated by lord Grenville, who severely censured the reasonings drawn from the defection of Prussia, against confiding in the emperor; as if every sovereign could be supposed void of honour and honesty. He denied the disapprobation of the war by the people at large, and asserted, that the public had never been more thoroughly convinced of its propriety.

The bill was strenuously opposed by the earl of Lauderdale. He adduced a variety of reasons why it ought never to have been produced to the house in its actual form, which divested us of all security from the emperor, and left it at his option to act independently of every motive that could bind him to do us justice. His zeal for the common cause was very precarious, and, since the disasters of the last campaign, he had proved a useless ally. Ministers boasted of what had been done in the West Indies, and of what was projected against France: but fifteen hundred thousands pounds, issued for the relief of the people in our islands, proved how little these assertions ought to be credited, and our disappointments on the coast of France, shewed how ill-founded
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our expectations were in that quarter.

To these and other allegations the earl of Mansfield replied, much in the same style of arguing used by those who supported the bill; and was answered by the earl of Guild-

ford in like manner: other lords spoke also for and against it with equal earnestness on each side. The debate finally concluded with the passing of the bill, by 60 votes in its favour to 12 against it.

C H A P. XII.

Motion in the House of Commons, by Mr. Wilberforce, for a final Abolition of the Slave-Trade.—Negatived.—Acquittal of Mr. Hastings.—Reflections on the History and Issue of his Trial, and on his own Character and Deportment.—Motion by Mr. Windham, tending to maintain Discipline, and increase the Strength of the Militia Regiments.—Carried.—Bill passed for new-modelling the London Militia.—Motion for introducing into the Militia the Use of Artillery.—Carried.—Extra Allowance to the Army for Bread and Meat, made to the Army by Government, without the Participation of Parliament.—A subject of Alarm to Opposition, and many others.—Motion for a Censure on this step, by General Macleod.—Negatived.—A Loan of Public Money to the Merchants of Grenada and St. Vincent's.—Statement of East India Affairs.—Regulations in favour of the Officers in the Military Service of the East India Company.—Marriage of the Prince of Wales to the Princess Caroline of Brunswick.—Settlement of his Revenue.—And other Pecuniary Affairs.

WHILE these discussions, on the great objects of the war, employed the abilities of ministry and of opposition, a large portion of the public sincerely lamented that an object, which had lately been favoured with the peculiar attention of the people at large, should remain almost in a state of neglect, especially as the wishes of a majority of the nation were considered as friendly to the intentions of those who first brought it before parliament. This was the long-agitated business of the slave-trade, so zealously reprobated by one party, as equally criminal and disgraceful, and no less warmly justified by the other, as absolutely necessary in the actual situation of the commercial and colonial affairs of Great Britain. Those two contradictory opinions still divided numbers, both in and out of parliament, and were main-

tained by the respective adherents to each, with great fervour and variety of arguments.

Mr. Wilberforce, the original promoter of this business, recalled the attention of the house of commons to it, on the 26th of February. He reminded the house, that a formal resolution had passed in the sessions of 1792, that after the expiration of the month of January, 1796, it should no longer be lawful to import African negroes into the British colonies and plantations. He recapitulated the chief motives that had led to this determination; such as the barbarity of the practice, and the excessive loss of seamen in the unwholesome climates where that trade was carried on. He adverted to the reasonings adduced to prove its impolicy, and to the acknowledgment of nearly the whole house, that they were justly found-
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ed. He strongly objected to the idea, that civilization first flourished on sea coasts: some persons, he observed, had travelled three hundred miles from Sierra Leone, into the interior parts of Africa, and had discovered civilized people, inhabiting considerable towns, possessed of the knowledge of reading and writing, and of many more of the conveniences of life, than were known to the inhabitants on the sea shore. He took notice of the manifest disposition of the newly imported negroes to rise against the white people, and of the consequent necessity of maintaining a numerous military force to keep them in awe and subjection. He urged several other arguments against their farther importation into the West-India islands, and concluded by moving a final abolition of the slave-trade.

He was seconded by Mr. W. Smith, and opposed by Mr. Dent, Mr. Barham, and Mr. East. Were such a bill to pass, these gentlemen thought the property of planters would be greatly endangered: they deprecated all discussion as extremely dangerous in the present crisis: were the negroes once induced to hope for emancipation, disappointment would render them ungovernable, through the irritation it would occasion, and the comparisons they would make between their situation and that of their countrymen in the French islands. Were even the bill to pass in the commons, it was not probable the lords would acquiesce in it.

They were answered by Mr. Whitbread, and Mr. Fox, who pointedly noticed the length of time employed by the house of lords in the examination of witnesses on this subject. But even those who were

averse to the abolition of the trade, had not ventured to justify it. The calculations of Mr. Wilberforce, respecting the sufficiency of the actual number of blacks in the islands, for their cultivation and improvement, were undisproved. The more moderate their numbers, the less would be the danger from them, and the better their treatment. The French system of disciplining their negroes ought to be an example to us: in proportion as we shewed them confidence, they would become attached and faithful. At all events, it became a British parliament to discontinue the countenance it had shewn to so iniquitous and inhuman a trade.

Mr. Dundas alleged, in reply, that the motive of deferring the abolition until the beginning of 1796, was, to afford time to the planters to make suitable arrangements for it: but the war had prevented the recruiting of the present numbers, which were not sufficient for their exigencies. He approved of the abolition, but was of opinion it ought to be gradual.

Mr. Pitt declared for an immediate abolition. The numbers of slaves imported into the colonies, had, he said, been large enough during the three last years, to answer every purpose of the colonists. The negroes themselves were not desirous of these importations, as they found, by experience, that their own labours were not lessened thereby, nor their condition bettered. After a variety of other arguments for and against the abolition, the motion was postponed for six months, by a majority of 17.

This decision was conformable to the expectations of the public; which had, for some time past, begun

begun to entertain the opinion, that the prodigious property embarked in all the concerns relating to the West Indies, would operate as an insurmountable obstacle to the design of tying up the hands of the planters in the management of these distant possessions on their own plan.

A decision, long looked for with still more impatience, was that relating to the conduct of Mr. Hastings, in the East Indies. This tedious business had now lasted seven years, to the great diminution of his fortune, and at a large expence to the public. This protraction was considered as unnecessary, and occasioned heavy complaints, not only from Mr. Hastings himself, but from the generality of people, who thought, that the forms of justice were unduly lengthened, and that a sentence of condemnation or of absolution might, and ought, therefore, to have passed long before this time. The defence which he drew up and presented to the lords, in Westminster-hall, was written with great eloquence and ability, and made a strong impression in his favour. He was solemnly acquitted of every charge brought against him. Out of twenty-nine peers, who pronounced judgment on this occasion, twenty-three declared him innocent. But the costs of this expensive trial would have proved a grievous load to him, and too heavy to be borne, had not the East-India company, with a spirit

of gratitude, greatly to their credit, taken upon them to discharge the whole, amounting to upwards of seventy thousand pounds. The company also avoided the disgrace of leaving so meritorious a servant in indigence, by a moderate pecuniary donation.—He retired from the perilous situation wherein he so long had stood, with an injured constitution: but with a reputation not only unimpaired, but, notwithstanding the indefatigable attempts to ruin him in the esteem of the public, confirmed and exalted.

The trial of such a character, political and private, as Mr. Hastings, whose services had so often received the sanction of public approbation and grateful applause, and which, in fact, had proved, in a crisis of the utmost alarm, the salvation of his country*—the trial of such a man, protracted to such an enormous length of time, was a novelty in the history of England, and deeply fixed the attention, as well as the wonder of foreign nations: to the principal of whom, the merits of Mr. Hastings appeared to be better known than to his own countrymen. That one who had deserved so well of his country should be stretched so long on the rack of "the law's delay," and that this should be so long borne by a generous nation, appeared utterly astonishing to nations but little acquainted with the tedious formalities that are incident to processes under free

* For an account of the manner in which the exertions of Mr. Hastings saved his country, by enabling the English minister, as he acknowledged, to make the peace of 1783, and also of the intrigues and cabals that gave birth to the impeachment of Mr. Hastings, see *Memoirs of the late War in Asia*.

governments; and to all who do not reflect, that much of what may appear blameable to foreign nations and other ages, is often shaded and softened to the eye of the contemporary, which loses sight of the whole scene, sees it only, as it were, in fragments; and these too diminished and distorted by the intrusion of a thousand other circumstances and concerns that constantly solicit the attentions of self-love, and soon blunt our sorrow at the sufferings of others, when long continued, by the very means that should heighten our sympathetic affection. Amidst the thickest vapour, the traveller still enjoys light enough to see the nearest objects, and calls it only a mist; but the distant spectator views it as a dark and portentous cloud.

But there was no period, even when the accusations against Mr. Hastings were the loudest, and before the time was come for reply, in which a general sympathy and concern for his state was wholly lost or suspended in candid and impartial breasts. The violence mixed with the oratory made use of against him, served, in some measure, as an antidote to the gall from whence it sprung. The true motives that urged on the impeachment became generally suspected. The sentence pronounced by the highest court in the kingdom, in favour of Mr. Hastings, was universally gratulated with sincere joy. Men rejoiced to find, that the integrity of the late governor general had been proved equal to his abilities. The impressions that were made on the

public mind by the trial of Mr. Hastings, in its different stages, are faithfully described in a preface to a publication, which gives an account of many curious circumstances relating to the origin, progress, and issue, of the trial, and also suggests not a few important reflexions on the whole. It is "*The History of the Trial of Warren Hastings, Esq.* containing the whole of the proceedings and debates in both houses of parliament relating to that celebrated prosecution.

"From the moment that an impeachment of Mr. Hastings was agreed on by the house of commons, the editor of the present compilation determined to mark the progress, and to collect and to preserve every document and memorial, in any material degree connected with a trial so new in its nature, so various and extensive in its relations, and that might probably, in its issue, produce the most important, though unknown, consequences. The industry with which he has executed this plan will be readily acknowledged. To some, perhaps, it may appear to have been carried to excess; but, of most of the papers he has preserved, a little reflection will discover some purpose either of utility or entertainment, and future conjunctures will, no doubt, as usual, by opening a wider sphere of relation, constitute and disclose new ways in which these fugitive pieces may contribute to the instruction of the civilian and the historian, and the amusement of the future antiquarian: to the lawyer it is a record

record of judicial precedents, reports, and decisions: to the historian it presents, collaterally, a wider field of political intrigue and military operation than had entered, at any former period, into the British history: and, to future antiquaries, many interesting anecdotes relating to persons who not only make a figure in the present shifting scene, but whose names may penetrate into times to come. But it is not to future antiquaries only that the pieces here collected, not necessarily though naturally connected with the trial, will appear interesting—the greater part of them, we doubt not, will please general readers of the present times.

“This trial derives still higher consequence from its connexion and influence in our political system. It has served, in its commencement, progress, and termination, to define the political situation of this country with respect to India; to give greater precision to her maxims both of policy and jurisprudence in that country; to ascertain the line of conduct that may be pursued, on various emergencies, by the civil and military officers of the company and the crown; and, on the whole, in various ways to consolidate the British empire in Hindostan.

“Thus far it is particularly interesting to every subject of Britain; but especially to all who have any share in the British government. But it is not either as a gratification of curiosity, a directory to lawyers, a source of information to historians, and of instruction to politicians and the

executive government in all its branches, that this trial is chiefly interesting—it possesses an interest of a kind still more noble and affecting. In a moral view, it is interesting to all men, and all ages, to whom a good man, struggling with adversity, can never be an object of indifference—a good man, after saving his country by the brightest exertions of genius as well as public virtue, attacked by private malignity, combined with political intrigue; unusual merit followed by unprecedented persecution and hardships.

“Mr. Hastings is a man of gentle manners, and of an elegant mind. From his earliest years he has been devoted to study, and to the service of his country. In private life he has uniformly displayed universal benevolence to all around him, as well as most exemplary moderation in the government of his own passions—in the public characters in which he was successively employed, the most impartial justice. His mind, active and comprehensive at all times, rose with an elastic force under every pressure; and, consequently, his talents and virtues shone forth with the greatest splendor, in times of difficulty and danger. In 1778, at a crisis pregnant with danger and full of alarm, he pursued those measures which the impending calamities required. In another hemisphere, and among nations governed by other religions, customs and laws, he maintained the British dominion in India, by means exactly of the same kind with those that acquired them, and by which alone it was possible to maintain them.

It has been justly observed, on the subject of legislation, that what is metaphysically true may be, in that very proportion, politically false;* and that, in all cases, respect should be had to times and circumstances. It could scarcely be expected that Mr. Hastings, in circumstances that admit of great latitude of conduct in Europe, should attempt to weather a storm in India by an European compass. Without violating the usages and laws of Asia, he combined and directed a large military force for the preservation of our Asiatic settlements.

"The confederacy of Europe with America; the eruption of Hyder into the Carnatic; the flight of sir Thomas Rumbold from Madras; the supineness and imbecility of his successors in that presidency; the defeat of the British army under sir Hector Munro; the excision of colonel Baillie's detachment: all these circumstances of improvidence, disgrace, and disaster, struck a temporary panic, and, for a time, unnerved the heart, and unstrung the arm. He who was the first in mind, as in station, to whom every anxious and imploring eye was now turned, did not disappoint the fond hopes and expectations of his countrymen. From the centre of Calcutta an energy was diffused throughout the whole of the British settlements in Hindostan. The governor-general displayed a dignity and elevation of mind that seemed to carry him wholly out of himself, and to sink every private interest and concern in the grand pursuits of public spirit. And, in the midst of an unremitting struggle with the most odious and rancorous oppo-

sition (springing, indeed, partly from a hectic irritability of temper) that was ever made to any system, he conducted the war at last to a prosperous and glorious issue.

"Such is Mr. Hastings; whom neither innocence, nor virtue, nor talents, nor complete and brilliant success in the most arduous as well as important enterprise, was able to save from a prosecution not more surprising in its origin than wonderful in its conduct; which, when we reflect on the spirit that dictated, perplexed, and protracted it, may be called, in the emphatic language of the sacred Scriptures, a **FIERY TRIAL**; and of which it may be remarked, that never was trial more unmerited, so long protracted, or so completely triumphant over such a combination of learning, ability, and political power.

"The public mind, by the obstruction of never ceasing assertion, was stunned into an apprehension that the late governor-general might not be found so free as was generally wished, from all ground and shadow of reproach. Year passed on after year, and a degree of suspicion was followed by a greater degree of indifference to the matter at issue.

"At last men began to wonder that where accusation was so loud, proof should be so feeble; and public opinion, that had been the slowest to give any degree of credit to his accusers, formed the first and most certain presage of his acquittal.

"Every thing in human affairs is mixed. Good is blended, and depends, in some measure, for its very essence, on evil. But the ways of Providence, though mysterious, are

* See Mr. Burke's Letter on the State of France.

just. The cause of temporary affliction, has consigned the name of Hastings to immortal honour, by incorporating his life and actions with the juridical as well as the political and military history of his country. The charges brought against Mr. Hastings are not now to be considered as misfortunes, but as difficulties that have proved and ennobled his virtues.

It deserves to be recorded, in justice to the feelings of human nature, as well as a testimony to the merit of Mr. Hastings, that a great number of writers, both at home and abroad, appeared as volunteers in his cause, sometimes for the express purpose, and at others collaterally, in writing on other subjects*. A like observation may be extended to the steady ardour with which Mr.

* In one of the literary and political journals of the times, which, from the beginning of the trial to the end, had occasionally animadverted on the conduct of all the members of the coalition against Mr. Hastings with the utmost freedom, we find the following congratulation on the acquittal of Mr. Hastings:—

“We heartily congratulate our countrymen in every part of the world, and indeed all good men, on the honourable acquittal of Mr. Hastings, a man whose whole life, as we have had formerly occasion to observe, has been one continued scene of public service, public honour, and public prosecution. When Socrates, being accused of crimes and misdemeanors against the state, was asked if he did not intend to avail himself of the pleadings of orators in his behalf, which was freely offered, he said, that he did not intend to offer any other defence than that which the whole tenor and course of his life afforded; and on this ground he was contented to plead his own cause. On this ground, too, Mr. Hastings might have defended himself: for, although he might have failed to unravel the nets woven for catching him, by the combined talents of opposite parties*, he would have satisfied the world, and all posterity, of his innocence and egregious merit: and although he might, for the want of such aid for extrication, have been found guilty in Westminster-Hall, the fine in which he would have been amerced would not have amounted to the third part of what his legal defence cost him. Justice is not yet completed to Mr. Hastings by his country. The glory of invincible fortitude and patience may perhaps compensate for ten years of trouble and suspense, but cannot make up for an impaired fortune, never more than moderate.”—*English Review*, Vol. XXV. p. 320.

In the same journal the following criticism, both on the preface to the compilation respecting the trial, and the whole character and conduct of Mr. Hastings, appeared in the number for April, 1796. The writer of the preface, in his account of the compilation that forms his subject, rises, by a very natural and easy climax, from its subserviency to the purposes of the civilian, the politician, the antiquarian of future times, and the historian, to the interest which human nature, in all times and places, takes in a good man struggling with adversity, and a vindication of the ways of God to man. In this view the trial of Mr. Hastings may be considered in the light of an heroic poem, whether of the epic or dramatic kind, the grand moral or end of which, is, to illustrate the patient fortitude that arises from the consciousness of innocence and virtue.

There is an active and there is a passive fortitude: the latter not certainly less, but, in some respects, superior to the former. It was this species of fortitude that distinguished the hero of the sublimest poem that ever was composed†; it was this kind of fortitude that proved the Son of God in the desert, which Milton has made the subject of the *Paradise Regained*; in the bloody sweat in the garden; in mount Calvary; and on the cross.

It has been Mr. Hastings's fate to have had singular opportunities of displaying both active and passive fortitude: the former in his conduct in India; the latter in the trial to which that conduct doomed him at home.

* And on that day Herod and Pilate became friends. *Mat. xxvii.*

† See Dr. Lowth's *Dissertations on the sacred Hebrew Poetry*, where he discourses on the Book of Job.

Mr. Hastings's friends clung to him during the whole of the trial: even the lawyers who pled his cause, were touched with an emotion, neither to be purchased with money, nor awakened by a love of fame.

A true

In the trial of Mr. Hastings, considered as an heroic poem, we recognize great unity of design; to harass, provoke, discompose, embarrass, and finally overwhelm and discomfit, an innocent sufferer. Various episodes occur in their nature and tendency with the main fable: the merit of the accused, particularly magnanimous patience, the virtue by which, in this epopeia, he was most eminently distinguished, was contrasted with the impotent fretfulness and impatience of his principal tormentor; and, what has been thought by some critics indispensable in a composition of this kind, somewhat of the ludicrous and burlesque relieved this serious drama, in the petulant obloquy of a Thersites—

‘An angry ape,
Playing such fantastic tricks before high Heaven
As make the angels weep.’—SHAKESPEARE.

The task undertaken by the prosecutors appeared, on the outset, to be, what indeed it was, singularly arduous. Public opinion was in favour of Mr. Hastings. And, while calumny was heaped on calumny in England, letters were constantly received from India, proclaiming his merit in terms of the most enthusiastic gratitude and applause. But the managers of the impeachment, and particularly two men, who were of the same country, the same nearly in point of genius, as well as birth, though each was marked by some peculiarities of character, undertook, under the auspices of factious combination, to brave every difficulty, and to storm the temple of virtue on the wing of poetical fancy. They both of them possessed great variety of style, as well as vigour of imagination. By the magic of their eloquence they could give animation to every object they might have occasion to describe; and, where real objects should fail, to call into existence a thousand airy nothings. They were poets of evidence*. They had philosophy enough to know, that a degree of belief attends vivid conception; and that, to arrest the attention of men, is a great step towards their conviction. It appeared to be their general aim to accommodate all appearances to a system merely hypothetical, by exaggeration, by fancy, and a strong appeal to the passions. Nor were these gentlemen, it has been supposed, in this ingenious work, actuated merely by an inveteracy against Mr. Hastings; but, in part, on so splendid a theatre as was opened by this trial, by a competition for literary fame. Burke was richer in his various metaphors and allusions, as well as more lively in his transitions; but he mixed the serious too often with the low and the burlesque. Sheridan's muse was less desultory, and more equal in her flight; though they, both of them, soared with epic freedom into the boundless regions of fancy.

The listless, tedious, and torpid calm, produced by the law's delay, it must be owned, mars the comparison that has been made between this trial and an epic or dramatic representation, in which the art of the poet passes, with an interesting rapidity, over what is dull and languid, to changes and events of an affecting and striking nature. But, to the eye of true philosophical criticism, the patience of the person principally concerned, sustained with invincible fortitude in such torpid calms, appears to the greatest advantage. In the conflict and agitation of danger quickly to be over, or quickly to spend its utmost fury, the mind of the patriot and hero is awakened and fortified by general attention and sympathy; when these are removed, and the sufferer is remanded, as it were, to his solitary prison, the eclat of his virtue is less, but the proof of its constancy greater; greater in the inverse ratio of the magnitude of the trouble and the danger, to the indifference with which it is regarded. Nor did Mr. Hastings feel, or affect to feel, in his unmerited as unprecedented situation, stoical indifference.

* As was said of the Italian poet Dante, ‘Il poeta dell’ evidenza.’

A true critic could easily observe a very wide difference, indeed, between the eloquence of the defenders of Mr. Hastings, and the studied, affected, and theatrical, declamations of those who were accounted the principal managers of the impeachment. The speech of one of these, on the particular charge committed to his care, was continued for several days. Almost all the speeches of the managers ran to a length altogether unprecedented in the history of impeachments; it was shrewdly observed, at the time, that this unusual prolongation of speeches was a proof of the extreme difficulty, and impossibility, of the task undertaken by the managers. But, in truth, it is not to this circumstance only, nor yet to the other circum-

stance of a rivalry between professed orators, before an audience of the first dignity and splendour, that the extreme length of the speeches in question is to be attributed. A revolution has taken place in this country, at least, in oratory, somewhat analogous to that in military operations: by which the commanders-in-chief of armies do not attempt to carry a few posts in succession, by different detachments, but by an immense force, and a continuation of action, to carry the whole of the enemy's line of defence, though extended over a frontier to be measured only by hundreds of leagues.*

Every humour, spirit, custom, and pursuit, almost without exception, is tinged in its progress, by

He confessed he was 'not a man of apathy'. He bore his sorrows as a man, but he also felt them as a man. And he implored repeatedly, though too much in vain, even at the expence of waving the benefit of most material evidence in his favour, a speedy termination of his trial. This too, in the eye of true philosophical criticism, will be considered as none of the least indications of a great as well as an amiable character.

As we have given an example of the writing that was from time to time volunteered in favour of Mr. Hastings, at home, so we shall just make one quotation from a foreign publication:—

“Il serait injuste de quitter ce sujet sans avouer que ce trésor des connaissances primitives nous a été ouvert par les soins d'un gouverneur zélé pour le progrès des sciences, M. Hastings dont la conduite, pleine de douceur et de noblesse, engagea les Bramines à lui découvrir volontairement ce que les menaces et les moyens de séduction, employés par une longue suite de souverains dans le Mogol, n'avaient jamais pu obtenir.

Il pourra paraître extraordinaire que je parle si favorablement d'un homme qui depuis sept ans est en état d'accusation devant la chambre des pairs de la Grande Bretagne; mais on doit observer que je parle ici de sa conduite envers les Indiens, qui l'appellent encore leur père, et non des actes de rigueur qu'il peut avoir jugés nécessaires pour la conversation de l'Inde, contre quelques chefs réfractaires, dans un moment critique où nos établissemens dans l'Orient semblaient menacés à la fois par les nations Européennes et par les Indiens. Peut-être même serait-il avantageux, pour tous les états, qu'on ramenât sévèrement à la raison tous les factieux, lorsque la patrie se trouve dans un moment de crise.”

Dissertation sur Les Antiquités de Russie; par Matthieu Guthrie, Conseiller de Cour de Sa Majesté Impériale, Médecin du Corps Impérial des Cadets Nobles: traduites sur son ouvrage Anglais; dédié à la Société Royale des Antiquaires d'Ecosse, &c. &c. St. Petersburg, 1796.

* It is observed by our Saviour, as characteristic of hypocrites, or men who do not speak from sincerity and simplicity of heart, they that think “they shall be heard for their much speaking.” Mat. vi. 7.

human weakness and folly, until, at last it is involved in a degree of ridicule. Chivalry, though founded in the noblest principles of mind and heart, became ridiculous; philosophy became ridiculous; logic became ridiculous. A degree of ridicule, by the frivolous researches of mere empirics and nomenclators, has of late been affixed, in the imaginations of many, to the pursuits of even experimental philosophy. There is nothing more preposterous than to seek the fame of eloquence by prolixity. Grand ideas, convincing truths, warm and generous sentiments, are quickly communicated from mind to mind with the speed of lightning. The time is certainly not far distant, when all speakers in parliament, who possess sound taste and judgment, will be as studious of brevity as most of our present orators are of diffusion.

An object of more consequence to the nation than this famous trial, occupied at this time the public mind. The prosecution of this unfortunate war, rendering the utmost exertions necessary, the increase of the military, and of the naval strength of the nation, had been unprecedented. Of ships and seamen, the natural defence of this island, people viewed with satisfaction the increasing numbers; but they began to entertain jealousies of the daily augmentation of the land-forces, looking upon them as the most dangerous instruments in the hands of ministers who might harbour inimical designs to the liberties of the country. The many precedents of their subversion, wherever a great military power had been established, alarmed the discerning part of the community, and was in a great measure

the motive for the wishes, so warmly expressed, by the generality, for a speedy restoration of peace.

The original establishment of the militia had been long considered as a counterpoise to the power vested in the crown, through the command and management of the army. Those who ventured to give vent to their thoughts upon this subject explicitly, boldly termed the regular forces, the army of the crown, and the militia the army of the people. They were, at the same time, of opinion, that this latter body of men should remain perpetually distinct from the former, and that all the regulations respecting them should be so framed as to allow no ministerial influence to alter them; and, above all that the officers belonging to this body should be placed on a footing essentially different from that of the officers of the army, in point of subordination, advancement, and pay.

Little alteration had taken place in the arrangements relating to the militia from the date of its primitive institution, till the dangers resulting from the present war, induced men in power to prepare for those emergencies they might occasion. Among the means of resistance to a foreign enemy, none appeared more eligible than to augment the militia, improve its discipline and assimilate it as much as possible to the army. With this view Mr. Windham moved, on the 6th of March, for a committee to prepare an estimate of the additional allowances intended for the subaltern officers of the militia on the return of peace. He grounded his motion on the necessity of having expert subalterns in that service: an object not to be attained without adequate encouragement.

ment. By this measure a description of men would be retained, entirely adequate to the purpose of maintaining due discipline, and of rendering the militia of no less utility than the regulars.

His motion was seconded by Mr. Bastard, and Mr. Yorke, and by colonels Stanley, Sloane, and Upton; and opposed by Mr. Curwen, general Tarleton, Mr. Robinson, Mr. Sheridan, and Mr. Fox, as tending to increase the influence and patronage of ministers, and to place the whole military strength of the kingdom under their immediate direction; a step evidently preparatory to the completest establishment of arbitrary power.

The motion was supported by Mr. Pitt, as intending no more than to provide a sufficient number of inferior officers, properly qualified for their stations. The allowance was only to those in actual service, and in that respect differed materially from a pension or half pay. General Smith, Mr. Cox, and Mr. Wilberforce, spoke on the same side of the question, which was carried without farther opposition.

Another subject of a military nature was brought before the house on the 30th of March. This was the bill for new modelling the London Militia. It was opposed by Mr. Sheridan, as a direct violation of the city charter. From time immemorial, the citizens had enjoyed uninterruptedly the power of regulating and commanding their own militia; no royal proclamation having hitherto been issued in London, as in other parts of the kingdom, relating to the service of its military forces. In the latter years of Charles II. this charter had been

violated, like many others; but this was no precedent, as what had been done by that arbitrary prince, had been shortly after annulled as illegal.

Mr. alderman Newnham, and Mr. Lushington, supported the bill. The latter maintained, in explicit terms, that the defence of the city would be better entrusted in the hands of military men, than placed in the hands of magistrates. This expression was severely censured by Mr. Sheridan, who represented the acquiescence of the citizens in a bill of this kind, as derogating from the spirit with which their ancestors had preserved a privilege lodged in them for ages, and of which they had occasionally made so honourable a use, in defence of the common liberties of the nation. The bill passed without farther discussion.

To these alterations in military matters another was added some time after. In order to render the discipline of the militia perfectly complete, it was judged requisite to introduce into that body the use of artillery, and to train a number of the men to that service. The idea was generally approved; but some clauses in the bill, to that intent, were opposed as unconstitutional, by lord Radnor, in the house of lords, on the 22d of May. The bill authorized the pressing into the regular corps, those militia-men, who should become expert in the management of artillery. It also permitted those privates who were inclined to serve in the navy, or in the artillery, to quit the militia service. These and several other clauses, tending to encourage militia-men to enter into other corps, he objected to, as lessening materially

the strength of that body of men, who were evidently the most constitutional defence of the kingdom.

The propriety of allowing men, bred to the sea, to prefer the navy to any other service, was strongly urged by lord Grenville, as of equal justice to individuals, and utility to the public. The artillery also was become of such use and importance, in the present system of war, that it required the highest encouragement. The numbers that would quit the militia, for those two branches of service, would not, however, prove so large as might be apprehended, when it was recollected, that the privates were mostly labouring men, in their several counties, and that the proportion wanted, for the artillery, was very small. Other arguments were used in favour of the measure proposed and against it; but it was carried by a great majority.

An affair of more particular importance was, at this time, under the consideration of the commons. An extra allowance, for bread and for meat, had been made in the month of April, to the army, without the participation of parliament. The public was equally surprised and alarmed at a measure, which appeared to the generality unprecedented and unconstitutional. The complaints of the soldiery, at the scantiness of their pay, and its insufficiency to support them, at a time when the dearness of provisions was so excessive, had induced government to grant them the allowances in question; but though the humanity of the measure was indisputable, the method of carrying it into execution was violently reprobated by the generality of people. The fact was, that by virtue

of an order from the war-office, countersigned by the secretary of that department, an immense sum of money would be levied upon the nation. What highly aggravated this conduct, and rendered it a manifest insult to the legislature, it took place while parliament was actually sitting, and ready to receive favourably, any application to that intent. Such a proceeding in ministers could no otherwise be accounted for, than from a desire to establish a precedent, authorising them to raise money without applying to parliament. It was calculated, at the same time, to make an impression on the soldiery, unfavourable to parliament, and to the public. They would be taught to rely on the generosity of the crown, preferably to that of the nation and its representatives, and would, of course, carry their attachment to those whom they looked upon as their best friends and protectors.

Such was the language of multitudes on this occasion. The opposition thought it necessary to espouse the cause of a majority, so loudly and repeatedly expressed; and, on the 18th of May, general Macleod moved, that a committee should be appointed to take the matter into consideration. He grounded his motion on the sentiments of the public, enforcing them with additional arguments, and proposed that the house should formally resolve, that it was unconstitutional to augment the pay of the army, without previously consulting, or afterwards submitting such a measure to, parliament; and, at the same time, to request the king to order the causes of the late grants to the military, to be laid before the house, and to assure him of its readiness to con-

cur in making every necessary provision in a constitutional manner.

Ministry justified the measure, as proceeding from absolute and immediate necessity. Troops, when encamped, were usually furnished with bread at a reduced price, on the principle that government could provide it at a cheaper rate than soldiers could buy it: from the same motive they now were also found in meat, by an additional allowance of money to purchase it.

It was replied, by Mr. Fox, that without entering into minute and embarrassing discussions, it was clear that, while parliament was sitting, no additional pay could be granted to the army, without the consent of both houses: no objection lay to the grant itself, but to the slight put upon the legislature, by not applying for its assent.

Mr. Pitt exculpated ministry, by representing the relief given to the soldiery, as temporary, and arising wholly from the circumstances of the moment: it would of course, he doubted not, be sanctioned by parliament, though it had not yet been communicated regularly to the house, the estimates of the expence not having been ascertained. Were an augmentation of pay to be formally voted, it would become permanent; whereas the present mode of relief making it only occasional, it would cease with the necessity from which it arose.

The motion was warmly supported, by generals Smith and Tarleton, Mr. Martin, and Mr. Robinson. Royal bounties of this nature, it was observed by general Tarleton, were inauspicious omens to the liberties of a people. The present measure would cost little less than a million: but, what was of greater

importance, it was a link of that chain intended for the enslavement of the nation. The greatness of the sum was, in the opinion of Mr. Grey, of no importance, when compared with the introduction of so dangerous a principle, and precedent, as that of taking the people's money without consulting their representatives, who certainly might have been applied to, by a general communication of the measure, without particularizing the amount of what might be required for the purposes proposed. Mr. Francis was remarkably zealous in his opposition to the measure: no principle, he observed, was clearer in the English constitution, and especially in the formation of the house of commons, than its exclusive disposal of the nation's money: the crown had not the most distant right to participate in this prerogative; much less was it entitled, from its sole authority, to distribute largesses to the army. This was not only an usurpation of the rights of parliament, but a violation of them for the worst purposes; those of alienating the attachment of the military from the parliament, and transferring it to the crown, as the source from whence bounties and donations were to flow. It had been much insisted on, that ministers would subsequently obtain the approbation of parliament; but admitting the supposition, that this approbation were refused, what must the consequence prove to the parliament, but hatred, and perhaps violence, from an enraged military; and an implicit devotion and subserviency, ever after, to the will of the crown? Whatever the minister might allege, of the approval given to preceding measures of this kind,

no other proof of it appeared, than the consent of the house to defray the expences incurred; but this could not strictly be deemed an act of choice; the consciousness of the danger that would result from a refusal, might as probably have made it a matter of necessity. The debate continued some time, with equal warmth on the side of ministry and opposition, and concluded by sir W. Pulteney's moving the previous question, which was carried by sixty-seven against twenty-three.

Some days after this debate, an attempt was made, in the lower house, to represent the conduct of sir Charles Grey, and sir John Jervis, in the West Indies, as deserving of the highest censure; but after an altercation between their accusers and justifiers, which was carried on with great acrimony, the result was, that they were cleared of the charges brought against them, and the thanks voted to them, in the preceding session, for their services, were confirmed.

This decision was followed, on the 11th of June, by one very remarkable, in favour of the merchants concerned in the trade to Grenada and St. Vincent. A petition presented on their behalf, by lord Sheffield, stated, that, in consequence of the troubles and devastations in those two islands, they were reduced to great difficulties and distresses, and disabled from maintaining their commerce and credit, unless they were favoured with timely assistance from government. He enforced the propriety of their petition, by the salutary effects that had attended the seasonable relief given to a number of respectable merchants in London, and in other commercial cities, two years before.

He was zealously seconded by Mr. Pitt, who contended with great force of argument, for the propriety of supporting effectually the mercantile interest of the kingdom, on those emergencies where it was visibly connected with the prosperity of the state, and their losses were occasioned by those public calamities, which they could neither foresee nor avoid. The connexions between this country and the West Indies were of such importance, and the returns of trade often so fluctuating and so tardy, that it was necessary for government to afford them relief occasionally.

Mr. Fox disapproved of the petition, as involving public and private concerns in too close and dangerous a manner, and tending to create an influence over the great commercial body, that would place it on the most abject dependence on ministers. Hence they would become the invariable supporters of all governments, good or bad, in expectation of assistance from them in all pecuniary difficulties. Of the many innovations lately introduced, this was one of the most dangerous and alarming; it would reduce a class of people, hitherto remarkable for their independent spirit, to a situation of subserviency that would necessarily destroy all their former importance, and subject them entirely to the direction and management of all future administrations. Nor would it be less pernicious in another light, by lessening the exertions of individuals in the mercantile line; they would certainly remit of their anxiety and cares, when they reflected, that in those perilous occurrences to which traders are peculiarly liable, they might rely upon government for certain relief.

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Mr. Dundas supported the petition, as equally founded on the just claims of the petitioners, and the propriety of supporting a branch of commerce of the highest necessity to this kingdom, in its present situation. He dwelt, with much animation, upon the ability of this country to extend its aid to every description of people that needed it: an energy, he observed, of which no other government in Europe was capable. Agreeably to the petition, the sum of one million and a half was granted to the merchants that had requested it.

On the 16th of June, Mr. Dundas had another occasion of coming forward, by laying before the house his annual statement of the East-India company's affairs: according to his report, they were, in March 1795, bettered by one million four hundred and twelve thousand pounds. He noticed, that notwithstanding the discouragements and obstructions arising from the war, and while the European markets were shut against them, their sales were more extensive than ever. He delivered it, at the same time, as his opinion, that it would be for the interest of Great Britain, to open the trade of India to all nations: he also proposed a variety of regulations, in favour of the officers in the military service of the company. His statements were controverted, but passed together with his proposals.

One of the most remarkable transactions that took place during the parliamentary session of this year, was the marriage of the prince of Wales to the princess Caroline of Brunswick: and the settlement of his revenue, and other pecuniary affairs: his nuptials were cele-

brated on the 8th of April; and, on the 27th, a message was delivered from the king, to the house of commons, recommending the settlement of an income on the prince, suitable to his present circumstances; and stating the necessity of relieving him from his incumbrances, and of making such arrangements, in respect to his domestic expences, as should obviate all embarrassments in future. The means proposed for effecting these purposes, were to appropriate to them a part of the income to be settled upon him, together with the revenues of the duchy of Cornwall.

In consequence of this message, a motion was made, by Mr. Pitt, to take it into consideration: colonel Stanley observed, that parliament having already paid the debts of the prince, it was proper that a call of the house should precede any farther grants of this nature. Mr. Pitt opposed this proposal, as unnecessary; the king's intention not being to require a sum sufficient to discharge at once the whole debt, but only to enable the prince to pay it off gradually: he then enlarged on the propriety of making an adequate provision for the splendor that ought to attend the heir apparent of the British crown; remarking, at the same time, that the allowance, which would now be asked for, was comparatively smaller than that which had been formerly settled on the prince's grandfather; the expences of all denominations being so much more considerable at the present period, as to render a much larger sum of money of far less value, in reality, than at the former.

This application, in behalf of the prince, excited great dissatisfaction

in the house. Mr. Sumner observed, that before it proceeded any farther in his business, it ought to be informed in what manner their preceding grant had been applied; and Mr. Curwen reminded the house, that one of the leading causes of the French revolution was the prodigality of the princes of the royal family.

After stating the amount of the prince's debts, and urging the indispensable necessity of discharging them, Mr. Pitt informed the house, of the insufficiency of the civil list to defray so heavy a charge: he warned the members to beware of warmth on this occasion, and to reflect, that the safety of the nation depending on the preservation of a hereditary monarchy, the honour and credit of the royal family ought to be anxiously consulted. To this Mr. Martin replied, that the surest method of maintaining the monarchy was to prevent it from becoming oppressive to the nation.

On the resumption of this business, the 14th of May, Mr. Hussey proposed to have resource to the crown-lands, as a proper fund on this occurrence: their annual produce did not exceed six thousand pounds; but might with due management, be carried to four hundred thousand. But his proposal was negatived; and Mr. Pitt proceeded to call the attention of the house to the propriety of making, without unnecessary delay, a settlement of an adequate income for the prince, and of a jointure for the princess. One hundred thousand pounds, eighty years ago, constituted the whole revenue of his great grandfather, George II. then prince of Wales; and the income of his grandfather, thirty years af-

ter, amounted to the like sum, exclusive of the duchy of Cornwall, computed at thirteen thousand pounds annually. The diminished value of money required a larger allowance; and the least that the prince had a right to expect was a hundred and forty thousand pounds, including the duchy of Cornwall. The marriage expences, he stated, at twenty-eight thousand pounds, the completing of Carlton-house, at twenty-six thousand, and the jointure of the princess at fifty thousand a year. He would leave it to the house to decide on the best manner of liquidating the prince's debts, which he calculated at six hundred and thirty thousand pounds, advising, at the same time to consult on the business in a secret committee, as being the most expeditious method. His opinion was, that twenty-five thousand pounds ought yearly to be appropriated to the extinguishing of the debts, and set apart from the prince's income for that sole purpose; by such a regulation, they would be paid off in the course of twenty-seven years. In case of his demise before the expiration of that period, that sum would be annually charged on the succession; but were a demise of the crown and of the prince to happen within that period, the charge would be laid on the consolidated fund. In order to obviate the incurring of farther debts, no arrears should be suffered to go beyond the quarter, and no claims, after its expiration admitted; and all suits for recovery of debts due by the prince should lie against his officers only.

Mr. Grey professed himself equally desirous to support the splendour of the royal family, with Mr. Pitt, or any slippery sycophant of a court.

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The prince was doubtless entitled to a proper establishment; but there would be more dignity in declining than in requiring an expensive one. In times of public distress, such as the present, was it prudent to continue the shameful profusion of less unhappy times; and would the legislature countenance that prodigal spirit which had brought the country and the constitution into such imminent danger, by destroying the independence of people of fortune, and exposing them to the controul of the court, and the contempt of the people? The revenue of the king's father was limited, for years after his marriage, to fifty thousand pounds, and he did not apply to parliament for the payment of his debts. He would not oppose the granting of an establishment to the prince, equal to that of his ancestors; but neither would he consent to the payment of his debts by parliament. Other means ought to be resorted to than the liberality of the nation, which would be very ill-timed in a season of so much difficulty and pressure, and no less ill-applied, when the manner of contracting the debts was duly considered. A refusal to liberate him from his embarrassments would certainly prove a mortification; but it would, at the same time, awaken a just sense of his imprudence. In the mean time, his creditors, when no longer presuming on the facility of parliament, and deprived of expectations from the public purse, would readily come to a composition; which would leave the prince in possession of a sufficiency to support his station becomingly. He concluded by moving, that in lieu of sixty-five thousand pounds, proposed by Mr. Pitt, an addition

of forty thousand should be voted to the prince's revenue.

Mr. Grey's motion was warmly seconded by several members, and opposed in the same manner by others. Mr. Lambton in particular, observed, that to refuse the payment of the prince's debts were, to compel him to retire to a privacy of life, and cut off his intercourse with those various parts of society, with which it was indispensable that he should preserve the amplest communication. When his former debts were paid, it clearly appeared, that it would be difficult for him to limit his expences to less than one hundred thousand pounds. Had his revenue then been carried to that extent, the inconveniences to which he was now reduced, would possibly have been avoided.

A minute investigation of the circumstances attending the establishments of the prince of Wales, since the accession of the Brunswick family, was brought forward, on this occasion, by Mr. Fox. He made it appear, that they were matters of party, and varied according to the footing on which they stood with ministers. This might, in some measure, be applied to the business before the house. He would not be directed by personal motives in a case of this nature; but from a conviction that a liberal support was necessary, would vote for the allowance moved for by the minister, provided that requisite precautions were taken to obviate the repetition of a similar application. He thought, however, that a contribution from the civil list ought to have come in aid in such an occurrence as the present. Queen Anne, and the two first sovereigns of the house of Brunswick, had set a laudable example

example. A motive that ought to influence the house in favour of the prince, was the generosity with which parliament had increased the revenues of the crown, since the king's accession, and that too in times of great difficulty and expence. Why should not the prince partake of the same indulgence? He would, nevertheless, object to the smallness of the sum set apart for the annual payment of the prince's creditors: it threw them at an unreasonable distance from the term of final settlement. A larger portion of his income ought to be appropriated to so just a purpose; and he was of opinion, that not less than sixty-five thousand pounds a year, together with the revenues of the duchy of Cornwall, should be sacrificed to the liquidation of his debts. The credit arising to him, from so liberal an appropriation, would more than compensate the inconveniences that might accrue from the stinted income to which he would of consequence be narrowed. Were these inconveniences to be put in competition with the applause he would gain from the whole kingdom? In order, however, to obviate the difficulties that might be apprehended from too circumscribed an income, Mr. Fox advised the selling of the duchy of Cornwall; the produce of which would enable the prince to discharge all incumbrances in three or four years. He used several other reasonings on the subject; after which the house divided on Mr. Grey's motion of amendment. Ninety-nine approved, and two hundred and sixty rejected it. The repairing of Carlton house was carried by two hundred and forty-eight against ninety-nine, and the marriage expences by two hundred and forty-one against a hundred.

Various other discussions took place on this subject in both houses, similar in matter and manner to what has been above-mentioned. It was insisted on by some, that the duchy of Cornwall ought to be disposed of for the purpose in question, and by others, that it ought to remain unsaleable, and the revenue only made use of. A number of observations were also brought forward relating to the nature of that duchy and its tenure, the monies arising from it during the prince's minority, and whether they were claimable on behalf of the prince. A multitude of arguments were produced on this occasion, and a tedious course of litigation employed the attention of the house during several sittings.

In the house of lords, the duke of Clarence took severe notice of the conduct of ministers towards the prince, his brother. They had, he said, carefully deprived him, as far as lay in their power, of the popularity to which he was justly entitled, for the readiness of his acquiescence in all the measures proposed in relation to him, and had endeavoured to impress the public with the idea that they only had consulted its interests. They had also, in the bill to prevent future princes of Wales from contracting debts, pointed at him with unjustifiable personality. It was certainly no equitable treatment of the prince, to single him out as an exception to the unbounded liberality with which they supplied the foreign princes, who applied to them for pecuniary assistance.

The duke of Bedford expressed himself in much the same manner. A variety of circumstances, he said, would occur to candid minds, in extenu-

extenuation of the errors of the prince, which were of a juvenile description, and did by no means call for asperity of censure. The earl of Lauderdale spoke in the same style, observing, that debts of a much larger amount had been discharged in the antecedent reigns, without stigmatizing the princes who had incurred them. The aid required, consisted of some hundred thousands; and did it become so great and opulent a people, to act with severity towards a young prince, from whose virtues, abilities, and accomplishments, they might justly expect to derive so much contentment?

This business, after it had been agitated during two months, closed, at last, on the 27th of June, by an act, settling on the prince an annual revenue of one hundred and twenty-five thousand pounds, together with

the rents of the duchy of Cornwall, valued at thirteen thousand. Out of this income seventy-three thousand were appropriated to the discharge of his debts, under the direction of commissioners appointed for that purpose by parliament; and provision was made, at the same time, to prevent the accumulation of debts, by the regulations that have been specified, and that were not adopted, however, without violent debates.

This settlement, though carried by a great majority in both houses, was considered, by several of the most respectable members, as injudicious and defective; and they declared it their opinion, that considerable amendments would shortly be necessary, to render it effectual and satisfactory.

CH. A P. XIII.

Affairs of Ireland.—Population.—Ecclesiastical Divisions of the People.—Discontents at Tythes.—Resistance made to their Collection.—Petition of the principal Roman Catholics, for the Redress of sundry Grievances, to the King.—An Answer returned, containing a Number of Concessions.—Secret Connexions between many of the Irish and the French Revolutionists. a Subject of Alarm in England.—The Earl Fitzwilliam appointed to the Government of Ireland.—Meeting of the Irish Parliament.—Ample Supplies granted.—The Catholic party prepare to press and enforce their Demands.—Lord Fitzwilliam endeavours to Conciliate their Favour.—Motion by Mr. Grattan, for Leave to bring in a Bill for the Relief of the Roman Catholics.—Carried.—Joy and Exultation of the Catholics.—Damped, by Intelligence that the British Ministry are averse to the Measure.—Lord Fitzwilliam dismissed.—Succeeded by Lord Camden.—An Address voted to Lord Fitzwilliam, by Parliament, highly approving his Conduct.—Various Addresses to his Lordship from different Parties of the disaffected.—Extreme versatility of the Irish Parliament.—The Motions carried but a few Days before, almost unanimously negatived now by great Majorities.—The unsteadiness and tergiversation of the Irish Parliament-men.—Sow the Seeds of Mistrust and Jealousy in their Constituents.—Altercations in the British House of Peers, respecting the Instructions given to Lord Fitzwilliam, previously to his assuming the Government of Ireland.—Motion by the Duke of Norfolk, for a Parliamentary Inquiry into the Conduct of Ministry in this Matter, and the Grounds for their Dismissal of the Earl Fitzwilliam from the office of Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland.—Rejected.—Debates in the House of Commons on a similar Motion.—And which met with a similar Fate.—Speech from the Throne.—And Prorogation of Parliament.

THE most important subject brought into parliament, during the present session, was the situation of Ireland. This large, fertile, and populous island, justly entitled the sister of Great Britain, was, at this period, in a fermentation, that had subsisted, in a greater or less degree, ever since the dangers threatening the British empire during the American war. These had induced, or rather compelled, the ministry of

Britain to permit the whole Irish nation to take up arms, in order to preserve the country from the invasion of the Spaniards and the French, whose intention it certainly was, at that critical period, to have made the attempt; if they had not been deterred by the numerous force that was prepared to resist them. Emboldened by their numbers, and by the consciousness of their importance on this trying occasion, the people

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of Ireland, throwing aside all religious animosities, united in a determination to place themselves on a footing of entire independence on Great Britain, without breaking, however, the connexion that held the two kingdoms together by the acknowledgment of one sovereign. This resolve was partly carried into execution; and during some years, the controul of the British administration over Ireland, remained uncertain and precarious. But the differences, between the Roman Catholics and the Protestants, gradually diminished the cordiality with which they had united for their mutual security, in the hour of common danger; and the support of England being indispensable for the preservation of the Protestants, these of course renewed their adherence to this country, which soon recovered its former ascendancy, and felt at the same time the necessity of affording the strongest countenance to that party; which, partly from religious, partly from political motives, looked upon itself as bound for its own safety to make one common cause with Britain.

The population of Ireland is calculated at near four millions: three of these consist of Roman Catholics, the other million of Protestants, one half of whom adheres to the Church of England, the other to that of Scotland, from which country the majority of the people of that persuasion are originally descended. But, though the antipathy of the Presbyterians to the Church of Rome far exceeds that of the Episcopalians, the exclusive privileges enjoyed by those in all matters relating to government, have by degrees contributed to reconcile the Roman Catholics with

the dissenters from the Church of England, and to connect them together in the pursuit of their political interests.

The superiority of numbers, on the side of the Catholics and Dissenters, amounting, according to their representation, to seven-eighths of the whole nation, naturally excited their discontent at their subjection to so inferior a proportion of their countrymen. The Roman Catholics, in particular, whose religious zeal was inflamed by the exaction of tythes and other ecclesiastical dues, enforced upon them usually with great strictness, frequently resisted the collectors, and treated them with unmerciful violence.

The moderate party in the Irish parliament, fearful of the consequences that might ensue from this hostile disposition in so vast a majority of the inhabitants, thought it prudent to frame such regulations in the collection of tythes and church dues, as might remove the complaints of those who deemed themselves aggrieved: but their endeavours to obtain from the legislature the establishment of such arrangements, as might prove less onerous were entirely frustrated; the ruling party dreaded that, by complying with these demands, others would follow, attended with more danger either in the grant or the refusal.

This repulse of an attempt which was thought equally consistent with justice and good policy, deeply exasperated all those who were affected by it. Assemblies of the principal Roman Catholics were held, wherein it was resolved to apply to the king himself, for a redress of those hardships, and of other legal oppressions; and to petition him, at the same time, for a participation

in all the rights of their fellow subjects.

This was an application of the most serious nature. A total compliance or rejection were fraught with equal peril. The British ministry were desirous to oblige one party without offending the other. But the Roman Catholics, numerous and determined, were become so formidable, that it did not appear safe to refuse the petition, which they were convinced was founded on manifest equity. The Irish legislature, on the other hand, composed entirely of Protestants, were zealous in opposing demands that would place their antagonists on a parity with themselves. Nor was the ministry inclined to weaken in any essential manner the Protestant interest in Ireland, on which alone it had long been used to place any reliance. In order, therefore, to retain the attachment of the one, and not to lose the good will of the other, an answer was returned to the petition, containing a number of material concessions: the validity of marriages with Protestants, the right of taking apprentices, of keeping schools, and of pleading at the bar, with other privileges hitherto withheld from them, were fully established.

When the restrictions so many years laid on the Roman Catholics in Ireland, and of which they had so bitterly complained, are duly considered, these were certainly valuable concessions: but the firmly cherished hope, of a total deliverance from all disqualifications, was so predominant among them, that these grants met with a cold reception.

The murmurs and discontents that now prevailed both among the

Catholics and the Dissenters, excited the most serious alarms in England. The secret connexions, subsisting between many of the Irish and French revolutionists, were justly dreaded, and it was not doubted, that these would exert their utmost efforts to stir up insurrections in that kingdom.

It was in this critical juncture, that earl Fitzwilliam was appointed to the government of Ireland. His inclination to healing measures rendered this appointment peculiarly acceptable to the people of that kingdom, and he was received with universal satisfaction. The Irish parliament met on the 22d of January, 1795, and unanimously voted him the most favourable addresses; and, on the 9th of February, agreed to the amplest supplies that had ever been granted in that kingdom.

In the mean time, the Catholic party was preparing to renew its solicitations, and to enforce them with all the weight that time and circumstances would produce in their favour. Lord Fitzwilliam soon perceived that he would find it impracticable to defer the decision on their demands, without incurring the highest danger: in order to place himself in a favourable light with this formidable party, he employed, in the transactions with its leading members, a person in whom the Catholics universally confided, as a friend to conciliatory measures: this was the celebrated Mr. Grattan, whom they had selected as the most proper and active member of the legislature, for the effecting of their purposes. He moved, accordingly, on the 12th of February, for leave to bring in a bill for the relief of persons professing the Roman Catholic religion.

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The minds of the people of Ireland had so long been prepared to expect a motion of this kind, and the disposition of the house itself was so favourable to it, that hardly any opposition was made. Leave being given to bring in the bill, Mr. Grattan, Mr. Ponsonby, Mr. Forbes, and Mr. Knox, were appointed to prepare it.

The joy and exultation expressed by the Roman Catholics on this occasion, had never been equalled in Ireland: they were accompanied with effusions of loyalty and attachment to the British government and nation, that indicated how effectually religious animosities might subside through a mild and conciliatory conduct, and that religious, as well as political differences, are soonest terminated by forbearance and lenity.

But the universal satisfaction arising from the hopes conceived of an approaching emancipation from all restrictions, was quickly damped by the intelligence that arrived two days only after the passing of the motion, that the British ministry was averse to the measure. Lord Fitzwilliam informed them of the great danger that would infallibly result from retracting the assent so formally given to a motion of such importance, and explicitly refused, by taking upon him that office, to be the person to raise a flame which nothing but the force of arms could keep down. Such were his own words. In consequence of this answer, he was dismissed from his post which was conferred upon lord Camden.

The consequences of this dismissal were immediately apparent in the proceedings of the Irish parliament. Sir Laurence Parsons, in the

house of commons, proposed an address to lord Fitzwilliam, to express the confidence reposed in him by the Irish nation, and its representatives, and the apprehensions they felt on his premature removal from a station, wherein his conduct had been so acceptable to them. Another member Mr. Dugerry, not only seconded the motion, but proposed the impeachment of Mr. Pitt. Though this address was withdrawn at the request of those who wished to prevent farther acrimony on this occasion, it sufficiently manifested the resentment excited by the measures of the British ministry. Another address, however, was voted, highly approving of his conduct.

The universal dissatisfaction of the Irish at the removal of lord Fitzwilliam was soon after manifested in a more serious manner: tumults arose in several places, which were not quelled without the intervention of the military. From the most moderate of the disaffected, addresses to him were presented, full of rancour at the treatment he had experienced, and of invectives against the authors of his disgrace.

From this period may be dated the deep and settled spirit of discontent, which at once pervaded, and by degrees inflamed to the highest pitch of violence, both Catholics and Dissenters, and was even felt by numbers of the protestants themselves, who thought that the most auspicious opportunity of reconciling all parties and interests, had been arrogantly thrown aside by the unwarrantable and ambitious machinations of a selfish faction, grasping at the exclusive enjoyment of all the places of power and profit, and at the sole management of all affairs of state.

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The resentment of the public was particularly marked on the 25th of March, when lord Fitzwilliam took his departure from Ireland. It was a day of general gloom: the shops were shut, no business of any kind was transacted, and the whole city put on mourning. His coach was drawn to the water side, by some of the most respectable citizens, and the people seemed intent on every demonstration of grief.

When earl Camden arrived at Dublin, five days after, his reception was far different. Every appearance of displeasure was exhibited; and such was the violence of the populace, that it broke out in disturbances, which force became necessary to suppress. But these were the mere ebullitions of popular fury, and proved how little dependence, in matters of state, is to be placed on the disapprobation manifested by the populace, in contradiction to the sense, or the interest of people in power.

A striking proof of this was exhibited on the very first meeting of parliament, after lord Camden's arrival. Notwithstanding the severe disappointment experienced by the Roman Catholics, they were not disheartened from the prosecution of their object; and Mr. Grattan, their agent, made a motion for an inquiry into the state of the nation, and particularly the reasons for the recall of lord Fitzwilliam: but it was negatived by a great majority of those very members who had voted with such warmth and readiness in favour of Mr. Grattan's motion for a quite contrary purpose. On his presenting the bill for the emancipation of the Roman Catholics, it met with the same fate.

This unsteadiness and tergiversation of their representatives, which

it was not difficult to trace to its true source, filled the people of Ireland with mistrust and jealousies that have never subsided since. The language of the commonalty became unusually explicit, in reprobating their abjectness and servility. No farther confidence, it was openly said, ought henceforth to be placed in them, and no epithets were sufficiently degrading to accompany the names of those who had acted so ignominiously.

On the return of lord Fitzwilliam to England, an altercation arose between him and the ministry, concerning the instructions he had received previously to his assuming the government of Ireland, and the motives for his recall. The duke of Norfolk took up this business with great warmth. It had, he said, long been understood in that country, that the restraints on the Roman Catholics were to be taken away. This opinion had been current in Ireland, ever since the time of the American war, when the loyalty of the people of all persuasions to the government of Great Britain rendered it manifest that no distinctions ought any longer to subsist among them in point of civil rights and privileges. When lord Fitzwilliam was appointed to the office of lord lieutenant of Ireland, he accepted it in full expectation that he was to carry over with him a final deliverance from all disqualifications upon religious accounts. This was no less the opinion of Mr. Grattan, and of the Irish parliament itself: the members of which concurred almost unanimously in a cordial readiness to repel those strictions; and solely on that ground voted the most ample supplies ever granted in that kingdom.

dom. But contrarily to the best founded hopes, the people of Ireland had been deceived in the most insulting manner: their reasonable requests had been denied, and the man of their confidence recalled, for having shewn an inclination to gratify them. A conduct so haughty and domineering ought to undergo a strict examination, and parliament was bound in justice to the public, to compel ministers to account for so inconsistent and mysterious a conduct. The duke, therefore, made a motion to this effect.

The earls of Mansfield, Coventry, and Carnarvon, and lord Sydney, opposed the duke's motion. Lord Fitzwilliam's character not having suffered by his removal, they maintained that no enquiry was needed to clear it up. The prerogative of the crown empowered it to dismiss ministers at discretion; it were unconstitutional to institute enquiries into the reasons for such dismissions; and parliamentary discussions were the more improper, as they might disclose matters that ought never to have been divulged. The dismissal of lord Fitzwilliam proved no more than a difference of opinion on his part, touching the affairs of Ireland, that made it improper he should act with ministers who were of another: neither was there sufficient evidence of the discontents in Ireland, to require any particular investigation.

It was observed by the earl of Guildford, in reply, that, as without encroaching on the royal prerogative, to declare war, or to conclude peace, the propriety of either the one or the other might be discussed in parliament, so might the propriety of any other act of the crown. On this principle the removal of

lord Fitzwilliam merited an enquiry, that the people of Ireland might know their friends in this country from their enemies. He was spiritedly supported by the duke of Leeds and lord Moira, who declared themselves satisfied that an enquiry, instead of danger, would ultimately be productive of safety, by elucidating a transaction, the motives for which were so obscure, that the people of Ireland were at a loss to comprehend them, and might harbour resentments against those who had no participation in the measure. Lord Fitzwilliam was charged with imprudently forwarding a design to emancipate the Irish Catholics: but was it not sanctioned by every prudent motive? Did not three-fourths of that nation petition for it? Did the other fourth oppose it? He had laboured with particular zeal to put a stop to the glaring abuses prevailing in the administration of affairs in Ireland: these were arrived to such a height, that if not corrected, their consequences would shortly prove fatal to the government of that country, however it might deem itself secure. Was it not temerity in the extreme, amidst so many causes of dissatisfaction, to add so material a one, as the depriving them at once of their hopes of obtaining what they were willing to consider as a redress of all grievances.

The earl of Westmoreland decidedly condemned the introduction into the Irish parliament of the business relating to the Catholics; which he asserted was contrary to the instructions carried from England: their emancipation, he maintained, was repugnant to sound policy, as well as to the king's oath, and the laws of the land.

To this lord Fitzwilliam replied, that the most necessary policy had called upon him to act as he had done. Ireland was in a state of imminent danger from internal feuds and external foes: the Catholics were equally powerful and dissatisfied: the French were become masters of Holland, and thirty-six hostile sail of the line were hovering on the western coast of Ireland. In this perilous situation he had the happiness to unite all parties in a determination to act vigorously for the defence of the kingdom. But could he have effected this, had he not convinced the Irish of the liberal intentions of this country?

He was answered by lord Grenville, who, after alledging much the same reasons against an enquiry as those already adduced, remarked that were parliament to assume the right of enquiring into the motives for the dismissal of ministers, they might, by the same rule, proceed next to the examination whether those who were appointed to succeed them had been properly chosen. This would obviously lead to still more dangerous enquiries, tending ultimately to unhinge the constitution.

After other arguments on both sides of the question, the motion for an enquiry was rejected by one hundred against twenty-five.

In the house of commons very spirited debates also took place on this subject. Mr. Jekyll introduced it by observing, that the house had an unquestionable right to examine the use made of the royal prerogatives, and to limit them if necessary. He reminded the minister of his solemn promise, that whenever the period came for investigation, he would undertake to

prove that no blame was imputable to the ministers of this country. Mr. Jekyll vindicated the conduct of lord Fitzwilliam from his letters. According to these he had acted in strict conformity to his instructions, which went to the emancipation of the Catholics, a condition without which he would not have undertaken the commission entrusted to him. But the fact was, that the interest of a particular family was primarily to be consulted; that of the Beresfords: their dismissal from office was the real ground of dissension between lord Fitzwilliam and the minister, and the business of the emancipation was only the pretence: it were absurd, Mr. Jekyll said, to mention the oaths taken by the king, as obstacles to such a measure. In Canada, in Corsica, the Catholic religion was settled by law, without violation of the royal oath. He concluded by moving for an enquiry into the conduct of ministers in dismissing from his office the lord-lieutenant of Ireland.

It was stated, in reply, by Mr. Pitt, that no communication of the correspondence between lord Fitzwilliam and the ministry, could be permitted without the king's assent; and ministry were officially bound to the strictest secrecy in all cases of this nature. He would not, for this reason, enter into any verbal explanations of the business in question, and neither should admit nor deny the facts or the inferences alledged. The king had clearly the right to nominate, and to dismiss ministers without assigning his motives; cases of an extraordinary nature excepted. He forcibly urged the indispensable necessity of an entire agreement in sentiments between the king's ministry, without which

which it were impracticable to conduct the affairs of the nation with any regularity or success; and yet they might differ without any diminution of reciprocal friendship or esteem. He deprecated the discussion of subjects now before the Irish parliament, as a manifest violation of its independence; and warmly exhorted the house to leave the settlement of affairs in that nation to its representatives, who certainly were best qualified for that purpose.

Mr. Pitt was seconded by other members. The principal answer to ministry was made by Mr. Gray: he contended, in forcible terms, for the propriety of an inquiry, in a case wherein the highest interests of the British and Irish nations were equally involved; the question before the house was incontrovertibly of this description. The people of both countries were sensible of its importance, and it ill became ministers to endeavour at the concealment of matters that ought to be held out to the fullest consideration of all parties concerned. Both the English and the Irish had a right to know, whether the restrictions, of which the Irish Catholics complained, were to be taken off, or to remain; and to be made acquainted, at the same time, with the real causes why they should either continue or subsist no longer. The private interest of a very minor part of the community should not, upon any pretence, be suffered to supercede the natural rights of the whole community at large, when every argument, founded upon equity, militated for them. Induced by the proofs which the Irish had given of an unfeigned attachment to England, so conspicuously displayed, at

a time when the difficulties we were contending with afforded them a fair opportunity of throwing off their connection with us, we had come to a determination to break those fetters that were evidently no longer wanted to secure them. We had excited the liveliest hopes of a total emancipation from all those restraints, which the inimical disposition of the Roman Catholics to the Protestants had formerly rendered necessary; and now, when on the point of extinguishing all religious feuds, and terminating happily all differences, a sudden check was given to all these pleasing expectations: the man selected to put the finishing hand to those arrangements that were to constitute the basis of everlasting concord, between the sister nations, was recalled, in the midst of his exertions to bring them to a final issue, and censured, as if he had been committing an act of disloyalty to his own country. Was this behaviour of the British ministry to be borne with patience by the Irish? Was it to be submitted to by the English, whose honour was, in a manner, solemnly pledged, and whose interest ought forcibly to lead them to gratify the people of Ireland in the reasonable demands they now were making, and had certainly a right to insist upon? Whence, therefore, could this unexpected denial proceed, but from private motives, too personal to interest the public, and too base to be brought to light? A pretence was set up, that the independence of the Irish parliament would be violated by this country's interference in the settlement of the affairs of Ireland: but who did not see the futility of this pretence? Who did not know that the deli-

berations

berations on this side of the water had an irresistible influence over those on the other? The question, before the British parliament and nation, was clear and unequivocal: it required neither explanation nor comment; were the Irish Roman Catholics to be freed from all disqualifications, on account of their religion, or were they still to remain subject to them? They had been led to expect this emancipation, and now it was withheld, in a manner almost amounting to a denial. What could ministry propose either by a delay or a refusal? the danger was nearly equal from both; and, in the present circumstances of affairs, there was little, if any, difference between the one and the other: as probably the Irish would soon see, and take their measures according to the interpretation, of those who saw matters in this light. Impatience and indignation, at our tardiness in doing what they considered as no more than our duty, would provoke them as much as if we had determined never to do it; and we should lose, through an unseasonable hesitation, the opportunity of granting that with a good grace, which might afterwards

be extorted from us by the evil hour of necessity and compulsion.

Other speeches were made by the supporters and opposers of administration, much in the same strain as the antecedent. After which, an end was put to the debate, by the order of the day being moved by Mr. Pitt, and carried by one hundred and eighty-eight, against forty-nine.

Such were the most interesting debates, during this session; which closed, on the 27th of June, with the customary formalities. The speech from the throne contained, as usual, the king's acknowledgements to parliament for the ample supplies granted for the prosecution of the war: the liberal assistance given to extricate the prince of Wales from his embarrassments, and to settle an income upon him, was duly noticed; and it concluded with the hope of such a change in the government of France, as might produce a disposition to maintain the accustomed relations of peace and amity; and with the promise to make the most effectual use of the force entrusted to government, for the attainment of these salutary purposes.

CHRONICLE.

JANUARY.

1st. **T**HIS day, a little before twelve o'clock, two houses at the powder mills belonging to Messrs. Pigou and Andrews, at Dartford, blew up, by which accident eleven men, employed in the same, unfortunately lost their lives. The explosion was so great, that it shook most of the buildings in the town, and the concussion was sensibly felt in many parts of the county of Suffolk. The scene on the spot was shocking beyond description, as the adjoining fields were covered with fragments of the buildings, consisting of large beams of timber shivered into thousands of splinters, sprinkled with blood, and interspersed with the mangled limbs of the unfortunate sufferers, many of which have been gathered up for interment, but not one of their heads has been yet found. How the accident happened, is at present, and probably ever will remain, unknown. The explosion took place a few minutes before twelve o'clock, when providentially the overseer and two boys had just left the works, and one of them was ringing the bell for dinner, or they could not have escaped the untimely fate of their companions. Mrs. Wilkes, the wife of the manager, standing at her own door,

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about two hundred yards distance, was knocked down, but happily not materially hurt.

6th. Captain Telford arrived at the Sierra Leone House, with dispatches from that colony, dated the 28th of November, by which it appears, that a French squadron, consisting of l'Experiment, a 50 gun ship, two frigates, two armed brigs, one of 18, the other of 12 guns, and two Guineamen (prizes), also stoutly armed, had, on the 28th of September, appeared off the settlement, which, as all resistance was thought likely to be ineffectual, immediately surrendered. The French, however, fired several shots into the town after the flag was struck, by which a woman and a girl were killed, and a man and three women wounded. The French force having landed, proceeded to pillage the town, and then destroyed all the public buildings, as well as the company's small vessels, the Thornton, Domingo, Venus, James, and Anna, then lying in the river, the natives and some of the settlers being encouraged to partake of the plunder. The company's ship the Harpy, of 400 tons, happening to arrive while the French squadron was in the river, was captured. Two other small vessels belonging to the company were afterwards captured

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on

on the coast. The Harpy and her cargo were luckily insured. The French squadron remained about 15 days in the river. They also captured and pillaged the factory at Bance Island. When they were on the point of departing, they put on shore about 120 British sailors, most of them extremely sick, who had been taken from different ships captured on the coast, and having destroyed or carried off all the company's stores and provisions, except a supply of about three weeks for the sailors left on shore, they setsail to the southward. The distresses of the colony were extremely great on the eve of their departure, the season at that time being remarkably sickly, and all the medicines having been carried away or destroyed. Of the sailors who were landed, about 80 perished for want of proper accommodation, as well as medicine and sustenance. The Nova Scotian settlers, however, suffered little. Though many of the company's servants suffered much in their health from ill-treatment and exposure, but only two or three of them have died. The governor and council mention, that their distresses had much abated a few weeks after the departure of the French squadron; that a vessel also had arrived from England, which had furnished them with many necessary articles, and that a sufficient supply of rice was then in the colony; that the health of the Company's servants was improving; and that at the time when they were stripped of their arms and ammunition, and every other necessary, no want of order had prevailed. They were in full expectation, that if the company should send them out the proper supplies,

the colony would recover this misfortune. The Nova Scotian settlers being all on the land, which proved more fruitful than was expected, they were able to support themselves, and they had a quantity of stock on their farms. The French squadron appears to have been piloted and assisted by some American slave traders.

9th. A very great mob assembled in London road, leading from the Obelisk in St. George's fields to the Elephant and Castle, at Newington Butts, and, having intimation that a number of men were imprisoned by a certain description of crimps, attacked the house where these persons were confined, demolished their windows, and released 18 men, who were chained together by handcuffs and other iron ligaments. The Borough magistrates, on hearing of this outrage, immediately sent down their officers; and the acting recruiting serjeant being taken into custody, he was, after a short examination, committed to the New Gaol. The circumstances which led to the discovery of this imprisonment was that of kidnapping a pot-boy, who, before he was chained down, contrived to break a pane of glass in the drawing-room window (for the house was a private one, and elegantly furnished) from whence he cried out "murder!" This alarmed the neighbourhood, and, as it had been suspected by them that persons were illegally confined there, the doors and windows were soon demolished, and the prisoners liberated. This serjeant and his crew had two women of the town genteelly dressed up, for the purpose of inveigling young men into the house, which they styled their lodgings.

lodgings, where the deluded were instantly handcuffed; and about three or four o'clock in the morning sent off in coaches, hired for the purpose, to the country. Next day, several more youths, who were confined in other parts of the fields, were released by the magistrates, amidst the plaudits of a numerous multitude of spectators.

12th. This evening a peace officer, with a warrant from a magistrate, went to apprehend a footpad in one of the little public-houses which line the quays of the river Thames, in that part of the Borough called Bankside. On entering the tap, he immediately discovered the delinquent he was in search of, dressed in a seaman's jacket and trowsers, and tippling with several other persons in the same dress. The officer immediately advanced to seize him; but the fellow pulled out a pistol, and discharged it at the constable, who, feeling himself wounded, immediately went out of the tap, and walked about ten yards to a neighbouring house, which he entered, and sat himself down on a chair, and, without being able to utter a word, immediately expired. The desperado who committed this atrocious deed was, we are sorry to find, suffered to escape with his companions. The contents of the pistol had lodged in the constable's breast.

14th. The following decision took place by ballot at the India House, in Leadenhall-street: "That no director be allowed to trade to or from India in his private capacity, either directly or indirectly, either as principal or agent."

The ballot commenced at ten

o'clock in the morning, and closed at six in the evening. At half past eight o'clock, the chairman entered the general-court room, and declared the numbers to be as follow:

For the proposition	541
Against it	— 348

Majority 193

18th. Two delegates from Holland waited upon lord Grenville, with a remonstrance, respecting the detention of the Dutch East Indiamen and cargoes in British ports; the following is almost *verbatim* what passed on this occasion:

Lord Grenville—"I would wish to be informed, gentlemen, in what capacity you wish to be received?"

Delegate—"As representatives of the sovereign people of Batavia."

Lord Grenville—"I know of no such delegating power, and therefore must decline any further conference with you."

19th. About twelve o'clock, two vessels broke from their moorings a little below London-bridge; the tide then running up, drove them against the bridge with such force, that one of them (a West Indiaman with three masts) making the centre arch, carried away all her masts close by the board, knocked down two of the lamps on the top of the bridge, bent the lamp-iron in an astonishing manner, and, with a crash that made the whole fabric shake, passed through the arch with incredible velocity, and drifted up the river with the tide to Blackfriars-bridge, which she also went through, but without any farther accident; and continued her course till she came above Somerset-house, where she drove on shore,

shore, and with some difficulty was moored. The crew, perceiving their danger, took to the boat a few minutes before she reached London-bridge, which, in all probability, saved some of their lives. The other vessel, striking against the starlings of one of the smaller arches, was prevented from going through, but from the shock must have been considerably damaged. She remained there till the turn of the tide, when she was got off, and, with the assistance of some boats, was towed into a place of safety. The above accident is supposed to have happened from the large pieces of ice brought up the river by the tide, cutting the cables by which the ships were moored.

20th. The most dreadful fire ever remembered in Liverpool happened on Sunday morning, the 18th inst. At five o'clock the Exchange (the noblest building of the kind, without exception, of any in the kingdom) was discovered to be on fire, the inside of which was entirely destroyed in less than two hours: with the greatest difficulty the town records, regalia, mace, sword, &c. were preserved from the flames, though kept on the opposite side of the building from whence the fire broke out, so rapid was its progress. Several accidents happened, and it is feared one man has perished: A little before five it was discovered by the Exchange keeper's wife, who, being troubled with an asthma, found inconvenience from the smoke that entered the bed-chamber: she awoke her husband, and, on entering the assembly-room, found it in flames. The alarm was instantly given, but too late to impede its progress: in less than one hour and a half the whole

roof fell in. Fortunately the wind was moderate, otherwise the house inhabited by Mr. Jones, silversmith, and Mr. Gore, printer, would have shared the same fate, notwithstanding a street of at least 25 yards breadth intervening. Amongst other matters destroyed are two elegant paintings, executed by Mr. Martin, and presented by him to the Corporation of Liverpool; one representing "The murder of Macduff's family," the other, "Cleopatra arming Anthony."

21st. Seven men attempting to pass, on the ice, to a collier in the river, near Radcliffe-street, fell into the water, and were all drowned.

23d. This morning two watchmen, belonging to the parish of Bloomsbury, were found frozen to death on their posts. They had been seen, a few hours before, regaling themselves with liquor, to enable them to encounter the severity of the weather, which, it is supposed, caused them to fall into a sleep, from which they never awoke.

The same day a man, who it is supposed had fallen overboard, floated through London bridge with the ice. Only his head and arms could be seen, and he was frozen to death.

25th. A servant of Mess. Green and Ward, Ludgate-hill, was drowned near Putney, attempting to cross the river on the ice.

26th. Between twelve and one o'clock, the Stadtholder of Holland, accompanied by the Princess Frederica Louisa Wilhelmina, his daughter, and Prince William George Frederic, his second son, arrived in London, and immediately proceeded to the house of the Dutch

Dutch ambassador. Hampton-court palace is fitting up, by order of the king, for the residence of the Stadtholder and his family, till the completion of which they are to reside at the palace of Kew.

31st. The mails for the continent, except those to Spain and Portugal, are in future to be conveyed from Yarmouth to the Elbe; they are to be carried in a frigate; and the post-office agent has orders to proceed with the mails of Tuesday next to Cuxhaven, on the Elbe, to render the necessary arrangements for their furtherance. The post will branch off from Cuxhaven in two directions; the one, having the letters for Holland, Francfort, Switzerland and Italy, will go by the way of Bremen; the other mail, containing letters for Germany, and the north of Europe, will pass through Hamburgh. The packet which carries out the first mails will sail from Harwich, and be conveyed to the Elbe by a sloop of war; but afterwards the packets will sail from Yarmouth.

DIED—3d. Mr. Josiah Wedgwood, at his seat in Staffordshire. The public usefulness and private virtues of this gentleman entitle him to particular notice. He was the younger son of a potter, but derived little or no property from his father, whose possessions consisted chiefly of a small entailed estate, and descended to the eldest son. He was the maker then of his own fortune, and his country has been benefited in a proportion not to be calculated. His many discoveries of new species of earthen-ware and porcelains, his studied forms and chaste style of decoration, and the correctness and judgment with which all his works were exe-

cuted under his own eye, and by artists for the most part of his own forming, have turned the current in this branch of commerce; for, before his time, England imported the finer earthen-ware; but for more than twenty years past she has exported them to a very great annual amount, the whole of which is drawn from the earth, and from the industry of the inhabitants; while the national taste has been improved, and its reputation raised in foreign countries. His inventions have prodigiously increased the number of persons employed in the potteries; and in the traffic and transport of their materials from distant parts of the kingdom; and this class of manufacturers is also indebted to him for much mechanical contrivance and arrangement in their operations; his private manufactory having had, for thirty years and upwards, all the efficacy of a public work of experiment. Neither was he unknown in the walks of philosophy. His communications to the Royal Society, of which he was a member, shew a mind enlightened by science, and contributed to procure him the esteem of scientific men at home, and throughout Europe. At an early period of his life, seeing the impossibility of extending considerably the manufactory he was engaged in, on the spot which gave him birth, without the advantages of inland navigation, he was the proposer of the Grand Trunk canal, and the chief agent in obtaining the act of parliament for making it, against the prejudices of the landed interest, which at that time stood very high, and but just before had been with great difficulty overcome in another quarter by

all the powerful influence of a noble Duke, whose canal was at that time the only one that had been constructed in this kingdom. The Grand Trunk canal is 90 miles in length; uniting the rivers Trent and Mersey; and branches have since been made from it to the Severn, to Oxford, and to many other parts, and it will also have a communication with the Grand Junction canal from Braunston to Brentford.

25th. Of an asthmatical and drop-sical complaint, to which he had been long subject, the Rev. Rich. Southgate. He was of St. John's college, Cambridge, where he proceeded B. A. 1749; but took no farther degree; elected F. A. S. 1794: presented, on the death of Dr. Halifax, bishop of St. Asaph, to the rectory of Warsop, county of Nottingham, worth 400l. per ann. July 1790, by his friend John Gally Knight, esquire, to whose father, the learned Dr. Gally, he had been many years curate; appointed assistant librarian at the British Museum, under Joseph Planta, esq. 1785; and curate at St. Giles's in the Fields, where his assiduity in the reformation of the manners of its parishioners of the lowest, most wretched, and most abandoned characters, will long be gratefully remembered. Innumismatic knowledge he stood almost unrivalled; and the professors of that branch of virtue have to regret that he did not live to finish his noble design of illustrating the Saxon coinage; or that his progress in it (for some progress he had made) was retarded by his diffidence. His knowledge of books was good; and he was employed by the trustees of the British Museum in making purchases

of many curious articles.—A report was in circulation that his death had been occasioned by having been ill-treated by some poor Irishmen, disgusted at not having partaken of charity distributed by him at St. Giles's church, and even a Grubian elegy, alluding to it, cried about the streets: but, on inquiry, we find this to have been erroneous.

FEBRUARY.

4th. This night the St. Jago Spanish register prize cause was finally decided in favour of the captors. The precise value of this ship, retaken in April 1793 from the French, is 935,000l. The persons interested in this decision are, Rear Admiral John Gell, esq. who commanded the squadron, and the captains, officers, and crews of the St. George, of 98 guns, Egmont, Edgar, and Ganges, of 74, and Phaeton, frigate of 18 guns, which last conveyed her sale to Portsmouth. Admiral Lord Hood gets fifty thousand pounds as his share of the St. Jago Spanish register ship.

5th. His Excellency the Turkish ambassador made his so long delayed public entry. The ambassador and his suite, after breakfasting with Sir G. Howard, at Chelsea Hospital, came to town in grand procession; the coach in which he rode was that used by the king in going to St. Paul's cathedral; the state horses were six in number, very richly caparisoned; four of them were those sent as a present to the king from the Grand Seigneur; the other two having died on their passage, were supplied by two from the King's stud. The ambassador wore a green robe, and

and turban nearly of the same colour, studded with jewels. The concourse of people on the occasion was so great, that when they arrived at St. James's it was with difficulty the horse and foot guards who attended the procession could clear the way. Each of the carriages was drawn by six horses, decorated with ribbands, and attended by two or three servants in their court liveries. The ambassador addressed himself to the king, in the language of his country, which was translated by Mr. Persiani, the dragoman; and the same ceremony was repeated to the queen; after which the drawing-room commenced, and the business of the court proceeded as usual. The presents brought over by the ambassador were delivered at St. James's. They consist of, to the king, a pair of gold pistols, the stocks and barrels solid gold; four Arabian horses, with gold bridles and saddles, trimmed with gold; and a gold dagger, with belt ornamented with pearls and diamonds. To the queen and princesses, a chest of silks, embroidered with gold; a plume of feathers for the head-dress, supported with a band of solid gold, and the top of the feathers ornamented with diamonds: to the prince of Wales, duke of Portland, and lord Grenville, chests of silks.

12th. The earl of Abingdon was brought into the court of King's Bench to receive judgment for a libel on Mr. Sermon. Previously to sentence being passed, his lordship requested leave to say a few words. He apologized for his intemperate language to Mr. Erskine and the Bar on the day when he was last brought up. Mr.

Erskine expressed his willingness to accept the apology, which he trusted would have a proper effect on the court. His lordship was sentenced to three months imprisonment in the King's Bench, and a fine of 100*l.* and to find security for his future good behaviour.

The following are the particulars of the reception of the hostage princes, by their father, Tippoo Sultan, as contained in letters arrived from Madras. These illustrious pledges arrived at Duonelly, about thirty miles from Bangalore, by easy marches, and paid a visit of ceremony at Colar, the tomb of their grandfather, Hyder Ally, on the 28th of May. At Duonelly, Tippoo Sultan, with 10,000 men, had been encamped from the 18th of March, anxiously expecting their approach. On the 29th at noon, the princes, with their numerous suite, accompanied by Capt. Doveton, proceeded on their visit to the Sultan, who received them in a very superb pavilion, inclosed within a wall of a very extraordinary extent. —The Sultan was seated at one extremity, and on each side, at suitable distances, were placed, according to their several ranks, about forty or fifty of his principal attendants. On their entrance into the pavilion, the young princes sprang forward to the throne where their royal father sat, and prostrated themselves before it. And here the *etiquette* of Asiatic courts put nature completely to flight—for the father, instead of advancing to embrace his darling children, contented himself with coldly placing a hand on the neck of each, and on the instant the princes arose, and respectfully retired. It is a remarkable fact, that not a syllable

was exchanged at this extraordinary interview. Captain Doveton was next presented, and placed on the right hand of the sovereign, who conversed with him on European topics for more than an hour and an half. He was afterwards regaled with beetle, cloves, and a variety of Asiatic dainties on a service of gold plate. The Sultan, during the interview, did not rise from his seat, which was a square cushion, covered with crimson velvet, slightly embroidered with gold—on his side was placed a sword and some papers, and on them a gold snuff-box, apparently of European manufacture. Tippoo has a very majestic deportment, and is of the middle stature, with a countenance very expressive. His eye particularly animated and scrutinizing, his nose large, with oblique dilated nostrils; his mouth small with thick lips, and an eminence towards the centre of the upper lip, which projects but is by no means unhandsome.

His majesty has conferred 24th. pensions of 500l. per ann. on admiral lord Graves, and the rear admirals sir George Bowyer, and sir Thomas Paisley, in consequence of the wounds received by these gallant officers on the first of June.—Mr. Ibetson, who retires from the second secretaryship of the the Admiralty, will likewise receive a pension of 600l. per annum, in recompense of his long services in that office.

27th. This being the day appointed for the general fast, it was observed with due solemnity.

28th. Stanislaus, king of Poland, has taken leave of his capital, this day, probably for ever.

The floods that prevailed during this season, have perhaps never

been equalled in the memory of man; the accounts of the ruinous effects from all parts of the country would fill more pages than can be spared by us.

DIED—20th. Dr. Alexander Gerard, professor of divinity in the university and King's college, Aberdeen, and one of his majesty's chaplains for Scotland. He was the author of—1. *An Essay on Taste*, 8vo. 1759: 2. *National Blessings, an Argument for Reformation*; a sermon preached at Aberdeen, 1760: 3. *The Influence of the Pastoral Office on the Character Examined, with a View especially to Mr. Hume's Representation of the Spirit of that Office*; a sermon preached at Aberdeen, April 8, 1760, 8vo: 4. *The Influence of Piety on the Public Good*: a sermon preached at the High Church, Edinburgh, May 31, 1761, 8vo. 5. *Dissertations on Subjects relating to the Genius and Evidence of Christianity*, 8vo. 1766: 6. *An Essay on Genius*, 8vo. 1774: 7. *Liberty the Cloak of Maliciousness, both in the American Rebellion and in the Manners of the Times*; a sermon preached at Old Aberdeen, Feb. 26, 1778, 8vo. 8. *Sermons*, Vol. I. 8vo. 1780: 9. *Sermons*, Vol. II. 8vo. 1782.

In the 63d year of his age, at his seat of Ollantigh, in Kent, John Sawbridge, esq. alderman and representative of the city of London. He early in life succeeded, by the death of his father, to a very princely fortune. In November 1763, soon after his father's decease, he intermarried with the only daughter of sir Orlando Bridgman, bart. with whom he had a large dowry: by this lady, whom he had the misfortune to lose within about two months

months after their nuptials, he had no issue. He afterwards married the second daughter of the opulent alderman sir William Stevenson. This gentleman had already served the high office of lord-mayor of the city of London; and being a widower, Miss Stevenson did the honours of the table as lady-mayoreess. By this lady, who is still living, Mr. Sawbridge had three sons and a daughter. The eldest son died some years since at Caen in Normandy; the second, who succeeds to the family estate, continues, highly to his honour, to serve as major in the East Kent regiment of militia, of which his father was many years colonel; the youngest is at present at Westminster school. In attempting to draw a faithful portrait of the late alderman Sawbridge, in private and public life, it would be only difficult to decide whether he was more truly eminent in the discharge of the social and domestic duties, or in the more animated scenes of public patriotism. As a husband, father, brother, friend, master of servants, he displayed the purest pattern of moral excellence. In his neighbourhood in the country, where he resided during the summer months, his memory will be long held in the highest esteem and veneration; for he not only rendered himself respectable by the splendid hospitality of his mansion, but by his great utility to that part of the county in which he lived, by constantly acting in the commission of the peace, and rendering to all who came before him that equal and impartial justice, for which he was so highly celebrated after he succeeded to the municipal character of an alderman of the city of Lon-

don. It has not been very usual for a country gentleman to accept the gown of an alderman of London; in the case of Mr. Sawbridge, it was an event that took place in consequence of the politics of the times. His political career had commenced by gaining his election for the town and port of Hythe, against a strong aristocratical interest. It was during the period that he sat in parliament as a cinque-port baron, that the right of election in the person of Mr. Wilkes was violated in the county of Middlesex; a county, in which Mr. Sawbridge possessed considerable property. It was an usurpation of the people's rights, which our high-spirited baron, whose breast glowed with the purest flame of civil liberty, could ill brook and endure. He so manfully resisted this act of ministerial tyranny, both in and out of parliament, as to render himself highly popular with the citizens of London; and, in consequence, was chosen, together with the late alderman Townsend, by the voluntary and unsolicited suffrages of the livery, sheriff of London. He soon afterwards became an alderman of Langbourn ward; and in due course of time, he was called to the dignity of lord-mayor of London, an office which Mr. Sawbridge filled with no less honour to himself than to the first city of the civilised world. Mr. Sawbridge was afterwards chosen one of the city members, and sat during three parliaments as a representative of the metropolis of the British empire. That he well and faithfully discharged the high important duty of an English senator is well known, and will ever be held in grateful memory by his fellow-citizens.

During

During the whole course of the American war, he constantly and zealously opposed it; and he was duly sensible, that to the increasing influence of the crown we might justly impute our too frequent wars. He exerted himself, however inefficaciously, in the cause of parliamentary reform, as the most likely means to correct it. His political views were truly patriotic; and his speeches in parliament, if they possessed not all the brilliancy of a complete orator, displayed, which is perhaps better, in concise and nervous language, the sentiments of a just, unbiassed, and upright member of the commons-house of parliament. In effect, so truly independent was his spirit, that he disdained to accept, and pledged himself that he never would accept, any title, place, or pension, which government had to bestow. He loved his country, because it was a land of freedom; and, on all those great occasions in which Mr. Sawbridge thought the liberties of his country were interested, he took an active and spirited part. Happily for him, his faculties gave way previously to the present disastrous war; otherwise, it is most probable, that he would, with the same ardour, have opposed it, in all its stages, as he heretofore did the unfortunate American war. Heaven in its mercy decreed, that he should be a stranger to all its horrors; this valuable man having been, for the last two years of his sublunary existence, lost to his country, his family, his friends and himself; his death, therefore, was a consummation devoutly to be wished. His remains were interred in the parish church of Wye, in the county of Kent, wherein is the family burying-place.

At Philadelphia, Mr. John Penn, formerly governor of the province of Pennsylvania; the last surviving male issue of the founder of that colony.

M A R C H.

3d. This day a common hall was held at Guildhall, for the purpose of electing a representative in parliament, in the room of the late Mr. alderman Sawbridge. Mr. Lushington being proposed, a great show of hands appeared in his favour. Mr. Harvey Combe had likewise a respectable show; but a poll being demanded, the same immediately commenced. At the close of the poll on the 5th, the numbers were—

For Mr. Lushington 2334

Mr. Combe 1560

The latter gentleman then declined the poll.

4th. One Richard Brothers, lately a lieutenant in the navy, having for some time past promulgated prophecies concerning the French Revolution, the destruction of London, &c. twisting the apocalypse to whatever purposes he pleased, did not a little terrify the good people of London.

The most singular circumstance attending this man was, the disciple he gained in the person of Mr. Halhed, a member of parliament, and not unknown in the Oriental world. This gentleman professed himself a sincere and thorough convert, and wrote a pamphlet in defence of the divinity of Brothers's mission.

In consequence of the mischievous tendencies of some of his prophecies, Mr. Brothers was this morning

morning, notwithstanding his divine mission, taken up at his house by the king's messengers, Messrs. Ross, Higgins, and assistants. He received them with his usual complaisance, and expressed his knowledge of their commission. After shewing their authority he submitted, without opposition, to have all his papers seized. They then requested him to attend them to a coach, which was in waiting, and were cheerfully obeyed; but, on coming to the coach door, he refused to enter it unless compelled by force. Brothers is a very strong and powerful man; but gave the messengers no occasion to proceed to any extreme violence; for, on being pushed forward, he entered without putting them to the necessity of using any harshness whatever. They had, however, much more danger to apprehend from the fury of the multitude; but even that, with some difficulty, they escaped; and he was conducted safely to the house of Mr. Ross, the messenger, in Crown-street, Westminster. Brothers's arrest seems the more urgent, as, from the nature and object of his visions, there is reason to believe that he was become the tool of faction, employed to seduce the people, and to spread fears and alarms. Government has therefore very properly secured the person of the Prophet, in order to prevent this *Nepherwof God* [as he styles himself] from doing the *work of the Devil*. The warrant on which he was apprehended was grounded on the 15th of Elizabeth; and in which he stood charged with "unlawfully, maliciously, and wickedly writing, publishing, and printing various fantastical prophecies, with in-

tent to cause dissensions and other disturbances within this realm, and other of the king's dominions, contrary to the statute."

14th. A young woman, servant to a lady in Liverpool, was engaged to marry a sailor on his arrival from the West Indies; whence however he never returned. Being there seized with the yellow fever, he died, leaving to her his clothes, wages, watch, and about twelve guineas. The generous maid, learning that he had a mother, old and indigent, sent to her this legacy, praying, that this unexpected supply might in some measure contribute to support her under the loss of so good a son, trusting to her labour for her own support.

15th. This afternoon a fire broke out at Edinburgh, in the printing-house of Mr. Mundell. On the first alarm, the magistrates came out of the church, and gave their attendance, as also a party of colonel Ferrier's regiment, the city guard, and town officers; and, by their mutual exertions, with the assistance of the fire engines, it was speedily extinguished, though not without considerable damage to the valuable stock of books. The premises were covered by the Edinburgh Friendly Insurance office.

The body of a plain dressed man was found dead in a field near Beaconsfield, Bucks, supposed to have lain there a week, and whose dog remained with the corpse: the dog would scarcely permit any person to approach it: yet so famished by hunger as to have eaten away all the upper part of the poor man's face, some of his neck and one of his shoulders.

27th. A commission was held this day at the king's arms, in

in Palace-yard, Westminster, to ascertain the state of mind of Mr. Brothers, the pretended prophet; when the jury, after hearing the opinions of two physicians appointed by the Privy Council to attend him, found him a lunatic, and gave their verdict accordingly.

A P R I L.

Dublin. Tuesday evening 4th. last, between seven and eight, as the lord chancellor was passing in his carriage through Dame-street, on his return from the castle to Ely-place, a band of ruffians, who had been lying in wait at the end of George's-street, assaulted his lordship with a shower of stones, one of which unfortunately struck him on the head, and wounded him over the left eye. His lordship ordered his carriage to stop; but the ruffians had instantly disappeared. He then proceeded to his house, followed by a number of the most respectable citizens. The feelings excited in every loyal breast, by the account of so base an attempt, will be alleviated by the pleasing intelligence of his lordship having received but a very slight wound. From the position in which he sat, the stone struck him obliquely; it only hurt him as it glanced. His lordship, as his carriage approached George's-street, observed a well-dressed ruffian lurking about the corner of the street, whose manner betrayed his purpose so much as to fix his lordship's attention, till he actually saw him throw a stone into the carriage. This person, we hear, his lordship can identify, and the crime of which he has been guilty is an act of high treason.

The archbishop of Armagh was also insulted on returning home from the castle; and several stones were thrown at his carriage, by which the glasses and pannels of it were broken, but his grace received no personal injury. A mob rushed down from the Liberty, at eight o'clock at night, displaying green cockades, with mottos of "Liberty! Equality! and no lord lieutenant!" and, having divided into sets of about one hundred each, one party was sent to *extinguish* the speaker. They accordingly attacked his house with stones; but his trusty servants turning out armed, and firing a blunderbuss at the assailants, the latter fled, having performed their business so ineffectually as only to break his windows. Another party was sent to the new custom-house, to *extinguish* Mr. John Claudius Beresford. They were, however, warmly received; for, after they had broken a number of the custom-house windows, and threatened to break into his banking-house, he fired at them, and wounded three of them, upon which the rest precipitately retired. One of those wounded is a weaver, and now languishes in the Inn-squay infirmary without any prospect of recovery. The windows of alderman Warren were also broken; but the mob passed with such rapidity through William-street, that they escaped the consequences of a resistance which was prepared for them by the alderman. On the first assembling of the mob, alderman James and the high sheriffs called out different parties of the military, with which they continued till midnight to patrol the city. To the exertions of these magistrates the citizens are indebr-

ed for the protection of their persons and their property; wherever their presence was necessary, their appearance was almost immediate: they apprehended several of the rioters, four of whom were yesterday committed to Newgate by Alderman Fleming. Alderman James, a short time after the attack had been made on the lord chancellor, seized one of the mob in College-green, who had a large stone concealed under his coat: he is at present in Newgate, where we understand his lordship went yesterday to view him. His name is Denis O'Brien, a cadet servant lately discharged by Mr. Kemmis.

5th. This morning between one and two o'clock, a very desperate attempt was made to rescue Isdwell Isdwell, a jew, who stood charged with some others, with being concerned in a late forgery of stamps, and who, in a scuffle, lost his life in the following manner: Isdwell, who was confined in New Prison, Clerkenwell, persuaded two of the turnkeys, that an aunt of his, who was very rich, then lay at the point of death, and that he had been informed, that, could she see him before she died, she would give him a thousand pounds; and therefore, if they would let him out and accompany him to the place, he would give them fifty guineas each for their trouble, and that the matter might be effected without the knowledge of the keeper of the prison, or any other person, they having the keys of it at night, and the time required being very short. To this proposal the turnkeys agreed; and accordingly, about one o'clock in the morning, the gates were opened, and Isdwell, with his irons on, was

conducted in a hackney coach by one of them, armed with a blunderbuss, to the place directed, which was in Artillery-lane, Bishopsgate-street, where they gained immediate admittance on ringing a bell; and, on enquiring for the sick lady, were ushered up one pair of stairs. Isdwell went into the room first, on which several fellows rushed forth and attempted to keep the turnkey out; but not succeeding in that respect, they put the candles out, wrested the blunderbuss out of his hands, and discharged it at him. At this instant, it was supposed, Isdwell was endeavouring to make his escape out of the door, as he received the principal part of the contents of the blunderbuss in his back, and fell dead; the turnkey also fell, one of the slugs having grazed the upper part of his head; and the villains, by some means finding their mistake, though in the dark, beat him in so shocking a manner with the butt end of the blunderbuss, while he lay on the ground, as to break it to pieces, fracture his skull in two places, and bruise him dreadfully about the body. The noise which the affair occasioned, brought a number of watchmen and patrols to the house, who secured ten persons therein, mostly jews. There is every reason to suppose that they would have completely murdered the turnkey, had not timely assistance been afforded.

The princess of Wales, accompanied by Mrs. Harcourt, lord Malmesbury, and commodore Payne, disembarked from the *Jupiter*, and went on board one of the royal yachts; and a few minutes after twelve o'clock landed at Greenwich

Greenwich hospital. The princess was received on her landing by sir Hugh Palliser, the governor, and other officers, who conducted her to the governor's house, where she took tea and coffee. Lady Jersey did not arrive at the governor's till an hour after the princess had landed; and soon after, they both retired into an adjoining room, and the dress of the princess was changed, from a muslin gown and blue satin petticoat, with a black beaver hat and blue and black feathers, for a white satin gown, and very elegant turban cap of satin, trimmed with crape, and ornamented with white feathers, which were brought from town by Lady Jersey. It is impossible to conceive the bustle occasioned at Greenwich by the princess's arrival. The congregation at the hospital chapel left it, before the service was half over; and even the *pulpit* was forsaken for a sight of her highness. The acclamations of the people were unbounded. A little after two o'clock, her royal highness left the governor's house, and got into one of the king's coaches, drawn by six horses. In this coach were also Mrs. Harcourt and lady Jersey. Another of his majesty's coaches and six, preceded it, in which were seated Mrs. Harvey Aston, lord Malmesbury, lord Clermont, and colonel Greville. In a third coach with four horses, were two women servants, whom the princess brought from Germany, and are her only German attendants from thence. The princess's carriage was escorted on each side by a party of the prince of Wales's own regiment of light dragoons, commanded by lord Edward Somerset, son to the duke of Beaufort. Besides this escort, the

road was lined at small distances by troops of the heavy dragoons, who were stationed from Greenwich all the way to the Horse Guards. There were besides hundreds of horsemen who followed her to town. Westminster bridge, and all the avenues leading to the park, and the palace, were crowded with spectators and carriages; but the greatest order was preserved. The people cheered the princess with loud expressions of love and loyalty, and she in return, very graciously bowed and smiled at them as she passed along. Both the carriage windows were down. At three o'clock her serene highness alighted at St. James's, and was introduced into the apartments prepared for her reception, which look into Cleveland-row. After a short time the princess appeared at the windows, which were thrown up. The people huzzaed her, and she curtsied; and this continued some minutes until the prince arrived from Carlton-House. At a little before five o'clock, the prince and princess sat down to dinner.

The people continuing to huzza before the palace, his royal highness, after dinner, appeared at the window, and thanked them for this mark of their loyalty and attention to the princess, but he hoped they would excuse her appearance then, as it might give her cold. This completely satisfied the crowd, who gave the prince three cheers. The princess of Wales travelled in a mantle of green satin, trimmed with gold, with loops and tassels a la Brandenburg; and wore a beaver hat.

In the evening, when the populace had become rather noisy in their expressions of loyalty and

and attachment before the princess's apartments, in Cleveland-row, her royal highness, in a voice replete with melody, and delicacy of tone, thus addressed them from her palace window :

“ Believe me, I feel very happy
“ and delighted to see the good
“ and brave English people—the
“ best nation upon earth.”

The prince afterwards addressed the populace in a very engaging manner; and received the tribute of no venal applause.

8th. This evening the solemnity of the marriage of his royal highness the prince of Wales with her highness the princess Caroline of Brunswick, was performed in the chapel royal by the archbishop of Canterbury. The processions, to and from the chapel, were in the following order :

The Procession of the BRIDE.

Drums and Trumpets.

Serjeant Trumpeter.

Kettle-Drums.

Master of the Ceremonies.

Bride's Gentleman Usher between the two Senior Heralds.

His Majesty's Vice Chamberlain.

His Majesty's Lord Chamberlain.

The BRIDE,

In her nuptial habit, with a coronet, led by his Royal Highness the

Duke of Clarence,

her train borne by four unmarried daughters of dukes and earls, viz.

Lady Mary Osborne, Lady Caroline Villiers,

Lady Charlotte Spencer, Lady Charlotte Legge;

And her Highness was attended by the ladies of her household.

On entering the chapel her highness was conducted to the seat prepared for her, near her majesty's chair of state. The master of the ceremonies, with the gentleman usher, retired to the places assigned them.

The lord chamberlain and vice-chamberlain, with a herald, returned to attend the bridegroom; the senior herald remaining in the chapel, to conduct the several persons to their respective places.

The BRIDEGROOM's Procession, In the same order as that of the Bride, with the addition of the Officers of his Royal Highness's Household.

His Royal Highness

THE PRINCE OF WALES,

In his collar of the Order of the Garter, supported by two unmarried Dukes,

viz.

The Duke of Bedford, | The Duke of Roxburgh.

And his Royal Highness being conducted to his seat in the Chapel, the Lord Chamberlain, Vice Chamberlain, and two Heralds, returned, to attend his Majesty.

THEIR MAJESTIES' Procession.

Drums and Trumpets as before.

Knight Marshal.

Pursuivants.

Heralds.

Treasurer of the Household.

Master of the Horse.

Two married Dukes, viz.

Duke of Leeds. | Duke of Beaufort.

Lord Steward of the Household.

Provincial Kings of Arms.

Lord Privy Seal.

Archbishop of York.

Lord Pres. of the Council.

Lord High Chancellor.

Archbishop of Canterbury.

Gent. | Garter principal King of Arms, with his sceptre. | Gent. Usher.

The Earl Marshal, with his staff.

PRINCES OF THE BLOOD

ROYAL. viz.

Prince William.

His Royal Highness the Duke of Gloucester.

His Royal Highness the Duke of York.

Vice Chamberlain of the Household.

Sword of State, borne by the Duke of Portland.

Lord Chamberlain of the Household.

HIS MAJESTY,

In the collar of the Order of the Garter. Captain

Captain of the Yeoman of the Guard.
Colonel of the Life Guards in Waiting.
Captain of the Band of Gentlemen Pensioners.

The Lord of the Bedchamber in Waiting.
Master of the Robes.

Groom of the Bedchamber.
Vice Chamberlain to the Queen.
The Queen's Lord Chamberlain.

HER MAJESTY.

The Queen's Master of the Horse.

Their Royal Highnesses

The Princess Royal,

Princess Augusta Sophia,

Princess Elizabeth,

Princess Mary,

Princess Sophia,

Princess Amelia,

Her Royal Highness the Duchess of York.

Princess Sophia of Gloucester,
supported severally by their Gentlemen Ushers.

The Ladies of her Majesty's Bedchamber.
Maids of Honour.

Women of her Majesty's Bedchamber.

Upon entering the chapel, the several persons in the procession were conducted to the places appointed for them. Their majesties went to their chairs on the haut-pas, the bridegroom and the bride to their seats, and the rest of the royal family to those prepared for them.

At the conclusion of the marriage service their majesties retired to their chairs of state under the canopy while the anthem was performing. The procession afterwards returned in the following order:

Drums and Trumpets, as before.

Master of the Ceremonies.

The Princess's Gentleman Usher, between two Heralds.

Officers of the Princess's Household.

His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales leading the bride,

and supported by the two married

Dukes, viz.

Duke of Beaufort. | Duke of Leeds.

The Ladies of her Royal Highness's Household.

The king was attended by the great officers, in the same manner in which his majesty went to the chapel; and her majesty and the princesses in the order before mentioned.

The procession, at the return, filed off in the privy chamber. Their majesties, the bridegroom and bride, with the rest of the royal family, and the great officers, proceeded into the levee chamber, where the registry of the marriage was attested with the usual formalities, after which the procession continued into the lesser drawing-room: and their majesties with the bridegroom and bride and the rest of the royal family, passed into the great council chamber; where the great officers, nobility, foreign ministers, and other persons of distinction, paid their compliments on the occasion.

The evening concluded with very splendid illuminations, and other public demonstrations of joy throughout London and Westminster.

At a numerous and respectable meeting of the Roman catholics of the city of Dublin, Mr. Byrne, Mr. Keogh, and Baron Hussey reported, that they had presented the petition of the catholics to his majesty, which petition he was pleased to receive very graciously; and that they were informed by his majesty's ministers, that his majesty's speech on the subject of the catholic claims was communicated to the lord lieutenant, through whom it might be known; but that the deputation, in consequence of their instructions, did not consider themselves at liberty to make any farther application. The thanks of the

the meeting were then voted to the deputies; after which Dr. Ryan rose, and observed, that the resolutions just passed, went to the establishment of union in this country; and he had now two other resolutions to submit, which went to deprecate every idea of union with any other country. After a handsome compliment to the gentlemen of the college, and a vindication of the catholics from intolerant or oppressive principles, he concluded by moving two resolutions to the following effect.

Resolved, that it is the opinion of this assembly, that an union with Great Britain would be ruinous to the liberties, independence, and prosperity of Ireland, and that rather than accede to such a measure, we would resist even our own emancipation, if it was to be proposed as the price of such a measure.

Resolved, that though we have made this declaration in vindication of our principles, we do not apprehend that any minister would risk a proposition to which no set of men are warranted to give effect by surrendering the rights of the people. These resolutions were carried unanimously, with the loudest acclamations.

10th. David Downie, condemned for high treason at Edinburgh, has received his majesty's pardon on condition of being imprisoned for a year, and afterwards banishing himself from Great Britain for life.

24th. The trial of the Rev. Mr. Jackson, so long confined in Newgate, Dublin, came on at ten o'clock on Friday last. The indictment was read by the clerk: it charged the prisoner with two species of treason; that of compassing the king's death, and, ad-

hering to the king's enemies; to substantiate which, there were fourteen overt acts laid in the indictment. The trial continued till twelve o'clock at night, when lord Clonmell charged the jury, who retired at three quarters after three, and at half after four brought in their verdict, guilty; but recommended him to mercy. The chief justice inquired of the jury, if they had any doubts on their minds that led them to such recommendation, and alderman Exshaw answered immediately, "No, my Lord." The judges Clonmell, Boyd, and Chamberlain, consulted for a few minutes; and the chief justice observed to the jury, "Gentlemen, you have acquitted yourselves with honour and conscientious regard for justice; you have done your duty, and we will do ours. It is more than a century since this land has been cursed with such a crime, and we trust your verdict will operate in preventing a repetition of it. Your recommendation shall be laid before government."

25th. This day the Peers acquitted Warren Hastings, esq. [*for a list of the votes, see the Appendix to the Chronicle.*]

27th. The second reading of the catholic bill came on in the Irish house of commons. The debate was opened by the solicitor-general, who moved the bill should be rejected. This motion was seconded by lord Kingsborough; and on the same side were Messrs. Coote, Pelham, Wolfe, Col. Blaquiere, Sir Edward Newenham, Messrs. Cuffe, Ogle, Mason, Sir J. Parnell, Messrs. Barrington, Johnson, and Fox, Dr. Duigenan, and Mr. Latouche.—The bill was supported by Sir Hercules Langrishe, Mr. Fitzgerald, (not the prime

prime serjeant) Mr. Ruxton, sir Laurence Parsons, Mr. Fletcher, Mr. Tighe, jun. Mr. Smith, Mr. Knox, Mr. Egan, Mr. O'Connor, Mr. Osborne, sir Thomas Osborne, Col. Doyle, Mr. Hoare, Mr. C. Hutchinson, Mr. Curran, Mr. G. Ponsonby, and Mr. Grattan. The debate began at five in the evening, and continued till eleven next morning, when the motion for rejecting the bill was put, and carried by a majority of 71; there being against the rejection 84, for it 155.

This day at noon the Rev. 30th. William Jackson, was brought up to the court of King's Bench, where a motion was made by his counsel in arrest of judgment. During the argument of the lawyers, the wretched prisoner was seized with violent emotions, such as the drawing up of his shoulders, frothing at the mouth, &c. and shortly afterwards fell down and expired on the spot. It is more than probable that he took poison in the morning; at least the circumstances attending his death bear strong symptoms of such a desperate expedient having been had recourse to by him. When he came into court, he was uncommonly pale, and in a state of perspiration.

Portsmouth. The trial of capt. Anthony Pye Molloy began on board his majesty's ship *Glory*, in Portsmouth Harbour, on Tuesday, April 28.

At eight o'clock in the morning the signal-gun was fired for the court to assemble; and at nine it met, when all the witnesses on behalf of the prosecution being ordered to attend, their names were called over, after which the judge-advocate read the order from the

lords of the admiralty for bringing captain Molly to trial, upon the charge of his not having brought up his ship, and exerted himself to the utmost of his power, in the engagements which took place on the 29th of May and 1st of June 1794; and for not crossing the enemy's line.

The following members were then chosen to constitute the court, and sworn accordingly:

Admiral John Peyton, president.

MEMBERS.

Vice-Admiral Sir Richard King,

Vice-Admiral Charles Buckner,

Rear-Admiral John Colpoys.

CAPTAINS.

Francis Parry, Christ. Parker,

Powel Hamilton, Right Hon. Lord

Alex. Græme, Cha. Fitzgerald,

Andrew Mitchel, C. M. Pole,

Sir Eras. Gower, Jas. Rich. Dacres.

Sir Roger Curtis conducted the prosecution.

Moses Greetham, esq. judge advocate.

Aaron Graham, esq. conducted the defence,

Assisted by Mr. Fielding.

Sir Roger Curtis informed the court, that the admiral (earl Howe) was very ill, and confined with the gout, so that it was impossible for him to attend as prosecutor on the present occasion.

The court was cleared, in order that it might be determined whether it was proper that sir Roger Curtis should represent lord Howe on the trial; and the decision of the court was in the affirmative.

The court then proceeded to the examination of witnesses.

On the 15th of May the court-martial finished: when the judge-advocate read a paper, which stated the purpose for which the court-martial was called, the circumstances

circumstances which caused it, the names of the members, and the charges which they had to try. The first charge was, that captain Molloy, of his majesty's ship *Cæsar*, did not on the 29th of May, 1794, cross the enemy's line, in obedience to the signal of the admiral:—the second, that on the first of June he had not used his utmost endeavours to close with and defeat the enemy.

THE SENTENCE.

The court having heard the evidence on the part of the prosecution, and that on behalf of captain Molloy, and having duly weighed and considered the same,

"Is of opinion, that the charges have been proved against captain Anthony James Pye Molloy; but that, as it appears to the court that in the actions of the 29th of May, and the 1st of June, as well as on many former occasions, his personal courage has been unimpeachable, they do adjudge him to be dismissed from the command of his majesty's ship *Cæsar*."

M A Y.

1st. This morning a fire broke out on board of his majesty's ship *Boyne*, of 98 guns, which continued with irresistible violence till five o'clock, when the magazine blew up.

The cause of this melancholy accident has not yet been clearly ascertained. The fire was first discovered in the after-part of the ship, and is supposed to have proceeded either from a live cartridge from the musquets of the soldiers, who were exercising with small arms on the windward side of the ship, having lodged in the captain's

or admiral's cabin, and caught something combustible, or from the funnel of the admiral's cabin having been on fire, and communicated to the deck.

The flames burst through the poop before the fire was discovered. Fortunately, the greatest part of the powder had been sent on shore three days before, and, upon the first alarm, the cock was turned upon the grand magazine. The fore and aft hanging magazines contained but little powder; the former exploded with very little effect.

When the fire broke out there was a fresh breeze at S. W. and it being tide of ebb, the ships were riding with their sterns to the wind. Within half an hour after the commencement of the fire, the tops and all the rigging were in a blaze.

About twelve the tide turned, and the position of the ships became changed, but it was then too late to make any attempt, or even for boats to get near her. Previous to this, however, from the number of boats that went instantly to their assistance, it is hoped that most of the crew were saved; though, from the rapidity of the flames, it is feared that some of them must have perished.

All her guns were loaded, and as they became heated they went off, the shot falling amongst the shipping, and some of them even reached the shore, but without, it is hoped, having done any damage. It was upwards of two hours from the first discharge till all the guns had gone off. About two her cables were burnt, and she went a-drift, the fire blazing through every port-hole. The sight, though at noon-day, was awfully grand. The ships to leeward of her having

got under weigh to get clear of her, ran down to St. Helen's, and she drifted slowly to the eastward, her mizen-mast and top-masts having fallen down before she began to drift. About five o'clock the wreck was drifted by the tide further on the spit, opposite South Sea Castle, when the magazine blew up with a very great explosion. This noble ship, which was only five years old, was completely manned and victualled; there were also a vast number of women and children on board, many of whom, it is apprehended, must have perished. The men jumped over-board, and were mostly taken up by boats belonging to the fleet, which had all been manned on the first alarm, and ordered to render every assistance. The port-admiral, sir Peter Parker, at the same time, went on board the Royal William, and made the signal for all the fleet instantly to get under weigh. The wind was very unfavourable, but the orders were executed with so much judgment and alacrity, that all the other ships got out of her way, and very fortunately, being in the day time, dropped down to St. Helen's without any of them receiving the smallest damage. The explosion was tremendous and grand: shot, and pieces of timber, were thrown to a very considerable distance all around her, and a column of smoke arose in the air that formed itself into the most sublime and picturesque appearance. It is melancholy to add, that as several boats were near the wreck at that moment, it is the general apprehension that some of them must have been sunk.

4th. Richard Brothers, the pretended prophet, was this day removed from the house of the

king's messenger, and placed under the care of Dr. Simmons, physician to St. Luke's hospital, at Fisher-house, Islington.

15th. This evening a melancholy accident happened on the Humber, opposite to Stallingborough, in Yorkshire. As Mr. Richard Mitchell and four others, all of this town, were proceeding down the river in a boat with sails up, a heavy squall came on suddenly and upset the boat. On this unfortunate occasion Mr. Mitchell and one of the men were drowned: the other three saved themselves by swimming to the shore. The body of Mr. Mitchell was taken up on Sunday.

19th. This night, about eleven o'clock, major Dundas, accompanied by two other gentlemen, were stopped in a post-chaise near Slough by four footpads, who fired two shots into the carriage before they demanded the gentlemen's money, which having obtained, to a considerable amount, together with two watches, one of them struck major Dundas on the arm with a pistol, and then cut away three portmanteaus which were fastened on the fore part of the chaise, with which they got clear off.

20th. This night that noble mansion-house, Clifden, the property of the earl of Inchiquin, on the banks of the Thames, caught fire. The flames were so rapid, that very few articles of value were saved, and only the wings, which were joined to the centre by a colonnade, escaped. This house was begun, but left unfinished, by George Villiers, duke of Buckingham, in the reign of Charles II. and was the counterpart of that which he built in St. James's park,

now

now the residence of her majesty; and came, by marriage with Elizabeth, eldest daughter of sir Edward Villiers, and sister to Edward earl of Jersey, to the earl of Orkney, who greatly improved it; and whose eldest daughter married William O'Brien, earl of Inchiquin, who now possesses it. Its lofty situation on the side of a hill, gave it every advantage of a beautiful and extensive prospect. It was the favourite summer residence of his present majesty's father. The cause of this fire is variously accounted for. It is generally believed that one of the chamber-maids turning down the bed in the evening, left a candle burning in the middle apartments, which set fire to the curtains; but this is mere surmise. The flames broke out at nine o'clock at night, and were so sudden and so rapid, that all assistance to save the furniture and the house was vain. Lord and lady Inchiquin were on a visit there at the time, and at tea, or rather after tea, in the summer-house. So sudden and so violent was the fire, that nothing was saved, not even the plate: and what is considered as an irreparable loss, the whole of the beautiful tapestry, representing the various battles won by the famous duke of Marlborough, fell a victim on this occasion, so as not to leave a trace behind of that extensive specimen of art. We are sorry to add, that not so much of wearing apparel was saved as to furnish a change of any article to the family for the next day. The conflagration was seen many miles round.

Yesterday Maria Theresa
23d. Phipoe was capitally indicted, at the Old Bailey, for putting in

fear, and violently and feloniously taking away from John Courtoy a promissory note, value 2000l.

This very extraordinary case appeared to be as follows: Mr. Courtoy being at Mrs. Phipoe's house in Hans Town, Brompton, the latter, with the assistance of her servant, Mary Browne (who was the principal evidence against her) fastened Mr. Courtoy to the back of a chair, and extorted from him a note for 2000l. by threatening and attempting to cut his throat. After he had signed and given the note, she again attempted to kill him in the same manner, having first offered him his choice to die by arsenic, the pistol, or the knife; and he escaped with great difficulty, three or four of his fingers being cut in the struggle.

The indictment was founded on the statute of 2d George II. which enacts, that if any person shall steal, or obtain by force or violence, any exchequer order, promissory note, &c. such an offence shall be deemed felony without benefit of clergy.

Mr. Courtoy was then called, and the note being produced, he was asked, whether it was the same he gave to the prisoner? to which he answered in the affirmative.

Mr. Fielding, as counsel for the prisoner, objected to the admissibility of the evidence of Mr. Courtoy. He contended, that he stood in the light of an interested witness, inasmuch as his evidence went to invalidate the note, which upon the face of it appeared to be the legal property of the prisoner.

After the counsel for the prosecution were heard on the other side, the court were of opinion, that Mr. Courtoy ought not to be examined.

Mary Brown, the servant of Mrs. Phipoe, gave an account of the transaction as above, as did the other witnesses.

The jury, without leaving the box, pronounced the prisoner—*Guilty*.

The prisoner's counsel moved an arrest of judgment, upon the ground that the offence did not come within the meaning of the statute, the note not being in any legal sense the property of the prosecutor, at the time it was alleged to have been forcibly taken from him by the prisoner.

James Lyons, who remained on commitment for having forged receipts in the three per cent. consol. to the amount of 1440l. with intent to defraud the governor and company of the bank of England, was brought up for judgment. Mr. justice Grose informed the prisoner, that it was the opinion of the judges, that the crime which he was guilty of was not that stated in the indictment. The judges were therefore agreed, that judgment should be given against the crown.

Mr. Lyons addressed the court by saying that an action was brought against him in the court of King's Bench, and a verdict of 5000l. given, which happened in consequence of his papers being detained; he therefore begged that the court would order them to be returned.

Mr. justice Grose informed him, that his application must be to the court of King's Bench.—Ordered back into custody.

This morning the new-
27th. erected horse-barracks at Rumford, in Essex, were burnt down to the ground, except a small division of the building uncom-

pleted. The accident was owing to the carelessness of some workmen, in letting a fire communicate to some shavings. The loss is computed at 10,000l.

DIED—At his house in Great Poland-street, in the 55th year of his age, James Boswell, esq. Of this celebrated biographer of Johnson, we shall give some anecdotes in a subsequent part of this volume.

J U N E.

A general court was held at 1st. the East India house, to determine by ballot the following question, carried at the last court, viz.

“That this court do recommend, that the court of directors should apply to Warren Hastings, esq. for a statement of the legal expences incurred by him in making his defence; and that after having ascertained the same, by a full and satisfactory investigation, they do discharge the amount thereof, not exceeding the sum of 71,000l.

The ballot commenced at eleven o'clock, and continued till six in the afternoon, when the glasses were closed, and delivered to the scrutiners; and about a quarter past eight, the deputy chairman, attended by some other directors, entered the court-room, and declared the numbers to be as follows:

For the question	544
Against it	- - 244

Majority - 300

And on the 2d a general court was held for determining by ballot the following question:

“That it is the opinion of this court,

court, that in consideration of the long, faithful, and important services of Warren Hastings, esq. and to mark the grateful sense entertained by this company of the extensive benefits which they have received from those services, a grant of an annuity of 5000l. from the 1st of January 1795, to issue from the territorial revenues, during the term of the company's present exclusive trade, to Warren Hastings, esq. his executors, administrators, and assigns, be prepared by the court of directors, and submitted to the board of commissioners for the affairs of India, for their approval and confirmation, pursuant to the act of parliament."

On casting up the votes the numbers were,

For the question - 508

Against it - - - 220

Majority - 288

10th. *Bath.* Yesterday a dreadful act of desperation was committed in this city by John White, a young man about nineteen, who got up in the morning, procured a brace of pistols, which he loaded, and with coolness and deliberation walked into the school-room of Maria Bally, in Corn-street, an amiable young woman, to whom he was affectionately attached, and after a short conversation, presented one of the pistols to her head, and shot her instantly dead. The noise of the pistol, and the smoke, greatly terrified the children in the school, and their cries alarming the neighbours, he was taken into custody coming out at the door. The mayor shortly after summoned his jury, and a verdict of wilful murder was brought in against him.

When before the magistrate he behaved with much decency; and on being asked the cause of his committing so horrid a deed, said it was for contemned love; and whether he was not terrified at the idea of the punishment that awaited him both here and hereafter? He replied, that David having caused the death of Uriah to obtain Bathsheba, and been forgiven, he also hoped forgiveness. When the mistress of the house where he lodged came in, and in bitter tears lamented his fate, and that she should never see him more, his agony was very piercing, and deeply affected all present. He is committed to Ilchester gaol for trial.

14th. *Brighton.* The Oxfordshire regiment marched on Friday night last, at eleven o'clock, from Seaford, in order to attend the execution of the two men who were condemned by a general court martial for riotous and disorderly conduct. The hour of four was the time appointed to assemble. On the march the regiment halted; and twelve men who had taken a part in the riot were called out;—when the commanding officer ordered them to fix their flints, and prepare to execute the sentence. This was done to demonstrate to the men that state of obedience in which the officers were determined to hold them; and by this measure they felt more pointedly the folly of their former conduct, when those persons, whom they had before made their leaders, were now to suffer death at their hands.

The regiment was then conducted to a spacious valley, and divided into two wings, which were stationed on each side of the place

of execution, they were then followed by the whole line of encampment. On the rising ground above the valley three thousand cavalry (or near that number) were posted; they were followed by all the horse artillery. The guns were pointed and matches lighted. From the disposition of the ground, and from the arrangement of the troops, a more magnificent and a more awful spectacle was never exhibited in this country.

After the corporal punishments had been inflicted upon the offenders of less note, Cooke and Parish, the two unfortunate men condemned to die, were brought forward with a very strong escort. They walked along the vale in slow and solemn procession, accompanied by the clergyman who had devoted his time so conscientiously to them, from the moment the sentence had been made known, that they were fully prepared to meet their fate. They approached the fatal spot with resignation, and expressed much concern and penitence for the crime. They then knelt down upon their coffins with cool and deliberate firmness; when the one who was to drop the signal said to his comrade—"Are you ready?" Upon the reply being made, he dropt a prayer-book; and the party did their duty at about six yards distance. One of them not appearing to be entirely dead, was instantly shot through the head; and the same ceremony was performed to the other. After this the whole line was ordered to march round the dead bodies.

Horsham. Sykes and Sansom, the two Oxfordshire militia-men sentenced to be hung at the late special assizes at Lewes, for stealing flour at

Blatchingdon, were executed yesterday at this place about one o'clock. They appeared very penitent, and desired the spectators to take warning by their untimely fate, and not to mix with, or become active in, any mob or public disturbance, as they themselves were insensible of the consequences at the time of committing the offence for which they suffered. The troops of the yeomanry cavalry raised in Sussex attended the execution. The high sheriff was also present.

Dumfries. On Thursday 16th. evening the 11th instant one of the soldiers of the first fencible regiment having been confined for impropriety in the field when under arms, several of his comrades resolved to release him; for which purpose they assembled round, and endeavoured to force the guard-room; but they were repelled by the adjutant and officer on guard, who made the ringleader a prisoner. The commanding officer of the regiment immediately ordered a garrison court-martial, consisting of his own corps and the Ulster light dragoons. When the prisoners were remanded back from the court to the guard-room, their escort was attacked by fifty or sixty of the soldiers, with fixed bayonets. The escort, consisting of a corporal and six men, charged them in return, and would not have parted with their prisoners, but at the intercession of the sergeant-major, who thought resistance against such numbers was in vain. The mutineers then set up a shout, and part of them run away with the prisoners. The lieutenant-colonel and major, on hearing the noise,

noise, ran down to the street; and the former seeing the way the prisoners had gone, followed and retook them. They submissively agreed to go with them to confinement; but when they had reached the middle of the street, the officers were surrounded by a great number, who charged them with fixed bayonets in every direction. The major did his utmost to bear down their bayonets on the left, and captain John Grant, jun. was near him on the right, equally active. The mutineers, like cowards, were encouraging one another to push on, and had enclosed the three officers in a narrow compass, when one of the most violent approaching the lieutenant-colonel's breast, and threatening to run him through, he was under the necessity of pulling out a pistol, and presenting it at his head. The fellow immediately stooped, and the whole fell back, as if they had received the word of command. Many of the officers had by this time joined, and order was soon restored; they were paraded at the dock, the mutiny articles read, and a forcible speech made to them by the lieutenant-colonel. They were then ordered, as a mark of returning duty and allegiance, to face to the right and march under the colours, which was instantly complied with. The ranks were then opened, and six of the ringleaders picked out, sent to the guard under an escort, and the affair reported to the commander in chief. The regiment has since received a route to march to be encamped on the sea coast.

19th. This evening, between 4 and 5, as the workmen were employed in pulling down three houses in Bridewell, New Bridge-

street, formerly occupied by the arts-masters, but which were to be made into prisons, they suddenly gave way.

This melancholy event was caused, in part, from removing the main beams below without shoring up the buildings in a proper manner, but principally from a violent and momentary gush of wind. It is supposed that between 12 and 15 men were buried in the ruins, six were got out very soon; two of them not much bruised, but the others considerably hurt, who were immediately sent to the hospital. In the evening two more were dug out alive, but very dangerously hurt; and two others have since been found, who appeared to have been killed on the spot. The walls which, from the dangerous state after the fall of the houses, threatened further destruction, were next morning pulled down.

22d. This morning, Isdwell, Clarke, and Sharpe, convicted in May sessions of different forgeries, were executed in the Old Bailey. Isdwell, for the forgeries on the stamp-office, died worth upwards of 3000l. He confessed a short time before his death, that he and his associates had committed forgeries on the bank of Denmark to a large amount.

23d. *Birmingham.* Yesterday about noon, a mob of 1000 people assembled before the mill and bakehouse of Mr. Pickard, of Snow-hill, in this town, on account of the dearness of provisions, crying out—"a large loaf; are we to be starved to death?" and presently demolished the windows, window cases, shutters, and doors to the front of the bakehouse, which some of them entered. The acting magistrates

magistrates of this town, W. Hicks, and W. Villers, esqrs. however, being informed of it, repaired to the place and called out the military; and the riot aft being read, the mob were appeased, and order again restored, insomuch that all the military, except a guard of twelve men, who were left at the mill, were ordered to their quarters, with directions, however, to lie on their arms, and assemble at the sound of trumpet. About eight o'clock at night the people became more riotous, and threw stones at the guard before the mill, upon which three were taken into custody, and escorted by a file of men to the dungeon. As they were conducting thither, the escort were assailed with stones and brick-bats, and a rescue apprehended; on which two of the soldiers fired and killed one man of the name of Allen, and wounded another dangerously in the breast with a ball, who now lies in our hospital. There are five in custody for being active in the mob.

A printed hand-bill, of an inflammatory nature, has been circulated in the streets this morning. The magistrates have offered a reward of 100 guineas for the discovery of the author.

A murder was committed at Kew, on the bodies of an old man and his wife, who resided in Kew-lane, and with whom it appears the murderer, who used to work in the gardens about that neighbourhood, was in the habits of the greatest intimacy. The old people, who lived on a small independent income, frequently assisted the wretch, who afterwards proved their assassin, with the loan of little sums of money, some of which

not having repaid, the old woman refused to lend him any more, when he went to her for that purpose last night, about 10 o'clock, at which time her husband, being somewhat indisposed, was gone to bed. The villain, finding he could not prevail on her, went up stairs to the old man, who, it is supposed, also denied him, as he immediately murdered him in the most shocking manner with a hammer, and the old woman, hearing the groans of her dying husband, was hastening to his assistance, when the villain met her, and with the same instrument shattered her head in so dreadful a degree, that she expired soon after. The neighbours, alarmed by the noise, got into the house and secured the murderer. He was taken before the magistrates at the police-office, at Union-hall, in the Borough, where he underwent an examination, the result of which was, his being fully committed to take his trial for the murders at the next assizes for the county of Surrey.

Birmingham. Tranquillity 24th. is restored to this town and neighbourhood. The king's own dragoons are returned to their quarters from Dudley, Stourbridge, and Bromsgrove, except about thirty men, who have been left at the latter place on account of its being fair-day.

The following hand-bill was circulated, in counteraction of a very seditious one calling the people to arms.

"Brother artificers and fellow townsmen, for our own credit, safety, and happiness, let us reverence the magistrates, and the laws of the land. Rioting can do no good, but may do much mischief, and increase

increase the town rates, already too heavy to be borne; and as there is no answering for the conduct of armed men, when insulted on their duty, my advice is, to keep out of the way. It is the sight of a large crowd of curious persons that encourages the real rioters, who would be afraid to act if left in the street by themselves. Let every peaceable man, therefore, stay in his own house, and there keep his servants and children, and, my word for it, the rioting will immediately cease."

The intense cold which set in on Thursday night the 18th, there is great reason to apprehend, will materially check the progress of vegetation; and from the information already come to hand, much mischief has been done among the flocks, just shorn of their wool, and deprived of that warm clothing which from the unseasonable severity of the weather was then so peculiarly necessary. At Broadchalk, Wilts, near 2000 sheep perished, about half of which were the property of one farmer; and 120 at Downton: 120 were killed at Steeple-Langford, the greater part of which suffered from the hail-storm; Mr. Russel, near Shaftsbury, lost no less than 300; 60 were lost in Coombe and its neighbourhood; 100 at Place-farm, Swallow-cliff; and a great many at Codford, and on almost all the farms around Salisbury Plain. In short, it is computed that one-fourth of the flocks in Wiltshire are destroyed by this sudden and unexpected calamity.

26th. Earl Fitzwilliam, attended by lord George Cavendish, and Mr. Beresford, attended by sir George Montgomery, met in

a field near Tyburn turnpike, to settle an unhappy dispute, which had arisen in the late political quarrel about places and pensions. Just as the principals had taken their ground at twelve paces distance, a magistrate with peace officers came up and prevented any further proceedings.

DIED.—8th. At Paris, in his 11th year, Louis XVII. only son of the late king of France. This important event was thus announced to the national convention by Sevestre, in the name of the committee of public safety: "For some time the son of Capet had been troubled by a swelling of the right knee, and another of the left wrist. His appetite failed, and he was at length attacked by a fever. The celebrated Dessault was appointed to visit and attend him; his talents and his probity convinced us, that none of the attentions due to humanity would be spared. Dessault died on the 16th of this month, June 4; and your committee appointed as his successor citizen Pelletan, a very distinguished officer of health; citizen Demanger, first physician of the hospital of health, was added to the former. Faithful to the principles of humanity, your committee neglected nothing to re-establish the health of the sick youth. The disease, however, manifested alarming symptoms. At eleven yesterday morning, the bulletin delivered to us announced great and immediate danger; and this morning, at a quarter past two, we were apprized of young Capet's death. I propose that the minute in which it is entered may be deposited in the national archives." Decreed. The above report to be inserted in the bulletin. Louis XVII. was born

born on the 27th of March, 1785. His surviving sister was born December 19th, 1780. Monsieur (now Louis XVIII.) has just entered the 41st year of his age.

25th. The Rev. William Romaine, rector of St. Anne's, Blackfriars, and lecturer of St. Dunstan's in the West, in his 81st year. Mr. Romaine was a native of Hartlepool, and educated at Christ Church, Oxford, where he took the degree of M. A. October 15, 1737. In 1749, he succeeded Dr. Terrick as lecturer of St. Dunstan's in the West. In 1751 he was chosen lecturer of astronomy at Gresham college, a place which he soon resigned. He afterwards became rector of St. Anne's Blackfriars, which he held until his death.

J U L Y.

1st. Yesterday Jonathan Jones, William Tilley, George Hardwick, James Haydon, John Henley, John Delany, William Heanlon, Simon Jacobs, John Solomon, John Philips, and Charles Crosswell, were severally indicted for felony, in aiding and abetting Isdwell Isdwell in an attempt to escape from New Prison, Clerkenwell.

The first witness on the part of the prosecution was Mr. Newport, head-keeper of the gaol, who proved the warrant of commitment against Isdwell, Roberts, his deputy, concurred in the same point, and also said that he knew not of the plan designed between Isdwell and his turnkeys, one of whom (Day) on his examination, said, that being induced by the promise of a large sum, he went with Isdwell to Artillery-lane, to see, as Isdwell said, a

sick aunt, who wished to see him. When they arrived there, three of the prisoners, James Haydon, John Henley, and William Heanlon, seized him, and wrested from him a blunderbuss, which was fired off in the dark, by which Isdwell was killed, and he himself wounded.

Bernard Solomon, the next witness, said, he lived servant with Mrs. Isdwell; that he often went with messages to Isdwell; that he had been sent to Gosport for Jonathan Jones, who was Mrs. Isdwell's uncle; that Jones came to town, and took lodgings for her in Artillery-lane.—On Good Friday, the day on the evening of which Isdwell was killed, he observed that Mrs. Isdwell had set out her bedroom with a number of phials and other apparatus, so as to give the room the appearance of a sick person being there; he saw Jacobs, Hardwick, Haydon, and Philips, in the house previous to the accident: he opened the door when Isdwell and Day came, and some time after he heard the report of a blunderbuss; after which, he surrendered himself to the people, who came into the house in consequence of the alarm.

Many other witnesses corroborated this evidence, and also identified the persons of the remaining prisoners.

The prisoners brought many respectable people, who gave them very good characters.

When the judge had summed up the evidence, the jury, after having retired for a short time, brought in their verdict, Jonathan Jones, William Tilley, and John Delany—Not guilty; George Hardwick, James Haydon, John Henley, William Heanlon, Simon Jacobs, John Solomon,

Solomon, John Philips; and Charles Crosswell—Guilty.

12th. Some disgraceful tumults, which commenced at Charing-cross this night, originated from the following cause. A fifer, of the name of Lewis, went to the King's-Arms public house, and called for some beer; the man of the house, seeing him in liquor, refused it to him, on which a quarrel ensued, and Lewis was turned out. He soon collected a mob, on whom he imposed a tale of his companion having been cramped in the house, and then confined in the cellar, and that he with difficulty escaped. The people, indignant, forgot that respect to the laws of their country which should at all times govern their conduct, and giving way to the impulse of the moment, broke open the door, and destroyed every article of furniture that the house contained: when thus employed for about two hours the military appeared, and they dispersed. Lewis was, however, taken into custody, and after examination on Tuesday at Bow-street, committed to Newgate, to take his trial for the offence.

The mob again assembled at Charing-cross, and on being driven from thence and Downing-street, where it is stated they broke some of Mr. Pitt's windows, they proceeded to St. George's Fields, where they gutted a recruiting-house near the Obelisk, and likewise destroyed by fire the furniture belonging to one Edwards, a butcher. The horse guards, the City and Borough associations, and Lambeth volunteers, at length arrived, headed by a magistrate, who read the riot act, but with no effect, when the horse guards galloped

in among the crowd, trampled down many, and severely wounded others. The military remained under arms all night.

A very large mob again assembled about the Royal George recruiting-house, in St. George's Fields, on Tuesday evening, took from the house that part of the furniture which they had not destroyed on the preceding evening, and burnt it in the road; the timely arrival of three companies of the foot guards, a detachment consisting of the life guards, and as many of the Surrey fencibles, prevented any further mischief: one man had his hand cut off by a life-guard's-man, who was severely wounded by a brick which was thrown at him; and we are informed that a pistol was discharged at the soldiers.

17th. This day came on, at Chelmsford, the trial of Miss Anne Broadrick, for the murder of Mr. Errington, a Barrister. It appeared, by the opening of the counsel for the crown, that she had been kept by Mr. Errington for twelve years.—The defence set up was the insanity of the prisoner; and which was very clearly proved by a variety of witnesses, particularly her servants, tradespeople, and persons acquainted with her family. The unhappy woman was accordingly acquitted, to the apparent satisfaction of a very crowded court.

18th. *Reading.* On Monday morning last the following melancholy occurrence took place in the bishop of Winchester's park at Farnham-castle. As the keeper was walking in the park, attended by two assistants, they observed four men armed with a gun each; they

they instantly made after them, although only the keeper was armed, who had a double-barrel gun; when they got near them, one of the men presented his gun, declaring they would fire if they did not keep off; they, however, persisting in approaching them, the men fired, and killed one of the keeper's companions, an old man, on the spot; the keeper then fired one of his barrels, which was loaded with shot, at the legs of his opponents, thinking to intimidate them; on which the three, whose guns were loaded, fired at the keeper and his companion, but luckily without the intended effect, though the keeper heard the balls whiz by him; he then fired his remaining barrel, which was loaded with ball, and killed one of them. The report of the guns, bringing some people to the spot, the three men were secured, and lodged in gaol.

29th. Letters from Vienna state the unfortunate death of the archduke Leopold, palatine of Hungary, and brother to the emperor, on Friday the 10th instant. On that day, the emperor and his brother amused themselves at the Imperial palace at Luxembourg, near Vienna, with preparing fire-works, assisted by a page and an Hungarian chasseur. The emperor had been some time superintending this business, when finding the room warm, he walked out for the benefit of the air. The archduke wished to try the effect of a rocket at one of the windows, but it rebounded back again and set fire to the powder, and other fire-works, which were there. Every one ran to lend all possible assistance as soon as the explosion was heard, but all efforts were in vain. The archduke ex-

pired, after suffering fifteen hours of excruciating pain.

DIED — At Lymington, Dr. Adair Crawford, physician to St. Thomas's hospital, professor of chemistry at Woolwich, and author of "Experiments and Observations on Animal Heat and the Inflammation of Combustible Bodies: being an attempt to resolve these phenomena into a general law of nature," 8vo. 1799.

AUGUST.

1st. Letters from Jamaica, by the last mail, dated June 14, give an account of a dreadful fire which broke out the 12th of that month at the town of Montego Bay in that island. One hundred and ten of the best houses in the town were destroyed. Two hundred hogsheads of sugar, and one hundred puncheons of rum, besides great quantities of provisions, wine, soap, candles, and other property, belonging to the merchants, were totally consumed. The loss is estimated at little less than 400,000*l*. The accident was occasioned by a gunsmith; while he was forging the spring of a gun, the sparks from the forge flew among the straw of a crate of earthen-ware, which blazing up, set fire to the house. This trivial accident caused the devastation in less than three hours.

Mr. Mallet, wine-merchant of Mark-lanè, lost his life a few days ago on the road to Bath, in consequence of the following melancholy accident: he was travelling with his lady and child in a gig, when the horse became somewhat unruly, and passing over a rut or stone, Mr. Mallet,

Mallet, who had risen for the purpose of having a better command, was thrown from the chaise upon his head; the horse at the same time galloping away, was pursued by his servant for more than two miles before the chaise could be stopped. When medical assistance was procured, Mr. Mallet's skull was found to be fractured, and he scarcely spoke again.

Dover. A violent storm 14th. of thunder, lightning, and rain, fell here this day at noon, that poured in torrents down our hills; and a most unfortunate circumstance took place: as a cart and four horses, belonging to a Mr. Coleman of the priory, were carrying a load of dung, a violent clap of thunder, attended with lightning, killed the four horses and the driver, Andrew Greaves.

The thunder storm of last Thursday appears to have been very general throughout the kingdom, and in many places attended with considerable mischief. It was particularly violent in some parts of Essex. A ball of fire passed through Braintree near midnight, which burnt three houses, together with all the furniture. It also struck the church steeple, which was shivered into an hundred pieces, melting the clock-work, &c. The rain fell in such torrents as to inundate the country for several miles round Rumford, sweeping away several bridges, and laying whole fields of wheat, &c. flat upon the ground. A granary and stable of Mr. Vipon, at Southes, near Newcastle-upon-Tyne, were set on fire by the lightning, and all attempts to save them proved ineffectual. A girl about 18 years of age, who was on a visit to some relations at Mulso,

near Newport Pagnell, Bucks, being greatly alarmed by the tremendous storm, arose from her bed with the rest of the family, and standing near the chimney-place, was struck dead by a flash of lightning; she expired without a groan. At Fieldalling, in Norfolk, a fire-ball fell down the chimney of one Thomas Carr, a labouring man of that parish, which split the chimney and back of the house; the tea-kettle, and the hake on which it was suspended, were both melted down. The poor woman had a looking-glass on her lap, and was going to put on her cap, when she was struck blind; her husband was knocked down, and remained senseless for some time: and the looking-glass they have not been able to find, nor even the least remains of it. What is very remarkable, a child of about a year old, sitting in a chair in the corner, received no hurt, but was covered all over with soot by the explosion.

Portsmouth. His royal highness the prince of Wales arrived here from Brighton: he went on board the Jason frigate, capt. Stirling, (late of the Canada) to see monsieur the *ci-devant* count d'Artois, accompanied by the marquis of Buckingham, the earl of Moira, admiral sir Peter Parker, commissioner sir Charles Saxton, and col. Mulcaster: immediately on his getting on board he was saluted with twenty-one guns, and shortly after the standard being hoisted on board the Jason, a royal salute was fired by the whole fleet. He remained on board about two hours, and then returned to Portsmouth in sir Peter Parker's barge, being saluted again

again on his departure with 21 guns. On his landing he went to the governor's house, where most of the naval and military officers went to pay their respects.

18th. *Weymouth.* Their majesties and their royal highnesses the princesses set out from Windsor yesterday morning at a quarter before five o'clock, and arrived at Gloucester-lodge at a quarter past five the same evening, in perfect health.

20th. *Bridgewater.* On Tuesday came on, at our assizes, the trial of William White, for the murder of Miss Maria Bally, a young school-mistress, of Bath (to whom he had for some time paid his addresses, which, in the sequel, she had forbidden), by shooting her with a pistol, in the presence of her scholars. After the witnesses for the crown had been examined, he was asked if he had any thing to say in his defence: he replied, that he left his case entirely to the counsel, who called three witnesses to prove the insanity of the prisoner, but their evidence went merely to a dejection of spirits he had manifested previously to the murder.

The jury, without hesitation, returned a verdict—Guilty.—The judge then, in a most solemn manner, proceeded to pass sentence.

White was composed during the greater part of the trial, and heard the sentence with resignation, bowing submissively to the court, and particularly to the prosecutor. He then shook hands with the witnesses that had appeared against him, saying they had spoken nothing but what was truth.

He was taken from the prison about half an hour after ten o'clock

on Thursday morning; the cart in about ten minutes arrived at the place of execution. He spent half an hour in fervent prayer with the county chaplain and another minister. He afterwards addressed the numerous spectators in a clear connected speech of full twenty minutes, in which he quoted many passages from Young's Night Thoughts, and cautioned the younger part of his hearers to be careful how they formed connexions, and when formed, not to trifle with each other's feelings.—When the clergyman left the cart he remained composed, and met his fate with becoming fortitude.

The body, after receiving some incisions from the surgeon, was delivered to the friends of the deceased.

21st. *Bristol.* As a vessel from Milford, bound for this port, was yesterday coming up our channel, the people saw a small vessel, appearing to have many persons on board, in great distress, and, before they could give her any assistance, she overset, and every one of the crew and passengers unfortunately perished; the sea running so high, that, although the Milford vessel was but a short distance from her, it was found impossible to send their boat to the relief of the wretched people. And this morning the Brothers, Capt. Bert, sailed from Padstow for Ireland; but, the wind proving contrary, returned in the evening; in coming back, about a league from land, he saw a vessel that had upset; on getting nearer, he found her to be a cutter, about 50 tons burthen, with her masts and sails in the water; he sailed round her, thinking to take her in tow, but was prevented, owing

ing to a heavy sea, neither could he tell whether she had a name on her stern or not, but supposed that the crew had all perished.

27th. Advices of the 19th inst. have been received from sir John Warren; by these it appears that opposition had been made by the republicans to the landing of some ammunition from the British fleet, destined for the royalists. Charette sent down a detachment of 1500 of his men, who defeated the republicans, and accomplished the object of their enterprize. The republicans lost a considerable number of men; the royalists about 200. This is so far important, as it is the first active hostile operation since the sham treaty formed between the commissioners of the convention and Charette.

28th. Wednesday, rear-admiral Harvey sailed from Spithead with five ships of the line, two frigates, and a sloop, under his command, convöying a fleet of upwards of 210 transports with troops on board, bound to the coast of Brittany.

The count d'Artois sailed in the above.

29th. The earl of Moira has at length resigned the command of the troops assembled in the environs of Southampton. It appears, that as it is not intended that any British troops should be sent to act offensively on the continent of France, lord Moira's command was no longer necessary.

SEPTEMBER.

3d. We learn by letters from Dublin, that some serious riots have taken place there among the

soldiers of the 104th, or Royal Manchester Volunteers, and 111th, or Birmingham Fencibles, on account of a determination to complete some regiments by drafts from others. But the timely interference of the magistracy, aided by the greater part of the military, who resisted every attempt to seduce them from their duty, happily quelled the tumult, and tranquillity is perfectly restored in the city.

Mr. O'Connor and Mr. Griffin, two of the friends of the French convention in Ireland, were found guilty of high treason at Naas, in Ireland, on Tuesday the first inst. and are sentenced to be hanged, drawn, and quartered. After Mr. O'Connor had received his sentence he addressed the court, in a speech of considerable length, in which he censured the abuses of government. Thirteen apprentices and journeymen, of different trades, making in the whole thirty, have been apprehended in Dublin, charged with having sworn to the Defenders' oath, and associating and conspiring, with several other persons of a similar description, in acts of treason.

Mr. Hamilton Rowan arrived at Philadelphia, from Havre, on the 17th of July. He had a narrow escape; the vessel in which he sailed was boarded by his majesty's ship *Meiampus*, and Mr. Rowan was introduced to the officer as a Mr. Thompson of South Carolina.

The village situated on the lake of the four towns belonging to Lucerne, in Switzerland, named Weggis, has disappeared. The following are the circumstances attending this strange event: a brook, which had always flowed from the mountain of Regis to the village,

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suddenly

sudden changed its course; its new course was followed, and it was perceived that it flowed into a deep gulph of the mountain. At the same time it was perceived that in several places near the village the earth sunk, and that the steeple tottered. The inhabitants immediately carried away their effects. In a few hours the ground, on which the village was situated, gave way towards the lake, and at the same moment a part of the mountain fell and covered the village, not a vestige of which remains.

15th. Letters received by the Irish mail on Friday, state the unpleasant intelligence, that the 105th and 114th British Fencible regiments, which have since the 3d inst. marched into Cork, having again been ordered to be drafted into other regiments, the men, headed by the serjeant-major, as their generalissimo, dismissed themselves on the parade, and continued (according to military interpretation) in a mutinous state for some time, nevertheless, asserting, they were ready to obey their officers, and proceed as a regiment to wherever they were ordered. The following is the manner of their being subdued by General Massey, commanding the district. Upon the mutineers forming a hollow square, he ordered several bodies to march round to the different avenues of the parade, by which means he completely blocked them up. He then gave the signal for the cannon to advance, and the mutineers were made to ground their arms, which were taken up and sent off. General Massey then harangued them on the folly and rashness of their conduct. They were then marched prisoners to the barracks, and thus

ended an affair that gave infinite uneasiness, and threatened the most serious consequences.

17th. A quarterly general court was held at the India-house, when after the last minutes had been read, the chairman, sir Stephen Lushington, stated, that the opinion of the attorney and solicitor general, relative to the legality of carrying the resolutions of the general court respecting Mr. Hastings into execution, had been received, and should, with the other opinions of counsel, be printed for the use of the proprietors, previous to the meeting to be held in October. After a desultory conversation, in which Maj. Scott, Messrs. Grant, Jackson, Thornton, Henchman, and the chairman, severally offered their sentiments, it was agreed, that some correspondence between the chairman and Mr. Pitt should form a part of the printed papers.

18th. Yesterday afternoon, about two o'clock, a fire broke out in the cupola of the church of St. Paul's Covent-garden, which communicated to the roof, and in two hours consumed the whole inside of that very beautiful building. The fire was occasioned by the carelessness of some workmen who were repairing a part of the lead-work about the cupola. The whole top was in a few minutes in flames, and in a short time falling in, nothing but the bare walls were left standing.

The communion-plate was saved; but every other article pertaining to the edifice, including the valuable and celebrated organ, the clock, &c. &c. was devoured by the unconquerable fury of the destructive element.

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The original cost of the building was no more than 6,500*l*. Its repairs, about six years since, were charged at 10,000*l*. It will not appear trifling, however, to the inhabitants of the parish. They then paid 7½ per cent. for the repairs of this church. For this last accident they will have at least to pay 25 per cent. on their rents.

Yesterday, at the Old Bailey, Sarah Crawford and Ann Maywood were convicted of stealing corn out of the field of Mr. William Jones, a farmer. The defence set up was, that they had gleaned it. However, though that fact did not appear, the learned judge took the opportunity of declaring the law on the subject, that gleaning was not a custom of strict right, but merely to be permitted or not, at the will of the owner of the ground.

19th. Parliament, which stood prorogued to Tuesday the first day of October next, was by a proclamation issued this day further prorogued to Thursday the 29th day of October 1795: then to be held for the dispatch of divers important affairs.

22d. Government received dispatches from sir John Borlase Warren, this morning, dated the 16th instant. The transports with the troops on board under the orders of Monsieur, were to sail the next day for the place of their destination. His royal highness enjoyed the best state of health during the whole voyage. Monsieur took with him from the isle of Houat the artillerymen and other troops who escaped from Quiberon.

During the five days which his royal highness passed on the isle of Houat, he received deputations from a great number of parishes

and cantons on the coast of Brittany, which seem all to be animated with a spirit of loyalty. From them full particulars were received of the heroic death of M. de Sombreuil, and of the fate of a great number of other prisoners, who were taken at the unfortunate affair of Quiberon. Several, however, were saved by the inhabitants of Vannes, who found means to conceal them. Monsieur ordered a solemn funeral service to be performed for them at the isle of Houat.

24th. The Discovery sloop of war, captain Vancouver, arrived at Limerick on the 13th inst. in company with the homeward bound East India fleet, having completely effected the object of her expedition, and made some important discoveries on the north-west coast of America. She sailed from England with 150 men on board, and such was the attention of the officers to their health, that only one died in the course of a very fatiguing voyage of four years. They speak in the highest terms of the inhabitants of the Sandwich Islands, from whom they experienced every possible civility and attention.

Lord Camelford, after he left his majesty's ship Discovery, in the South Seas, on his return to Europe, fell in with the Resistance of 44 guns, captain Edward Pakenham, in the Indian Seas, and immediately entered on board her, where his lordship was serving as a lieutenant, when the last advices left that ship, and paid strict attention to his professional duties.

25th. The corporation of the Trinity-house in London have now caused a vessel, fitted for
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a floating light, to be placed near the Goodwin-sands, about one mile N. E. from the North sand head, between the North and South Forelands; on which vessel three distinct lights are exhibited, to distinguish them from the North and South Foreland lights, and which will be constantly attended, and kept burning from sun-setting to sun-rising, for the benefit of navigation; a large bell is also fixed on board, which will be rung in hazy or thick weather, to warn ships of the danger as they approach the said sand, when the lights may not be seen.

This day William Curtis, 29th. esq. was elected lord-mayor of London, for the year ensuing.

OCTOBER.

As the remains of the right 1st. hon. Edward Henry John Spencer, late his majesty's ambassador to the court of Berlin, and second son to his grace the duke of Marlborough, who died July 3, were passing through Aylesbury, after a procession of five days from Yarmouth, where they had halted, the hearse broke down in the middle of the town, and the coffin, which had been shaken in the rough roads on the Continent, fell out, and bursting open, presented the body, a shocking spectacle; the stench of which annoyed the town for a considerable time. As soon as it could be deposited in another coffin, it was privately interred in a temporary vault under the chancel at Ardley, in the county of Oxford, near Burcester.

A robbery was this day 7th. committed in the house of

Mr. Ardesoif, of Hampstead, to a considerable amount; the circumstances of which have gained the interest and attention of many persons. It appears that Mr. Ardesoif is an old gentleman of considerable property, and not long discharged one Joseph Bodkin from his service as butler. The man was saucy, and vowed vengeance. Soon after, some drawers were plundered and set on fire, by means of a hole in the back of a closet; and furniture, money, and many articles, were stolen. By means of a young woman, of the name of Ann Hales, to whom it appears that Bodkin pretended passionate love, though he had been many years married, many of the articles have been found; and he was yesterday committed from the Public Office, in Bow-street, for trial, and the young woman bound over to appear as an evidence. They both appeared very much agitated, and the woman fainted several times. She was bailed by two gentlemen, with whom she formerly lived as servant.

An extraordinary circumstance 12th. occurred in Bridge-street, Black-friars. A bullock worried by the dogs, ran into the aperture made in the arch, which covers the large drain from Fleet-market to the Thames, under Bridge-street. The animal dropt into the drain, and was carried by the current of water down to the Thames, where it was laid hold of. The bullock lost one of its eyes in the fall, but came out alive.

Dublin. Some time in the 20th. course of last month, the appearances of a gold mine were discovered in the mountains of the county of Wicklow. Considerable

ble quantities of gold having been found in a stream and adjacent bog, the country people were all in search of it, and were so successful, that the place obtained the name of Little Peru. This mine, otherwise called Crogham mountain, was taken possession of on Thursday last, on behalf of his majesty. Major Browne, of the royal engineers, attended by Mr. Coates, port surveyor of Wicklow, marched two companies of the Kildare militia from the barrack of Arklow, toward the place where the gold is got; but, with great judgment and propriety, on consulting with that active and spirited magistrate, Thomas King, esq. it was judged proper to send a constable before them to read a proclamation, and advise the crowd to disperse and leave the ground. In an hour afterward the major, accompanied by Mr. King, Mr. Hayes, sub-sheriff (who readily attended) and Mr. Coates; marched the army (about sixty-eight men rank and file) to the place, when the crowd immediately, without riot or resistance, dispersed.

26th. A general meeting of the London Corresponding Society was held in the fields, near Copenhagen-house, where the number assembled as members, auditors, and spectators, was extremely great. Three rostra were erected for the convenience of those who wished to speak. On the recommendation of a committee, communicated by Mr. Jones, Mr. John Binns was called to the chair, who opened the business of the meeting, which he stated to be—An address to the nation on its present very critical and calamitous state; a remonstrance to his ma-

jesty on the neglect and contempt shewn to the late address delivered into the hands of his ministers; and certain resolutions which were thought applicable to the present alarming crisis, and absolutely necessary to be entered into. After Mr. Hodson had recommended hearing the sentiments of every person present who chose to deliver them, whether a member of the society or not, and no such person appearing, the address, remonstrance, and resolutions, were severally read, and adopted by acclamation; and they are to be printed and distributed at the expence of the society. The meeting was closed by speeches from Thelwall, Hodson, and Jones; and, from proper precautions that had been preciously taken, the multitude dispersed in the utmost quietness.

29th. On the occasion of his majesty's going to the house of lords, the Mall and the parade of St. James's park and Parliament-street, were completely choaked up with spectators. The crowd was by no means so great at the coronation, and to see the king go to the house, there never were before more than a tenth part of the numbers of this day; for they at least amounted to 200,000. Several noblemen and cabinet ministers passed through the park from Buckingham-house about two o'clock. The earl of Chatham, duke of Gloucester, &c. were hissed, and the duke of Portland was very much hooted.

About twenty minutes afterwards the king left Buckingham-house, and was violently hissed and hooted, and groaned at the whole way; but no violence was offered till he arrived opposite the Ordnance office, when a small pebble,

or marble or bullet, broke one of the windows. In returning, the moment his majesty entered the park, the gates of the Horse Guards were shut, for the purpose of excluding the mob who followed the carriage; at which, as it passed opposite Spring Gardens Terrace, another stone was thrown, but it fortunately struck the wood-work between the windows.

The crowd now pressed closely round the coach, and his majesty, in considerable agitation, signified, by waving his hands to the horse-guards on each side, his anxiety that the multitude should be kept at a distance. In this way he passed on through the park, and round by the Stable-yard, into St. James's palace at the front gate, the bottom of St. James's street. A considerable tumult took place when his majesty was about to alight, and one of the horses in the state coach took fright, threw down an old groom of the name of Dorrington, and broke one of his thighs, but it proved fortunately a simple fracture. His other thigh was considerably bruised, but not dangerously.

A few minutes after his majesty had entered the palace, the mob attacked the state coach with stones, and did it great injury. In its way along Pall Mall to the Mews, many things were also thrown at it. After a short time the king went in his private coach from St. James's to Buckingham-house; but on his way through the park, the mob surrounded the carriage, and prevented it from proceeding, crying out, "Bread! Bread! Peace! Peace!"—The guards were, however, speedily brought up, and they protected

the carriage till his majesty got safe into Buckingham-house.

When his majesty entered the house of peers, the first words he uttered were these, to the lord chancellor:

"My lord, I have been shot at!"

This alluded to the substance which had broke the window while passing the Ordnance office.

Three or four persons were apprehended on suspicion of having thrown stones, &c. at the king, and one of them was charged with having called out "No king," and other such expressions. They were all examined at the duke of Portland's office; and, waiting the result of this business, nothing was done in the house of lords till near six o'clock, when lord Westmoreland, who rode in the carriage with the king, having previously moved that strangers be ordered to withdraw, stated the insult and outrage with which the king had been treated: and added, that his majesty, and those who had accompanied him, were of opinion, that the glass of the coach had been broken by a ball from an air-gun, which had been shot from a bow-window of a house adjoining the Ordnance-office, with a view to assassinate the king.

The king, through the whole of the riot, displayed the cool magnanimity for which the family have ever been distinguished.—At the time that the glass of the coach was broken, he said to lord Westmoreland—"That's a shot!" and, instead of leaning back in the carriage, or striving to avoid the assassin, he pointed to the round hole in the pane, and examined it. But this was not all;—he went into the private coach, to go from St.

James's

James's to the queen's house, in the midst of the wildest commotions of the multitude, thereby exposing himself, almost without guards, to their fury; and then it was that his majesty's person was most imminently in danger.

30th. Confident in the attachment of his people, notwithstanding the alarms of the preceding day, the king, accompanied by her majesty and three of the princesses, visited Covent-garden theatre, and at their entrance was received with the usual burst of applause.—“God save the king” was sung twice, and by a considerable part of the house over-zealously called for a third time; this, in a corner of the gallery, provoked a few hisses, which however were soon over-ruled, and one or two of the most active of the turbulent party were turned out; after which the performance went on.

DIED—8th. At his house in Crown-street, Westminster, the rev. and learned Andrew Kippis, D. D. F. R. and A. S. He was born at Nottingham, March 28, (O S.), 1725. His father, a respectable tradesman of that town, was descended from the rev. Benjamin King, of Oakham, Rutlandshire, an ejected minister; and his mother, Ann Ryther, was the grand-daughter of the rev. John Ryther, who was ejected from the church of Ferriby, in the county of York. In the year 1730, he lost his father, and went to reside with his grandfather, Andrew Kippis, of Seaford, in Lincolnshire. He received his classical education at the Grammar School in that town: but what contributed most to his future eminence was, the friendship of the rev. Mr. Merriwall, who was equalled

by few of his contemporaries in various branches of learning, particularly in his acquaintance with the classics; his knowledge of ancient and modern history, and his refined taste in the *belles lettres*. Dr. K. frequently said, that it was impossible for him to express his obligations to this friend of his youth. In 1741 he removed to Northampton, and commenced his academical studies under Dr. Doddridge. After a residence of five years at the academy, he was invited by several congregations to become their minister. Though he was pressed to settle at Dorchester, and had been chosen their minister, he gave the preference to an invitation from Boston, in Lincolnshire, where he went to reside in September 1746. Here he continued four years; and in November 1750 accepted the pastoral charge of a congregation at Dorking, in Surrey. The congregation meeting in Princes-street, Westminster, having been without a minister about two years, he was chosen, in June 1753, to succeed the rev. Dr. Obadiah Hughes. On the 21st of September following, he married, at Boston, Miss Elizabeth Bott, one of the daughters of Mr. Isaac Bott, a merchant of that place; and in the month of October fixed his residence in Westminster. In June 1767, he received the degree of D. D. from the university of Edinburgh, on the unsolicited recommendation of the late learned professor Robertson. He was elected a member of the society of Antiquaries on the 19th of March, 1778, and on the 17th of June, 1779, he was chosen a fellow of the Royal Society. In both societies he had the honour of being in the council two years.

Dr. Kippis was eminently distinguished for the virtues and accomplishments which form the chief ornaments of private life. With a suavity of manners and urbanity of behaviour peculiarly attractive, he united that knowledge of men and books which rendered his conversation uncommonly entertaining and instructive to the circle of his acquaintance and friends. As a minister he was not less eminent for his profound acquaintance with every branch of theology, than for the happy manner in which he applied it to the improvement of those who attended his ministry. His sermons were remarkable for perspicuity, elegance, and energy; and his elocution was unaffected and very impressive, particularly at the close of his discourses. But the superior powers and vigour of mind which he derived from nature, and which he had cultivated with unremitting diligence and peculiar success, were not to be confined to the narrow limits of private life and the duties of the pastoral charge, however important; they were designed for more extensive and important services to his country and to mankind. The interests of literature, science, and religion, have received from the exertions of his talents, as a writer, the most essential advantages.—His first efforts in literature were made in the *Gentleman's Magazine*; a periodical publication called the *Library*; and the *Monthly Review*: to each of which he contributed many important articles, especially in the historical and philological departments of the last. He was the author of three important tracts, viz. “*A Vindication of the Protestant Dissenting Ministers*,” &c. “*Ob-*

servations on the late Contests in the Royal Society,” and “*Considerations on the Treaty with America*,” &c. His improved edition of Dr. Dodderidge's *Lectures*, is a work of great value; and he likewise wrote “*The History of Knowledge, Learning, and Taste, in Great Britain*,” prefixed to the *New Annual Register*. He published, at different times, several single sermons; among which, that on the death of his friend, the rev. Mr. Laugher, is entitled to very high praise. The greater part of these he republished, with other practical discourses, in the year 1794; but the work which, next to the studies immediately connected with his office as a Christian minister, engaged his principal attention, and by which he has long been distinguished, is, the improved edition of the “*Biographia Britannica*.” In this great national publication, the comprehensiveness and powers of his mind, the correctness of his judgment, the vast extent of his information, his indefatigable researches and unremitting assiduity, his peculiar talent of appreciating the merit, and analyzing the labours of the most eminent writers; and his unshaken integrity, unbiassed fidelity, and impartial decision on the characters of the philosopher, statesman, poet, scholar, and divine, are strongly displayed and universally acknowledged. His style, formed on the models of sir William Temple and the classical Addison, is remarkable for its perspicuity, elegance, and purity; and gives a peculiar lustre to the rich stores of knowledge treasured in the volumes now published. This work has given him a high rank among the literari of this

this country, and will carry down his name with distinguished reputation to posterity.

At Dishley, in the county of Leicester, Mr. Robert Bakewell, of whom a longer account shall be given in a future part of this volume.

19th. On the dreary hills betwixt Festiniog and Yspsyty in Denbighshire, on his return on foot from the former place, where he had been upon business, Mr. Richard Powell, master of Yspsyty school. His body was found on the following Wednesday afternoon, a considerable distance from the road; and it is supposed that night coming on, he being near-sighted, unfortunately missed his way, and through fatigue had lain down, when death overtook him, and put a period to his existence. His death will be severely felt by his aged mother, whom he had for many years past maintained out of the small pittance acquired by honest industry. We may say of him, without the least tincture of flattery, that he was one of the greatest geniuses Wales had produced in the present century. As a Welch grammarian he was equal to most; and as a poetical writer, his "Four Seasons" (for which he gained the Gwyneddigion's annual medal in 1793, although contested for by eleven able candidates) will be a lasting monument of his poetic skill.

NOVEMBER.

9th. Mr. Ald. Curtis, the new lord mayor, was sworn into office at the Exchequer, Westminster-hall, before the lord chief ba-

ron. The day being uncommonly fine, the show was very brilliant both by water and land. The tide serving early, the lord-mayor and his company returned to Blackfriars-bridge before three o'clock.

The memory of man does not recollect so violent a hurricane as that which was suffered on Friday morning, the 6th inst. Its continuance was happily short. It began about half past one, and had totally subsided before four o'clock. The squall came from the north-west, and was not accompanied by rain or hail. Its ravages were dreadful beyond description; trees were torn up by the roots, stacks of chimnies blown down in every corner of the metropolis, houses totally uncovered, and a number of buildings entirely demolished.

The following are a few of the particulars.

A house in Mead's-row, Lambeth, was blown down, and a lady, who slept in the first floor (and who was to have been married that day), buried in the ruins; two of the servants were very much hurt. A child in the same row was also killed, by the falling of a stack of chimnies.

A house in another part of Lambeth was unroofed, by which an old woman lost her life. In St. George's Fields, a young woman was killed, and another dreadfully maimed, by the falling of a house. A house in New Road, Fitzroy-square, and another in Conduit-street, were completely destroyed. A brew-house belonging to Mr. Huskisson, in the New Cut leading to Westminster-bridge, another in St. John's-square, and the orchestra in the Apollo-gardens, are entire heaps of ruins.

The house of sir John Sinclair, at Whitehall, is very much injured: the upper part fell into the street. The dwelling-house of a poor man at Somers'-town, by trade a bow and arrow maker, was swept away, and all his little property destroyed.

The brick wall at the south end of the Opera-house was blown down, and falling into the adjoining court, did considerable damage to the houses. At Limehouse bridge a pile of deal boards was thrown down and carried by the force of the wind to the distance of an hundred yards.

Several dwellings in Cornhill, Moorfields, the Borough, Shadwell, Wapping, &c. &c. also received very material injury.

Several large trees in St. James's and Hyde parks, were blown down, and great numbers torn up by the roots in other places.

At Twickenham, also, several trees, which stood before the house of lord Dysart, were blown down.

In St. James's park, and at Knightsbridge, similar accidents happened. In Greenwich park several trees fell a sacrifice. The effects of this hurricane at sea, we fear, have been of the most melancholy nature. In the river several tier of ships started from their moorings, and received much injury.

An immense torrent of rain preceded the storm.

In the late high winds, several of the colliers, and other vessels, were driven from their anchors in the Downs, on the coast of France, where two or three of them went ashore; two or three others were so fortunate as to reach Calais harbour, by which their crews escaped perishing.

In the Temple, many chambers were unroofed. A brick wall and handsome paling, with which the Bedford fields had been lately intersected, and the upper part of one of the new houses building on the same scite, were totally demolished. The paling seems to have been blown about the fields in sheets.

The king and queen, who were at Buckingham-house, arose from their beds, as did many hundreds of families; for the storm of wind was of that continuance, weight, and pressure, that scarcely any fabric seemed to be capable of bearing its force.

Many of the largest and most beautiful trees in the walks of King's, St. John's, and Queen's colleges, Cambridge, were torn up by the roots. St. John's bridge has also been considerably damaged.

At Brompton, Chatham, and Rochester, the effects of the storm were severely felt. The church of St. Margaret's, at the latter place, was much injured. The vestry-room chimney was blown down, and much of the tiling blown off.

At Norwich, one of the largest trees in Chapel-field was actually snap't in twain during the tremendous storm, and five others very much damaged. The demolition of chimnies, and the unroofing of houses, were very general throughout that city. Also in the neighbourhood of Reading, a windmill on Bishop's-hill was totally demolished. The mail coach going to Ipswich was several times actually blown out of the road, and the guard obliged to dismount to lead the horses.

Great damage was done at St. Alban's; also to the buildings and walls

walls of the dowager lady Spencer, and in and about lord Grimstone's park.

At Birmingham the hurricane was much felt; two women were killed by a stack of chimnies falling in Lionel-street; Mr. Barker's garden-wall at Summer-hill, 180 feet long, covered with choice peach and nectarine-trees, was entirely thrown down to its very foundation; and the night conches were greatly impeded and endangered upon all the roads, by the falling of trees torn from their roots, &c.

Much damage was also done to the shipping at Spithead, and in various parts along the coast.

From Essex we are informed of the following particulars of a dreadful accident which occurred during the above hurricane:—A stack of chimnies belonging to the house of the Rev. Dr. Waller, arch-deacon of that county, at Waltham-house, were blown down, and forced their way through the roof of the house, into the room where the doctor was lying; the bricks drove a part of the roof with them which fell directly upon him as he lay, and prevented him from making his escape; nearly a cart load of bricks was lying upon him with some large beams at one time; assistance was procured him as soon as possible, but the doctor was unable (as we are informed) to rise; he was therefore obliged to be moved for the present: a surgeon was immediately sent for, and the bruises which he had received were hoped not to be mortal; he, however, languished till Tuesday following, and then, to the irreparable loss of his family and friends, died. Mrs. Waller

had, providentially, just before the horrid crash, jumped out of bed and left the room, fearing something of the kind might occur, to alarm the family.

13th. Yesterday, in consequence of a public meeting, in the fields behind Copenhagen house, having been called by the London Corresponding Society, an immense concourse of persons assembled there about twelve o'clock. Five rostra or tribunes being raised in different parts of the fields, Mr. Ashley, the secretary, informed the multitude, that at each a member of the society would offer to their consideration three petitions: 1. To the king; 2. To the house of lords; 3. To the house of commons; which he entreated them to hear and receive with a decorum, that should refute the misrepresentations of their enemies.

At two o'clock the rostra were entirely filled, and not less than an hundred thousand persons surrounded them. The petitions were signed, and the multitude dispersed with perfect peace and good order.

16th. This day, there was a meeting of the electors of Westminster (in pursuance of a public notice signed by Mr. Fox) to consider of a petition to the house of commons against the two bills now pending in that house, for the better security of his majesty's person, and the suppressing of seditious assemblies. The meeting was attended by the duke of Bedford, Mr. Fox, Mr. Grey, and Mr. Sheridan, who severally inveighed against the bills, as utterly subversive of the liberties of the people. On the other side appeared lords Hood and Belgrave, Mr. Jenkinson, &c. The two former were the only dissenti-

ents from the proceedings adopted by the meeting; and lord Hood protested against the present mode as unfair, insisting that the sense of the electors of Westminster could be known only by meetings of their respective vestries. A petition, however, was agreed (by all but the two dissentients), to be presented to the house of commons, against the two bills in question, after which the meeting quietly dispersed. Parties of the military were stationed in different places; but, happily, their interference was not necessary.

18th. About two o'clock this morning a most tremendous fire broke out in the dwelling-house of Mr. Billings, in the Gallowstree-gate, Leicester, which entirely consumed the same, together with the adjoining one, occupied by Mr. Phillips, printer. The rapidity of the flames was so great, that scarcely a single article was saved, and the parties escaped with great difficulty. Much praise is due to the troop of Oxford Blues, quartered in the town, whose spirited exertions, together with those of the inhabitants, prevented an extension of its dreadful ravages. A child was unfortunately killed by the falling of a wall. A literary society, lately established in Leicester, have lost by this accident their whole library, to the amount of about 200l.

18th. The outward-bound West-India fleet, under the command of rear admiral Christian, having in the whole near sixteen thousand troops on board, passed down the channel on Tuesday, and exhibited off Weymouth, a grand and beautiful spectacle; but the scene was soon changed to horror and dismay. The following letter

from an officer at Weymouth, describes the melancholy events that ensued.

19th. *Weymouth.* To give a true description of the scenes of horror I have since yesterday been witness to, would be impossible. The outward-bound West India fleet sailed from St. Helen's on Sunday night, and passed by Weymouth on Tuesday morning with so light a breeze, that every sail was hoisted to it. In the afternoon, however, it began to blow very fresh; in the evening, quite a gale of wind; and all night a most dreadful hurricane. The fleet could not make Torbay, though very near it, the wind blowing from the west; they therefore put about, in order to make for Weymouth. The convoy (a 74, with frigates, &c.) came safely to anchor in Portland roads; but many of the transports and merchantmen, being heavily laden with troops and merchandize, could not stretch out far enough (the wind being S. W.) to get out of what is called the Western Bay, so as to clear the isle of Portland, consequently several of them were lost by striking on a bank of pebbles extending from Portland nearly to Bridport. Here the dreadful scene began: a transport with near two hundred troops on board (including officers, sunk within fifty yards of the shore: the cries of the unfortunate wretches on board were distinctly heard on shore: the bodies floated on the waves, and hundreds of people were on the shore, but the means of affording assistance impracticable: of the two hundred ten lives were saved, by the waves throwing the bodies upon the beach. But instead of the spectators (who were chiefly people

people from Portland, and who are always praying for wrecks on their coast) attempting to rescue the drowning wretches from the water, their whole attention was devoted to plunder, and I was myself witness to a scene the most unpardonable that ever humanity shuddered at: the body of an officer was driven ashore; a party of the Portland people ran to it for the purpose of plunder; a chest, however, coming ashore at the instant, the body was left to be washed back by the next wave, while the inhuman wretches were solely intent on preserving the chest, which they bore away in triumph. The officer, however, was saved by some of our people, and is now living.

Three vessels went to pieces in this way within the space of an hour. Out of one, only two lives were saved; out of another, ten; and out of the third, three; of those saved, one was a lady, whose husband, an officer of the 25th light dragoons, was drowned; she had been ill, and was in bed when the ship struck, but was miraculously carried through a port hole, and thrown on shore naked and very much bruised. She was conveyed to a house senseless, and has since been delirious, at times waking to a recollection of her situation, only to add to her misery. Of the ten who escaped from one of the ships, one (a soldier) had his leg broken, and crushed by a piece of the wreck in so shocking a manner, that he just crawled on the sand, and then very soon died from the loss of blood. Some vessels were lost farther up the country, and out of these some, but not many, lives were saved. Among these a lieu-

tenant-colonel Ross, and a surgeon, are the only officers I have heard of. During the whole time, the Portland people, and a considerable mob from different parts, were solely intent on plunder; neglecting, with more than savage indifference, to give the wretched sufferers the smallest assistance. An officer's party from our regiment at length put a check to their proceedings, and we remained on the sands the whole of last night to protect the property. One merchantman ran ashore without bulging, and though all but ten of her hands were drowned, the property of this vessel was saved, and great part of it brought ashore, and we posted sentinels over it during the night; but even this did not prevent the rascals from attempting to plunder, and our men were absolutely obliged to fire upon them to disperse them. The number of vessels lost is not yet ascertained, although it is known that six or seven certainly are: one is now lying off Weymouth quite dismasted; another with only a foremast standing, &c. The number of people drowned it is impossible to guess at; but you may conceive it to be great, when I assure you that I counted 275 dead bodies which the tide had thrown up to the sands yesterday, many of them women, and their numbers are hourly increasing.

Weymouth. The shore from 26th. hence to Abbotsbury, about seven miles distant, is still covered with dead bodies, and parts of the wreck are hourly appearing. Yesterday we counted nine bodies thrown upon the beach by one tide within the space of a quarter of a mile; the violence of the sea had torn every particle of clothing off

off them and from bruises, and lying so long in the water, they made the most shocking appearance. Part of the Gloucester militia, aided by the peasantry, are constantly employed in burying them. The number of sufferers almost exceeds belief; upwards of sixteen hundred bodies having, it is said, been thrown up along the beach. An officer of the Gloucester militia, has assisted at the burial of 300. The vessels lost in the West Bay were seven in number, and such was the fury of the waves, that several of the transports, heavily laden, were driven to the very summit of the beach, which is considerably higher than a common built house. Had the poor wretches continued on board, many more would have been saved; but such was their agitation and fright, that as soon as the vessel struck, they leaped overboard, and were exhausted before they could reach the shore. A soldier of the 63d says, that previous to his quitting the transport, one of the officers of the regiment, who was lame and in bed, and conscious of the impossibility of his escaping death, met it with a most dignified constancy; he told the soldier, that from his strength there was a chance of his safety, and told him how to husband it best to his advantage; and then gave him his purse and watch, which he observed were no longer necessary to him.—There were 170 troops in this vessel, and five only were saved. Captain Bearcroft, who commanded the detachment, is among the sufferers.—The lady, whom we mentioned to have been so miraculously preserved, was wife to corner Burns, of the 26th. On Tuesday his remains, together with

those of lieutenant Kerr, of the 46th and 26 others, were buried at Wick church, about two miles from hence, with military honours; the Gloucester militia, &c. attending.—The people of Abbotsbury say they saw five vessels, exclusive of what are known to have been wrecked, run foul of each other, and it is probable most of them have foundered. The transports were, it appears, most wretchedly manned; the Hannah was driven ashore by another transport, the master of which was the only seaman on board of her. The Hannah went to pieces last night on the rocks, but the crew and cargo have been saved. Several horses on board were drowned.

27th. *Glasgow.* About one o'clock this morning a violent storm of wind and rain, accompanied with snow, came on here, which continued till four in the afternoon. Early in the forenoon the river Clyde rose to a prodigious height, so as to lay all the low part of the town, near the river, under water. The Gallowgate burn, from the overflowing of the Monkland canal, came down with such rapidity as to fill all the low houses in the Gallowgate, east side of the Salt-market, and lower part of St. Andrew's square, with water. The fine new bridge across the river opposite the Salt-market, which was passable to foot-passengers, is totally swept away. Boats for the relief of the inhabitants are plying along the bridge gate, the depth of water being near six feet in some places. From Charlotte-street to Jamaica-street is a continued sheet of water of considerable depth, and the passage by any of the two bridges is impassable for the present.

sent. A considerable number of cows, sheep, horses, &c. are carried away by the violence of the water, and lost. A great deal of goods in the cellars near the river will be greatly damaged, if not entirely useless: indeed the amount of the loss sustained, though it cannot as yet be ascertained, must be very great. The height of the water in the Salt-market at present, (seven o'clock), is within 16 inches of the inundation in March 1782.

27th. Mr. Redhead Yorke was brought before the court of King's-Bench at Westminster-hall, to receive judgment for a seditious libel, of which he was convicted at the last York assizes, when Mr. justice Ashhurst pronounced, that he should pay a fine of 100l. be imprisoned two years in the common jail of the county of Dorset, and at the expiration of that term should give security for his good behaviour for seven years, himself in 1000l. and two sureties in 500l. each.

DECEMBER.

2d. The loan was agreed for by Messrs. Boyd, Robarts, Solomons, &c.—The terms are, for every 100l. subscribed, 120l. 3 per cent. consolidated annuities, 25l. 3 per cent. reduced ditto, and 6s. 6d. long annuity. The loan was only intended to have been for 16 millions, but two millions more have been borrowed in order to pay the bounties on corn.

9th. On Monday the London Corresponding Society, together with an immense concourse of spectators, assembled in Mary-le-bone fields. About one o'clock

rostra were erected, and Mr. Browne was called to the chair. After an explanatory speech, an address to the people, and a petition to the king, were read and unanimously approved of, together with a number of resolutions. Mr. Jones and Mr. Thelwall were the speakers. The petition to the king and the resolutions are in strong, firm, and respectful language. The conduct of the multitude was temperate and orderly. They signed the papers in great numbers, and separated in good order, and without the least tumult.

16th. *Dublin.* On Saturday evening last a most shocking murder was committed on the bodies of two men, labourers, by a man, supposed to be a companion of theirs, near Clogheen, in the county of Tipperary. It seems the deceased were brothers, and had, during, this season, acquired by their industry four or five guineas, and were about proceeding to the county of Kerry, their native place; when, as is the custom with the lower orders of people at parting to testify their friendship in drink, they were at a public house, and at paying the reckoning discovered to their companion the fruits of their industry, which is believed to be the cause of their untimely death, as, at leaving the house, he insisted on accompanying them a few miles on their journey, and even took from one of them his spade, saying, he would ease him of the weight of it while he continued with them, and which is the weapon with which he perpetrated the horrid deed. Shortly after, they were found about a mile from the house they had left, with their skulls almost cloven

cloven asunder, and robbed of the above sum.

Plymouth. This evening about five o'clock a dreadful fire broke out in a sail-loft, in Southside-street, belonging to Mr. Douglas, sail-maker; in a few minutes the whole building was in flames; every exertion was made to check its progress, but the lofts were filled with such inflammable substance as rendered every effort ineffectual. In addition to the sail-cloth, rope, &c. belonging to Mr. Douglas, the lofts of the same premises were filled with a valuable cargo of bale goods, landed out of a Danish ship that was then under repair, to which the fire soon communicated, and the conflagration became terrible indeed; the flames presently extended to the houses on each side Mr. Douglas's, and, they being occupied by people of the same profession, their lofts were also filled with the like inflammable articles, so that the fire became extremely alarming, and threatened destruction to the whole neighbourhood: it continued burning six hours, with incredible fury, when, by the great exertions of the inhabitants and the military, with the assistance of the dock-yard and hospital engines, it was fortunately prevented from spreading farther, but the three houses were entirely consumed: the loss is supposed to amount to 15,000*l.* Many of the unfortunate sufferers are uninsured, and subscriptions are now open for their relief. It is a providential circumstance, that the tide was flood at the time, or the fire would have communicated to the shipping in the pool, and probably in that case half the town would have been destroyed.

20th. This day a man who had the appearance of a labourer, was found strangled in a field near Camberwell, Surrey. It appeared that he had stolen a sheep, the hind legs of which he had tied together, and put them over his forehead, in order to carry it away; but it is thought, that in getting over the gate the sheep struggled, and by a sudden spring slipped his feet down to his throat, for in that posture they were found, the animal hanging on one side of the gate, and the dead man on the other.

23d. The annual elections for the city senate have terminated with much fewer changes than might have been expected from the unusual exertions that were made. The average number of new members, in the most quiet times, amounts, from deaths and voluntary resignations, to eighteen: on the present occasion there are but twenty-two. In the majority of the wards, all the old members are returned; in others a single member is removed, either of one party or the other, as local circumstances have happened. The strongest contest has been in the wards of Cheap and Farringdon Without. In Cheap, eight new candidates appeared, all on the side of Government; and three were successful. In Farringdon, on the contrary, were six new ones on the side of opposition; who so far carried their point, as to introduce two of their champions, but were disappointed in the main object of their attempt.

30th. About three o'clock this afternoon, a gentleman was hustled, at the door of Will's coffee-house, in Cornhill, by several well dressed pickpockets, and robbed

bed of his pocket-book, containing bank-notes to the amount of 500*l*. together with bills of exchange to the value of 2000*l*. most of which were accepted and indorsed.

31st. The brewers have at length determined not to raise the price of porter; but that they may be enabled to persevere in so laudable a resolution, they mean, in future, to resist all superfluous expences; and it has been proposed by an eminent brewer in the neighbourhood of Liquorpond-street, to abolish all publicans' feast clubs, and the custom of giving money for the entertainment of benefit societies.

DIED—In Titchfield-street, J. Paradise, esq. LL.D. of the university of Oxford, and F.R.S. He was born at Salonichi, brought up at Padua, and by far the greatest part of his life resided at London; was passionately fond of learned men, and opened his house to all descriptions of them. He was naturally silent and reserved in conversation, owing to an excess of modesty, which made him pay greater deference to the opinions of others than his own. He spoke many languages with facility; among others the modern Greek, Latin, Turkish, French, Italian, and English, were alike familiar to him; and he was as amiable in his manners as he was eminent in his literary attainments.

BIRTHS for the Year 1795.

Jan. 5. The lady of Richard Joseph Sullivan, esq. M. P. a son.

17. Lady of the right hon. Charles Townshend, a daughter.

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27. Viscountess Belgrave, a son.
The lady of sir Gilbert Heathcote, bart. a son and heir.

Lady of sir John Rous, bart. a son.

Feb. 1. Lady of sir Henry Harpur, bart. a son.

14. Lady Auckland, a son.

26. Lady of sir Henry Dashwood, bart. a son.

March 5. Lady of lord G. H. Cavendish, a daughter.

21. Princess of Brasil, a son.

April 6. Viscountess Conyngham, a son.

18. Lady of William Manning, esq. M. P. a son.

May 24. Lady Anne Wombwell, a son.

June 25. Lady of Dr. William Cleaver, bishop of Chester, a daughter.

July 2. Countess of Exeter, a son and heir.

7. Lady Elizabeth Loftus, a son.

10. Countess of Breadalbane, a daughter.

24. Lady of Thomas Boothby Parkyns, esq. M. P. a daughter.

26. Lady of sir John Ingilby, bart. a daughter.

30. Lady Arden, a son.

Lady Rodney, a daughter.

Aug. 7. Lady Harriot Sullivan, a daughter.

Lady of sir Francis Ford, bart. a daughter.

9. Lady Mary-Anne Sturt, a son and heir.

Lady of sir Archibald Dunbar, bart. of Northfield, a daughter.

11. Duchess of Dorset, a daughter.

26. Lady Charlotte Hope, a son.

Sept. 26. The consort of prince Lewis of Prussia, a prince.

Oct. 16. Countess of Jersey, a son.

E

18. Lady

18. Lady of Lord Hugh Seymour, a daughter.

20. Lady of Thomas Anson, esq. M. P. a son and heir.

30. Lady of George Smith, esq. M. P. a son.

Lady Sherard, a daughter.

Nov. 3. Lady Fludyer, a daughter.

Dec. 4. The empress of Germany, a princess, baptised Carolina-Ludovica-Leopoldina.

8. Lady of sir H. P. St. John Mildmay, bart. a son.

10. Duchess of Manchester, a daughter.

19. Hon. lady Shaw, a daughter.

Countess of Carlisle, a son.

MARRIAGES for 1795.

Jan. 18. Hon. Simon Butler, to miss Lynch, daughter of Edward Lynch, esq. of Hampstead.

19. Francis lord Down, son of the earl of Moray, to miss Lucy Scott, daughter of the late general Scott.

Lately, hon. Henry Forbes, brother of the earl of Granard, to miss E. Preston, sister of John Preston, esq. M. P. for Navan.

24. Earl of Barrymore, to miss Coghlan, daughter of Mr. Coghlan, of Ardo, in the county of Waterford.

30. Hon. Newton Fellowes, son of the earl of Portsmouth, to miss F. Sherard, daughter of the rev. Castell Sherard.

Hon. Edward Massey, second son of the late lord Massey, to miss Villiers, daughter of John Villiers, esq. of Limerick.

Feb. 9. Rev. George Trevalyan, son of sir John Trevalyan, bart. to miss Neave, daughter of Richard Neave, esq. of Dagnam-park, Essex.

15. Elector Palatine of the Rhine, to the archduchess Maria-Leopoldina, second daughter of the archduke Ferdinand of Austria.

21. Captain Metcalf of the Staffordshire militia, to miss Vane, daughter of the hon. Mr. Vane, brother to the earl of Darlington.

Lately, Thomas Cole, esq. to lady Elizabeth Henrietta Stanley.

March 5. Richard Johnstone Vandden Bempd , esq. M. P. to miss Scott, niece of the rev. Dr. Scott, rector of Simonbourn.

10. Lieutenant Lascelles, son of lieutenant-general Lascelles, to miss Gould, daughter of sir Charles Morgan, bart.

24. Earl of Dalkeith, to the hon. miss Harriet Townshend, daughter of lord Sidney.

25. Hon. Robert Banks Jenkinson, to lady Louisa Hervey, daughter of the earl of Bristol and bishop of Derry.

30. Hon. and reverend Richard Bourke, second son of the late earl of Mayo, archbishop of Tuam, to miss Frances Fowler, daughter of the archbishop of Dublin.

Dr. Henry Vaughan, physician extraordinary to his majesty, to the hon. Elizabeth Barbara St. John, sister to lord St. John of Bletsoe.

31. Captain Patrick Hunter, to the hon. miss Jane Rollo, daughter of the late James lord Rollo.

Francis Drake, esq. to the only daughter of the late sir Herbert Mackworth, bart.

April 7. Lord Torpichen, to miss Inglis,

Inglis, daughter of sir John Inglis, bart.

15. Sir Harry Burrard, bart. to miss Neale, daughter of the late Robert Neale, esq. of Shaw House, Wilts.—Sir Harry takes the name of Neale.

27. Richard Brinsley Sheridan, esq. M. P. for Stafford, to miss Ogle, only daughter of the dean of Winchester.

May 4. Sir Robert Wilmot, bart. to miss Howard, only daughter of the late Charles Howard, esq. of Litchfield.

9. Sir J. Sanderson, bart. M. P. for Malmesbury, to miss Skinner, daughter of the lord-mayor.

10. Hen. lieutenant-col. George St. John, to miss Lavinia Breton, daughter of William Breton, esq.

11. Finely Ferguson, esq. to the hon. miss Maclellan, only daughter of lord Kirkcudbright.

26. Sir Edward Denny, bart. to miss Day, daughter of Robert Day, esq. of Dublin.

28. John William Clough, Esq. of Norton Conyers, Yorkshire, to miss Elizabeth Broughton, daughter of the rev. sir Thomas Broughton, bart.

30. Earl of Winterton, to Mrs. Bodicote of Westerham.

Lately, hon. captain Fortescue, brother of earl Fortescue, to lady Ackland, widow of sir Thomas Ackland, bart.

June 8. John Willes, esq. eldest son of the late hon. Mr. justice Willes, to miss Charlotte Floyer, only daughter of Charles Floyer, esq. of Portland-place.

12. Captain George Parker, of the royal navy, nephew of sir Peter Parker, bart. to miss Harriet Butt,

daughter of Peter Butt, esq. of the Dockyard at Deptford.

16. Sir Richard Bedingfield, bart. to miss Jerningham, daughter of sir William Jerningham, bart.

17. Crauford Tait, esq. to miss Susan Campbell, daughter of the right hon. Ilay Campbell, lord-president of the court of session of Scotland.

18. Captain Grey, of the royal navy, third son of sir Charles Grey, K. B. to miss Whitbread, youngest daughter of Samuel Whitbread, esq. M. P. of Bedwell Park, Herts.

20. Lord Charles Fitzroy, second son of the duke of Grafton, to miss Mundy, daughter of Edward Miller Mundy, esq. M. P. for Derbyshire.

22. John Dalrymple, esq. of the 3d regiment of guards, eldest son of the right hon. sir John Dalrymple, bart. one of the barons of the exchequer in Scotland, to miss Johnson, daughter of the reverend R. A. Johnson, of Kenilworth, Warwickshire.

23. Sir John Wrottesly, bart. to lady Caroline Bennett, daughter of the earl of Tankerville.

The earl of Banbury, to miss Charlotte Blackwell, daughter of the late Ebenezer Blackwell, esq. of London, banker.

29. Rev. George Moore, eldest son of the archbishop of Canterbury, to lady Maria Isabella Hay, daughter of the late earl of Errol.

July 1. Reverend Brook Henry Bridges, brother of sir Brook Bridges, bart. to miss Jane Hales, second daughter of the late sir Thomas Hales, bart.

15. Hugh lord Carleton, lord chief justice of the common pleas

in Ireland, to miss Mathew, at Uxbridge.

20. Lord George Seymour Conway, to miss Isabella Hamilton, daughter of the late hon. and rev. George Hamilton.

21. William Henry Digby, esq. of Twickenham, to lady Anne Kennedy, daughter of the late earl of Cassilis.

25. Lord Paget, to lady C. Villiers, daughter of the earl of Jersey.

Lord St. Asaph, to lady Charlotte Percy, daughter of the earl of Beverley.

29. Right hon. Dudley Ryder, to lady Susan Leveson Gower.

30. Viscount Dungannon, to the hon. miss Fitzroy.

Aug. 4. Marquis of Titchfield, to miss Scott, daughter of the late general Scott.

8. Earl of Belfast, son of the marquis of Donegal, to miss May.

Lord Spencer Stanley Chichester, second son of the marquis Donegal, to lady Harriet Stewart, daughter of the earl of Galloway.

20. Sir William Langham, bart. to miss Vane, only daughter of the hon. C. Vane.

24. Thomas Beevor, esq. eldest son of sir Thomas Beevor, bart. to miss Hare, only daughter of Hugh Hare, Esq. of Hargham, Norfolk.

Lately, hon. Robert Leeson, son of the late earl of Miltown, to miss Grace Head, of Derry, in Tipperary.

Sept. 9. Sir John Riggs Miller, bart. to lady Davenport.

24. Charles Duncombe, esq. (eldest son of Charles Slingsby Duncombe, esq. of Duncombe-park, Yorkshire) M. P. for Shaftesbury, to lady Charlotte Legge, only daughter of the earl of Dartmouth.

Edward Wigley, esq. M. P. for Worcester, to miss Anne Maria Meysey, only daughter and heiress of the late Charles Watkins Meysey, esq. of Shakenhurst in Boynton, Worcestershire.

Oct. 9. John Richard viscount Dungarvon, to the hon. Isabella Henrietta Poyntz, maid of honour to her majesty, and daughter of William Poyntz, esq. of Midgham-house, Berks.

Francis Gregor, esq. M. P. for Cornwall, to miss Jane Urquhart, niece of general Morris.

15. Major-general Ross, to miss Gunning, daughter of sir Robert Gunning, K. B.

20. Lord Mulgrave to miss Sophia Malling, daughter of C. T. Malling, esq. of West Hennington.

26. Harrington Hudson, esq. of Blessingby, Yorkshire, to lady Ann Townshend, daughter of marquis Townshend.

27. John Gibbons, eldest son of sir William Gibbons, bart. of Stanwell-place, to miss Taylor, daughter of the late Richard Taylor, esq. of Charlton-house.

31. Captain Knox, of the first regiment of foot-guards, to miss Emma Williams, daughter of Thomas Williams, esq. M. P.

Nov. 2. Charles Pole, esq. second son of sir Charles Pole, bart. to miss Buller, daughter of Richard Buller, esq. of Crosby-square.

7. Robert Dalrymple, esq. son of admiral Dalrymple, to miss Howard, of Knightsbridge.

11. Mark Sykes, esq. high sheriff of Yorkshire, and eldest son of sir Christopher Sykes, bart. to miss Masterman, only daughter of Henry Masterman, esq. of Stettrington.

13. Sir Francis Henry Drake, bart. to miss Anne Frances Mateby, daughter of Thomas Mateby, esq. of Great Mary-le-bone-street.

Thomas Ridgate Maunsell, esq. to miss Daly, daughter of the late James Daly, esq. of Upton-house, near Brixham, Devon.

Dec. 12. Sir John William Rose, knt. recorder of London, to miss Fenn, of Walworth.

15. Hon. Geo. Augustus Legge, son of the earl of Dartmouth, to miss Honora Bagot, daughter of the rev. Walker Bagot.

DEATHS, 1795.

Jan. 6. Rev. George Berkeley, D. D. prebend of Canterbury, &c. son of the celebrated bishop of Cloyne.

Lately, earl of Coleraine.
Colonel William Dundas, brother to the right hon. Henry Dundas.

13. Hon. Thomas Broderick, under secretary of state.

15. Lady of Lord Romney.

19. Lady Vane, relict of the rev. sir Henry Vane, bart.

22. Countess dowager of Carlisle.

Sir Lucius O'Brien, bart.

23. Sir John Hynde Cotton, bart.

25. Edwin lord Harewood, the title extinct.

27. Hon. miss Fitzroy, eldest daughter of lord Southampton.

30. Lieutenant-general Douglas, colonel of the 99th regiment of foot.

31. Charles William earl of Sef-ton.

Sir Hugh Hill, bart. M. P. for Londonderry.

Feb. 3. Richard Edwards, esq. admiral of the blue.

George earl of Mount Edg-cumbe.

John Webb, esq. M. P.

5. Sir John Duntze, bart. M. P.

7. Sir James Langham, bart.

8. Lady Rivers.

9. Thomas earl of Macclesfield.

10. Margaret baroness Clon-curry.

12. Thomas Grosvenor, esq. M. P. brother to earl Grosvenor.

14. Thomas earl of Beftive.

19. Sir Thomas Massey Stanley, bart.

20. John Sawbridge, esq. alder-man and M. P. of London.

22. Jane duchess dowager of Athol.

March 3. Hon. Stephen Digby, son of the earl of Digby.

4. Viscountess Colloseau, sister of sir John Trevalyan, bart.

Hon. admiral Keith Stewart.

5. Basil William Douglas, lord Daer.

Sir William Gordon of Gordon-stown, bart.

9. Sir Henry Houghton, bart. M. P.

12. William Mostyn Owen, esq. M. P.

18. Lord Edward Murray, third son of the duke of Athol.

20. Lieutenant-general sir Wil-liam Erskine, bart.

23. Hon. and rev. St. Andrew St. John, second son of John, 10th lord St. John of Bletsoe.

30. Lewis Monson Watson, lord Sondes.

April 6. Sir George Collier, knt. vice-admiral of the blue.

8. Sir Alexander Livingstone, bart.

10. Mr. Worsley, only son of sir Richard Worsley, bart.

12. Hon. Philip Tufton Perceval, brother to the earl of Egmont.

13. Lady Sarah Annesley, daughter of the earl of Mountmorris.

16. Lady Grantley.

17. Thomas Whitmore, esq. M. P.

24. Hon. Thomas Talbot, brother to the earl of Shrewsbury.

May 2. Sir Herbert Perrott Packington, bart.

16. John Aldridge, esq. M. P. for Shoreham.

17. Thomas Sainsbury, esq. alderman of Billingsgate-ward.

Henry Beaufoy, esq. M. P. for Great Yarmouth.

18. Thomas duke of Newcastle, a major-general in the army.

Lately, hon. John Plunkett, son of the earl of Fingal.

William Drake, jun. esq. M. P. for Agmondesham.

26. Sir Edward Lloyd, bart.

Lately, sir Nicholas Conway Colthurst, bart.

June, 8. Hon. captain Charles Nairne.

2. Lady Stepney, mother of sir John Stepney, bart.

18. Countess dowager of Radnor.

22. Sir Robert Murray Keith, K. B. col. of the 20th regiment of foot, and formerly ambassador extraordinary to the court of Vienna.

30. General sir John Vaughan, K. B.

July 3. Lady Sarah Bruce, daughter of Thomas earl of Kincardine.

Lord Henry John Spencer, second son of the duke of Marlborough, and envoy extraordinary at Berlin.

5. Miss Mary Yorke, daughter of the hon. and right rev. the bishop of Ely.

6. Sir Philip Musgrave, bart.

Sir William Middleton, bart. M. P.

9. Right hon. field-marshal Henry Seymour Conway.

Sir Francis Wood, bart.

22. Lord Clonbrock, of the kingdom of Ireland.

24. Sir William St. Quintin, bart. Jonathan Faulkner, esq. admiral of the blue.

28. Lady Susan Gordon, daughter of the earl of Aberdeen.

July. 28. John Richard West, earl Delawar.

29. John Heathcote, esq. M. P.

Aug. 1. Henry Hipposley Coxé, esq. M. P.

2. Vicountess Tracey.

4. Sir Robert Sinclair, bart. of Murkle, lieutenant-governor of Fort George.

17. Lady Mary Stanley.

Lady Susan Drummond.

27. Lady Lyttelton, second wife of George lord Lyttelton.

Sept. 9. Viscount Kenmare.

12. Alexander lord Macdonald.

30. Hon. Miss Charlotte Clive, sister of lord Clive.

Oct. 5. Hon. Mrs. Home, relict of the hon. Geo. Home.

17. Sir John Gordon, bart. of Earlston.

Nov. 1. Sir Michael Bruce, bart.

3. Sir John Hotham, bart. bishop of Clogher.

9. Hon. Mrs. John Thomas Townshend.

24. Samuel Estwick, M. P. for Westbury.

28. Hon. Mrs. Robinson, lady of colonel Robinson, and sister to lord Clive.

Dec. 7. The princess Louisa, daughter of the hereditary prince of Denmark.

8. Rev. sir James Stonehouse, bart. M. D. rector of Great and Little Cheverell, Wilts.

21. Thomas Wildman, esq. M. P.

23. In the 103d year of her age, Mrs. Beresford, great aunt to the marquis of Waterford.

24. General

24. General sir Henry Clinton, K. B.

25. Hon. Mrs. Murray, wife of rear-admiral Geo. Murray, M. P.

29. Countess dowager of Findlater and Seaford.

30. John Butler, earl of Ormond. Matthew Baron, esq. admiral of the white.

PROMOTIONS *for the Year 1795.*

January 4. John earl of Bute, lord-lieutenant of Glamorganshire.

14. George earl of Warwick, lord-lieutenant of the county of Warwick.

17. George James earl Cholmondeley, chamberlain to the prince of Wales, and intendant of the houses.

John earl of Darnley, groom of the stole to his royal highness.

Charles Nassau Thomas, esq. vice-chamberlain.

John Byde, esq. master of his royal highness's household.

Earl of Jersey master of the horse.

21. Robert Shore Milnes, esq. governor of Martinico.

29. Dr. William Newcombe, bishop of Waterford, archbishop of Armagh.

Rev. Thomas Lewis O'Berne, bishop of Ossory.

Hon. Charles Lawrence Dundas, private secretary to the lord-lieutenant.

Rev. Dr. Richard Murray, provost of Trinity-college, Dublin.

John earl of Portarlington and George lord Milton, privy-counsellors of Ireland.

Feb. 10. General the duke of York, field-marshal of the forces.

March. 4. George John earl Spencer, Charles George lord Arden, Charles Small Pybus, sir Charles Middleton, bart. lord Hugh Sey-

mour, Philip Stephens, and James Gambier, esqrs. lords of the admiralty.

Philip Stephens, esq. a bart. with remainder to his nephew Stephens Howe, esq.

6. Lord Hugh Seymour and lord Villiers, gentlemen of the bed-chamber to the prince of Wales.

William Churchill, esq. first groom of the bed-chamber, master of the robes, and privy-purse to his royal highness.

7. Lieutenant-colonel Hervey Aston, one of the grooms of the bed-chamber.

11. Right hon. Thomas Pelham, a privy-counsellor.

John Jefferies earl Camden, lord-lieutenant of Ireland.

Henry Willoughby Rooke, esq. page of honour to his majesty.

27. Susannah baroness Hood, of the kingdom of Ireland, baroness Hood of Great Britain.

Dr. John Law, bishop of Killala and Achonry, bishop of Elphin.

April 11. Thomas Tyrwhitt, esq. private secretary to the prince of Wales.

Sir George Chetwynd, of Brocton-hall, in the county of Stafford, and sir John Dryden, of Canons Ashby, in the county of Northampton, knts. Robert Salusbury, of Llanwern, in the county of Monmouth, esq. Richard Gamon, of Minchenden-house, in the county of Middlesex, esq. (with remainder to Richard Grace, of Rahin, in the Queen's County and kingdom of Ireland, esq. and his issue male) Lionel Darell, of Richmond-hill, in the county of Surry, Richard Neave, of Dagnam-park, in the county of Essex, Henry Hawley, of Leybourne Grange, in the county of Kent, John Pollen, of Redenham, in the county of South-

ampton, esqrs. and John Wentworth, esq. lieutenant-governor of Nova Scotia, baronets.

16. Sir Richard Hughes, bart. John Elliot and William Hotham, esqrs. vice-admirals of the red, admirals of the blue.

22. Thomas Pickering, esq. mayor of Arundel, knighted.

23. Earl of Bute, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the court of Madrid.

25. John Eamer and Rob. Burnet, esqrs. sheriffs of London, knighted.

29. Earl of Mount-Edgcumbe, lord-lieutenant of Cornwall.

May 8. Robert Mackreth, esq. M. P. knighted.

William Lushington, esq. M. P. for London, alderman, of Billingsgate-ward.

June 1. Hon. Edward Stopford, William Lloyd, Mark Milbanke, and Nicholas Vincent, esqrs. Thomas lord Greaves, Robert Digby, esq. and Alexander lord Bridport, K. B. admirals of the blue, admirals of the white.

Joseph Peyton and John Carter Allen, esqrs. sir Charles Middleton and sir John Laforey, barts. John Dalrymple, Herbert Sawyer, sir Richard King, Jonathan Faulknor and Philip Affleck, esqrs. vice-admirals of the red, admirals of the blue.

Sir John Jervis, K. B. and Adam Duncan, esq. vice admirals of the white, vice-admirals of the blue.

Richard Braithwaite, Philip Cosby, Samuel Cornish, John Brisbane, Charles Wolsely, and Samuel Cranston Goodall, esqrs. William Henry duke of Clarence, Richard Onslow and Robert Kingsmill, esqrs. vice-admirals of the white, vice-admirals of the red.

Sir George Bowyer, bart. sir Hyde Parker, knt. Benjamin Caldwell, esq.

hon. William Cornwallis, vice-admirals of the blue, vice-admirals of the red.

William Allen, John M'Bride, George Vandeput, Charles Buckner, John Gell, and William Dickson, esqrs. and sir Alan Gardner, bart. vice-admirals of the blue, vice-admirals of the white.

John Lewis Gidoin, George Gayton, George Murray, and Robert Linzee, esqrs. sir James Wallace, knt. William Peere Williams, esq. sir Thomas Paisley, bart. rear admirals of the red, vice-admirals of the white.

John Symonds, esq. and sir Thomas Rich, bart. rear-admirals of the red, vice-admirals of the blue.

Charles Thompson, James Cumming, John Ford, John Colpoys, Skel. Lutwidge, Archibald Dickson, George Montagu, and Thomas Dumaresq, esqrs. and the hon. sir George Keith Elphinstone, K. B. rear-admirals of the white, vice-admirals of the blue.

James Pigott, esq. and hon. William Waldegrave, rear-admirals of the blue, vice-admirals of the blue.

Thomas Mackenzie, and Thomas Pringle, esqrs. sir Roger Curtis, knt. Henry Hervey, Robert Man, William Parker, Charles Holmes, Everitt Calmady, and John Bourmaster, esqrs. sir George Young, knt. John Henry, and Richard Rodney Bligh, esqrs. rear-admirals of the blue, rear-admirals of the red.

Captains, Alexander Graeme, George Keppel, Samuel Reeve, Robert Biggs, Francis Parry, Isaac Prescott, John Bazeley, Christopher Mason, Thomas Spry, sir John Orde, bart. William Young, and James Gambier, esqrs. rear-admirals of the white.

Captains, Andrew Mitchell, Charles Chamberlayne, Peter Rainier, Hugh

Hugh Clo. Christian, William Truscott, lord Hugh Seymour, John Stanhope, Christopher Parker, Philip Patton, Charles Morice Pole, John Brown, and John Leigh Douglas, rear-admirals of the blue.

6. Horatio Nelson, esq, hon. Thomas Pakenham, and hon. George Berkeley, colonels of marines.

Rev. John Porter, D. D. bishop of Killala and Achonry.

10. George lord Vernon, Richard Aubrey, and John Price, esqrs. deputy lieutenants, to execute the office of lord-lieutenant of Glamorganshire, during the absence of John earl of Bute.

James Watson, esq. serjeant at law, knr.

18. John viscount Fitzgibbon, lord chancellor of Ireland, earl of Clare.

Charles Agar, archbishop of Cashel, baron of Somerton, in the county of Kilkenny.

Lord chief baron Yelverton, lord Yelverton, baron of Avenmore, in the county of Cork,

20. James Crawford, John Brickwood, Allen Chatfield, John Bowles, and Alexander Baxter, esqrs, commissioners for the care and disposal of such ships and vessels, with their cargoes, as are or hereafter may be detained in, or brought into, any of the ports of this kingdom, pursuant to an act of the present year of his majesty's reign, entitled, "An act to make further provision respecting ships and effects come into this kingdom, to take the benefit of his majesty's orders in council of the 16th and 21st of January, 1795, and to provide for the disposal of other ships and effects detained in, or brought into the ports of this kingdom."

Duke of Portland, lord-lieutenant of Nottinghamshire, and steward, keeper, and guardian of the forest of Sherwood, and park of Polewood.

22. Edmund Henry lord Glentworth, keeper of the privy seal in Ireland.

Hugh O'Reilly, esq. of Ballinlough, bart. of Ireland.

23. John Murray, of Lanrick, in the county of Perth, colonel and military auditor-general of Bengal; William Peirce Ashe a Court, esq. of Heytsbury, Wilts; Richard Bempde Johnstone, esq. of Hackness-hall, Yorkshire (remainder to his brother Charles Johnstone, esq. of Haverford-West); James Hamlyn, esq. of Clovelly-court, Devon, and of Edwinstord, in the county of Carmarthen; and John Methuen Poore, esq. of Rudshall, Wilts (remainder to his brother Edward Poore, of Wedhampton, same county, esq.) baronets of Great Britain,

30. Right honourable Henry Dundas, lord Grenville, duke of Portland, right hon. William Pitt, duke of Montrose, earl of Mornington, lord Belgrave, earl Bathurst, hon. E. J. Elliot, hon. R. B. Jenkinson, and right hon. Sylvester Douglas, commissioners for managing the affairs of India.

July 4. Sir J. Banks, bart. K. B.

11. Daniel Hailes, esq. envoy extraordinary at the court of Stockholm,

Lord Robert Stephen Fitzgerald, envoy extraordinary at the court of Copenhagen.

William Wickham, esq. minister plenipotentiary to the Swiss cantons,

15. Major Thomas Saumarez, knighted.

Major-general Ralph Abercrombie, K. B.

29. Right hon. sir George Howard, K. B. a privy counsellor, and governor of Jersey.

30. Thomas Jackson, esq. secretary of legation to the court of Turin.

Aug. 15. Earl of Elgin, minister plenipotentiary.

plenipotentiary and envoy extraordinary to the court of Berlin.

26. William Parsons, Mus. D. composer of his majesty's band of music at St. James's, knighted.

Sept. 21. Roper George, Ambrose Serle, John Schank, and William Albany Otway, esqrs. captains in the navy, and John March, esq. commissioners of the transport service and of prisoners of war.

Oct. 6. Robert viscount Leitrim, earl of Leitrim.

Charles Lord Lucan, earl of Lucan.

Luke lord Mountjoy, viscount Mountjoy.

Robert lord Londonderry, viscount Castlereagh.

Lawrence Harnan lord Oxmantown, viscount Oxmantown.

John lord O'Neil, viscount O'Neil.

Francis lord Bandon, viscount Bandon.

Mrs. Anne Wolfe, wife of the right hon. Arthur Wolfe, baroness of Kilwarden.

Right hon. Richard Longfield, baron Longueville.

Sir Ralph Payne, K. B. baron Lavington.

Thomas Boothby Parkyns, esq. baron Raneliffe. The above eleven of the kingdom of Ireland.

19. Alexander baron Loughborough, lord chancellor of Great Britain, baron Loughborough, of Loughborough, in the county of Surry, with remainder to sir James St. Clair Erskine, bart. and to his brother John Erskine, esq.

24. James Bland Burges, esq. under secretary of state for foreign affairs, a baronet.

Horace Hayes, esq. a commissioner of taxes.

Nov. 7. Major-general his high-

ness prince William of Gloucester, colonel of the 6th regiment of foot.

Dec. 1. George John earl Spencer, Charles George lord Arden, Charles Small Pybus, esq. lord Hugh Seymour, sir Philip Stephens, bart. James Gambier, and William Young, esqrs. lords of the admiralty.

2. Isaac Pennington, esq. regius professor of physic of the university of Cambridge, John Bulkeley and Cuthbert Shafto, esqrs. and Thomas Bonsall, esq. high sheriff of Cambridgeshire, knights.

17. George Aust, esq. commissary-general of the musters, chief muster master of all the forces in Great Britain, and secretary and register of Chelsea-hospital.

SHERIFFS appointed by his Majesty in Council, for the Year, 1795.

Bedfordshire, John Harvey, of Ickwell.

Berks, William Thoyts, of Surhamsted.

Bucks, Lovell Badcock, of Little Missenden.

Cambridge and Huntingdonshire, Thomas Quintin, of Hatley St. George.

Cheshire, James Hugh Smith Barry, of Marbury, esq.

Cumberland, sir James Graham, of Netherby, bart.

Derbyshire, William Drury Lowe, of Lockow.

Devonshire, William Clarke, of Buckland Tout Saints*.

Dorsetshire, Edward Greathead, of Uddings.

Essex, John Hansan, of Great Bromley-hall.

* On his decease, soon after, Philip Morshead, of Worday, was appointed.

Gloucestershire, Samuel Edwards, of Botham-lodge.

Herefordshire, John Moore Green, of Cagebroke.

Herefordshire, James Harding, of Tring.

Kent, Gabriel Harpur, of Gore-court.

Leicestershire, Edward Muzloe, of Pickwell.*

Lincolnshire, Ayscough Bouche-rett, of Stalingborough.

Monmouthshire, Richard Morgan, of Argoed.

Norfolk, George Nelthorpe, of Lynford.

Northamptonshire, Valentine Knightly, of Fawsley.

Northumberland, Cuthbert Shaf-toe, of Basington.

Nottinghamshire, Jonas Betti-son, of Holme-Pierrepont.

Oxfordshire, Strickland Free-man, of Henley upon Thames, esq.

Rutlandshire, sir Gilbert Heath-cote, of Normanton, bart.

Shropshire, Henry Bevan, of Shrewsbury.

Somersetshire, Edward Lyne, of Saltford.

Southampton, Wither Bramston, of Oakley-hall.

Staffordshire, Thomas Swinner-ton, of Butterson.

Suffolk, Jacob Whitbread, of Loudham.

Surry, Thomas Turton, of Star-borough-castle.

Sussex, Francis Newberry, of Heathfield park.

Warwickshire, William Little, of Kenilworth.

Wiltshire, James Montague, of Alderton.

Worcestershire, William Wal-dron, of Stourbridge.

Yorkshire, Mark Sykes, of Sled-mire, esqrs.

SOUTH WALES.

Brecon, Henry Skreen, of Danby park.

Cardigan, Thomas Bonsal, of Trodfrraith.

Carmarthen, John Rees, of Kily-maenllwyd.

Glamorgan, Wyndham Lewis, of Lanishen.

Pembroke, John Herbert Foley, of Ridgeway.

Radnor, Francis Fowke, Bough-rod, esqrs.

NORTH WALES.

Anglesey, John Bulkeley, of Pre-faddfed.

Carnarvon, William Jones, of Bodfaur.

Denbighshire, John Wynne, of Gwernvawr.

Flint, Bromfield Foulkes, of Gwern y gron.

Merioneth, Robert Lloyd, of Cefngoad.

Montgomery, Lawton Parry, of Welch Pool, esqrs.

SHERIFF *appointed by his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales in Council, for the Year 1795.*

County of Cornwall, Ralph Al-len Daniel, of Truro, esq.

* On his decease, some time after, Anthony Kech, of Stoughton-hall, was appointed.

APPENDIX to the CHRONICLE.

London Gazette, April 6, 1795.

A dispatch, of which the following is a copy, was this evening received from Vice-admiral Hotham, commander of his Majesty's ships and vessels in the Mediterranean.

Britannia at Sea, March 16, 1795.

Sir,

YOU will be pleased to inform their lordships, that on the 8th instant, being then in Leghorn road, I received an express from Genoa, that the French fleet, consisting of 15 sail of the line and 3 frigates, were seen two days before off the isle of Marguerite, which intelligence corresponding with a signal made from the Mozelle, then in the offing, for a fleet in the north-west quarter, I immediately caused the squadron to be unmoored, and at day-break the following morning we put to sea with a strong breeze from the east north-east.

The Mozelle previously returned to me with the information, that the fleet she had seen were steering to the southward, and supposed to be the enemy; in consequence of which I shaped my course for Corsica, lest their destination should be against that island, and dispatched the Tarle-

ton brig to St. Fiorenzo, with orders for the Berwick to join me with all possible expedition off Cape Corse; but in the course of the night she returned to me with the unwelcome intelligence of that ship's having been captured two days before by the enemy's fleet.

To trespass as little as possible upon their lordships' time, I shall not enter into a detail of our proceedings until the two squadrons got sight of each other, and the prospect opened of forcing the enemy to action, every movement which was made being directed to that object, and that alone.

Although the French ships were seen by our advanced frigates daily, yet the two squadrons did not get sight of each other until the 12th, when that of the enemy was discovered to windward.

Observing them on the morning following still in that direction, without any apparent intention of coming down, the signal was made for a general chase, in the course of which, the weather being squally, and blowing very fresh, we discovered one of their line of battle ships to be without her top-masts, which afforded to captain Freemantle of the Inconstant frigate (who was then far advanced on the chase) an opportunity of shewing a good proof of
British

British enterprise, by his attacking, raking, and harassing her until the coming up of the *Agamemnon*, when he was most ably seconded by captain Nelson, who did her so much damage as to disable her from putting herself again to rights; but they were at this time so far detached from our own fleet, that they were obliged to quit her, as other ships of the enemy were coming up to her assistance, by one of which she was soon afterwards taken in tow.

Finding that our heavy ships did not gain on the enemy during the chase, I made the signal for the squadron to form on the larboard line of bearing, in which order we continued for the night.

At day-light the next morning (the 14th) being about six or seven leagues to the south-west of Genoa, we observed the enemy's disabled ship, with the one that had her in tow, to be so far to leeward, and separated from their own squadron, as to afford a probable chance of our cutting them off. The opportunity was not lost, all sail was made to effect that purpose, which reduced the enemy to the alternative of abandoning those ships, or coming to battle.

Although the latter did not appear to be their choice, they yet came down (on the contrary tack to which we were) with a view of supporting them; but the Captain and Bedford, whose signals were made to attack the enemy's disabled ship and her companion, were so far advanced, and so closely supported by the other ships of our van, as to cut them off effectually from any assistance that could be given them; the conflict ended in the enemy's abandoning them,

and firing upon our line as they passed with a light air of wind.

The two ships that fell proved to be the *Ca-Ira* (formerly the *Couronne*) of 80 guns, and the *Censeur* of 74.

Our van ships suffered so much by this attack, particularly the *Illustrious* and *Courageux* (having each lost their main and mizen masts) that it became impossible for any thing further to be effected.

I have, however, good reason to hope, from the enemy's steering to the westward, after having passed our fleet, that, whatever might have been their design, their intentions are for the present frustrated.

The French fleet were loaded with troops; the *Ca-Ira* having thirteen hundred men on board, and the *Censeur* one thousand, of whom, by their obstinate defence, they lost in killed and wounded between three and four hundred men.

The efforts of our squadron to second my wishes for an immediate and effectual attack upon the enemy were so spirited and unanimous, that I feel peculiar satisfaction in offering to their lordships my cordial commendation of all ranks collectively. It is difficult to specify particular desert, where emulation was common to all, and zeal for his majesty's service the general description of the fleet.

It is, however, an act of justice to express the sense I entertain of the services of captain Holloway, of the *Britannia*. During a long friendship with that officer, I have had repeated proofs of his personal and professional talents; and on this recent demand for experience and information, his zeal afforded

me

me the most beneficial and satisfactory assistance.

Herewith I transmit a list of the killed and wounded on board the different ships of the squadron, and have to lament the loss of captain Littlejohn of the Berwick, who (I understand from some of her men that were re-taken in the *Ca-Ira*) was unfortunately killed the morning of the ships being captured; by which misfortune his majesty has lost a most valuable and experienced officer; and I have only to add, that he has left a widow and four small children.

I am sir,
Your most obedient
humble servant,

WM. HOTHAM.

P. S. Inclosed are lists of the ships that composed the two squadrons on the 14th instant.

I am now on the way with the prizes to St. Fiorenzo, but doubt much whether it will be possible to get them in, as they are dismantled, greatly shattered, and very leaky, particularly the *Ca-Ira*.

Return of the officers and men killed and wounded on board the different ships of the squadron under vice-admiral Hotham's command, in an action with the French fleet off Genoa, the 14th of March, 1795.

Britannia, captain Holloway—seaman killed, 18 ditto wounded.

Princess Royal, captain Purvis—3 seamen killed, 7 ditto wounded; 1 marine or soldier wounded.

St. George, captain Foley—Third lieutenant R. Honyman wounded, 4 seamen killed, 12 ditto wounded.

Windsor Castle, captain Gore—First lieutenant Thomas Hawker wounded, 3 seamen killed, 28 ditto wounded; 1 marine or soldier killed, 2 ditto wounded.

Captain, captain Reeve—Mr. William Hunter (master) and first lieutenant Wilson Rathbone, wounded; 3 seamen killed, 17 ditto wounded.

Fortitude, captain Young—1 seaman killed, 4 ditto wounded.

Illustrious, captain Frederick—Mr. Samuel Moore (midshipman) wounded, 15 seamen killed, 68 ditto wounded; 5 marines or soldiers killed, 1 ditto wounded.

Egmont, captain Sutton—7 seamen killed, 21 ditto wounded.

Terrible, captain Campbell—6 seamen wounded.

Courageux, captain Montgomery.—Mr. William Coleman (midshipman) killed, Mr. John Blackburn (master) wounded; 8 seamen killed, 21 ditto wounded; 6 marines or soldiers killed, 11 ditto wounded.

Bedford, captain Gould—First lieutenant Miles wounded; 6 seamen killed, 14 ditto wounded; 1 marine or soldier killed, 3 ditto wounded.

Agamemnon, captain Nelson.—Mr. John Wilson (master) and 12 seamen wounded.

Diadem, captain Tyler—3 seamen killed, 7 ditto wounded.

Inconstant, captain Freemantle—3 seamen killed, 4 ditto wounded.

Tancredi, Le Chevalier Caraccioli—1 seaman killed, 5 ditto wounded.

Total—75 killed, 280 wounded.
W. HOTHAM.

Order of Battle, the 14th of March, 1795.

Lowestoffe repeating frigate.

Tarleton, Palade, Poulette, and Minerva frigates.

Van squadron,

Under the commander in the second post.

No.	Ships.	Commanders.	Guns.	Men.	
1.	Captain,	Captain Reeve,	74	590	Starboard or Weather Division. Vice-ad. Goodall.
2.	Bedford,	Captain Gould,	74	590	
3.	Tancredi,	{ Captain Le Chevalier Ca- racioli,	74	600	
4.	Princess Royal,	Captain Purvis,	90	760	
5.	Agamemnon,	Captain Nelson,	64	491	

Inconstant, Meleager frigates, to repeat signals.

Centre squadron,

Under the commander in chief.

6.	Illustrious,	Captain Frederick,	74	590	Vice-ad. Hotham, Rear-ad. Linzee.
7.	Courageux,	Captain Montgomery,	74	640	
8.	Britannia,	Captain Holloway,	100	839	
9.	Egmont,	Captain Sutton,	74	590	
10.	Windsor Castle,	Captain Gore,	90	755	

Romulus repeating frigate—Fox cutter.

Rear squadron,

Under the commander in the third post.

11.	Diadem,	Captain Tyler,	64	491	Larboard or Lee Division, Vice-ad. sir Hyde Parker.
12.	St. George,	Captain Foley,	90	760	
13.	Terrible,	Captain Campbell,	74	590	
14.	Fortitude,	Captain Young,	74	590	

Names of the ships which composed the French fleet on the 14th March, 1795.

Names.	Guns.	Complement of men.	On board at the time of action.
Le Sans Culotte — — — —	120	1200	2000
Le Victoire (late Languedoc) — — — —	80	950	1300
Le Tonnant — — — —	80	950	1300
Le Guerrier — — — —	74	730	1000
Le Conquerant — — — —	74	730	1000
Le Mercure, — — — —	74	730	1000
Le Barras — — — —	74	730	1000

Le

Names.					Guns.	Complement of men.	On board at the time of action.
Le Genereaux	—	—	—	—	74	730	1000
Le Heureux	—	—	—	—	74	730	1000
Le Duquesne	—	—	—	—	74	730	1000
Le Timoleon (late Commerce de Bordeaux)	—	—	—	—	74	730	1000
Le Ca-ira (taken)	—	—	—	—	80	950	1300
Le Censeur (taken)	—	—	—	—	74	930	1000
L'Alcide	—	—	—	—	74	930	1000
Le Souverain	—	—	—	—	74	930	1000
La Vestal	—	—	—	—	32	250	250
La Minerve	—	—	—	—	40	300	300
La Thamise	—	—	—	—	40	300	300
L'Alceste	—	—	—	—	32	250	250
Scout	—	—	—	—	18	120	120
Le Hazard	—	—	—	—	20	120	120*

WM. HOTHAM.

London Gazette, June 27.

The following dispatch was this morning received from admiral lord Bridport, K. B.

Royal George at Sea, June 24, 1795.

Sir,

IT is with sincere satisfaction I acquaint you, for the information of the lords commissioners of the admiralty, that his majesty's squadron under my command attacked the enemy's fleet, consisting of twelve ships of the line, attended with eleven frigates, and some smaller cruizers, on the 23d instant, close in with port L'Orient. The ships which struck are, the Alexander, Le Formidable, and Le Tigre, which were with difficulty retained. If the enemy had not been protected and sheltered by the land,

I have every reason to believe that a much greater number, if not all the line of battle ships, would have been taken or destroyed.

In detailing the particulars of this service I am to state, that on the dawn of day, on the 22d instant, the Nymph and Astræa, being the look-out frigates a-head, made the signal for the enemy's fleet. I soon perceived that there was no intention to meet me in battle; consequently I made the signal for four of the best sailing ships, the Sans Pareil, Orion, Russell, and Colossus, and soon afterward for the whole fleet, to chase, which continued all that day, and during the night, with very little wind.

Early in the morning on the 23d instant, the headmost ships, the Ir-

* A most curious circumstance in this affair is, that out of the fifteen ships of the line of which the French fleet consisted, six were actually ships said by lord Hood to be burnt on the 18th December, 1793, viz. Le Tonnant, Le Conquerant, Le Mercure, Le Heureux, Le Timoleon (then Commerce de Bordeaux) and Le Ca-ira (then La Couronne), and a seventh, L'Alcide, he reported to be unfit for service. If our readers will take the trouble to refer to the Gazette extraordinary of the 17th January 1794, in the Appendix to the Chronicle of our Annual Register for 1794, they will find this to be the case.

resistible,

resistible, Orion, Queen Charlotte, Russell, Colossus, and Sans Pareil, were pretty well up with the enemy, and a little before six o'clock the action began, and continued till near nine. When the ships struck, the British squadron was near to some batteries, and in the face of a strong naval port, which will manifest to the public the zeal, intrepidity, and skill of the admirals, captains, and all other officers, seamen, and soldiers employed upon this service: and they are fully entitled to my warmest acknowledgments.

I beg also to be allowed to mark my approbation, in a particular manner, of captain Domert's conduct, serving under my flag, for his manly spirit, and for the assistance I received from his active and attentive mind. I feel likewise great satisfaction in doing justice to the meritorious conduct of all the officers of every class, as well as to the bravery of the seamen and soldiers in the Royal George, upon this event, and upon former occasions.

I judged it necessary upon the information I had received of the force of the enemy, to put the Robust, Thunderer, and Standard; into the line of battle; but from their distance from my squadron, and under the circumstance of little wind, they could not join me till after the action was over.

I shall proceed upon my station as soon as I have ordered a distribution of the prisoners, and made other necessary arrangements for the squadron. It is my intention to keep at sea, in order to fulfil every part of my instructions.

I have judged it necessary to send captain Domert with my dispatches, who will give their lordships such

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further particulars as shall have occurred to him on the victory we have gained.

You will herewith receive a list of the killed and wounded, with the ships they belonged to, and the commanders' names.

I am, &c.

BRIDPORT.

Evan Nepean, esq.

N. B. I am happy to find by the report made to me, that captain Grindall's wounds are not dangerous.

Note. Captain Domert reports, that the remainder of the enemy's fleet made their escape into L'Orient.

List of the killed and wounded on board his majesty's squadron under my command, in an action with the enemy off port L'Orient, June 23, 1795.

Irresistible, captain Grindall—3 seamen killed, 9 seamen and 3 soldiers wounded; captain Grindall and Mr. Troughton, the master, wounded.

Orion, sir James Saumarez—5 seamen, and 1 soldier killed, 17 seamen and one soldier wounded.

Queen Charlotte, sir A. S. Douglas, 4 seamen killed, 25 seamen and 5 soldiers wounded; Mr. David Coutts, master's mate, and Mr. Charles Hornsby, midshipman, wounded.

Russell, captain Thomas Larcom—2 seamen and 1 soldier wounded, 9 seamen wounded; captain Bacon of 11th regiment wounded.

Colossus, captain J. Monkton—4 seamen and 1 soldier killed, 26 seamen and 2 soldiers wounded; lieutenant Mends and Mr. John Whiley, midshipman, wounded.

F

Sans

Sans Pareil, right hon. lord Hugh Seymour, captain Browell—7 seamen and 1 soldier killed—lieutenant C. M. Stocker, 2d lieutenant; lieutenant W. Jephcott, lieutenant of marines, killed; lieutenant F. Nott, and Mr. Richard Spencer, midshipman, wounded.

London, captain E. Griffith—2 seamen wounded; Mr. J. E. Baker, midshipman, wounded.

Queen, vice-admiral sir A. Gardner, captain Bedford—none killed or wounded.

Prince George, captain Edge—none killed or wounded.

Royal George, admiral lord Bridport, captain Domett—5 seamen and 1 soldier wounded.

BRIDPORT.

Royal George at Sea, June 24.

London Gazette Extraordinary.

Horse Guards, Nov 23, 1795.

Dispatches, of which the following are copies and an extract, have been this day received by the right hon. Henry Dundas, one of his majesty's principal secretaries of state, from vice-admiral sir Geo. Keith Elphinstone, K. B. and major-generals Alured Clarke, and J. H. Craig.

Castle of the Cape of Good Hope, Sept. 21, 1795.

Sir,

THE Dutch governor having not only rejected, in the most peremptory terms, the proposals which had been made to him, that the settlement should place itself under the protection of Great Britain, but having also acted in a manner demonstrative of such hostile dispositions towards us, as to

justify the suspicion which was conveyed to us of its being his intention to set fire to Simon's Town, from which all the inhabitants had been obliged to retire by his order, the admiral and myself concurred in thinking it expedient to prevent the execution of his purpose, by landing ourselves, and taking possession of the place, which I accordingly did on the 14th of July, with the part of the 78th regiment under my command, and the marines of the squadron, the latter amounting to about 350 men, and the former to 450. Very few days elapsed before our patrols were fired upon by the Burghar militia and Hottentots, who occupied the hills round us, while our people were restrained by the directions which they had received not to commit any act of hostility towards the Dutch troops. Hostilities being, however, thus commenced, and as the time approached when we might reasonably expect the arrival of the troops and stores which had been requested of the governor of St. Helena, it appeared to me to be an object of consequence to dispossess the Dutch forces of the post which they occupied at the important pass of Muizenburg, as by it we might perhaps open a more ready communication with the country, at the same time that we should by doing so convince the inhabitants of the reality of our intentions, of which we knew they entertained doubts. I accordingly proposed it to sir George Elphinstone, who immediately agreed to it with that readiness which has so strongly attended all the instances of assistance which I have received from him. Sir George having landed a detachment of seamen,

men, which was formed into two battalions, we were only delayed by the want of a proper wind, which would not permit the movement to take place till the morning of the 1st of August, when sir George having made the signal that it would serve, the America and Stately, with the Echo and Rattlesnake, got under weigh about 12 o'clock, and I marched at the same time with the 78th and marines, together with the seamen, being in all about 1600 men.

The post of Muizenburg being extremely strong to the front, and covered by a numerous field artillery, against which I had not one gun to oppose, our principal reliance was upon the fire from the ships, which, being properly disposed of at the different stations assigned them by commodore Blankett, produced every effect which could be expected from it. The enemy were driven from two twenty-four pounders, which were directed towards the sea, and abandoned the post before it was possible for us to arrive near enough to profit by the circumstance so completely as we were in hopes of doing, as they carried off all their artillery, except the two heavy guns above-mentioned, and one brass six-pounder, with two eight-inch howitzers.

The enemy having, however, taken post on an advantageous ridge of rocky heights, very strong, and difficult of access, a little beyond the camp, the advanced guard, under the command of major Money-penny, of the 78th, supported by the battalion of that regiment, attacked and drove them from thence, with the greatest spirit, although, in addition to the strength of the

ground, the enemy were further protected by cannon from the opposite side of the Lagoon, which covers the post of Muizenburg towards the Cape Town. In this affair, which terminated only with the day, the activity and spirit of the light company of the 78th, under the command of Captain Campbell, were conspicuously displayed. Captain Scott, of the 78th, was the only officer wounded on the occasion.

The next morning the enemy, having drawn out their whole force from the Cape Town, eight field pieces advanced to attack us, but finding us too strongly posted, and being themselves fired upon from the pieces they had left behind the preceding day, which had been drilled and brought forward by the exertions of a company of pikemen under lieutenant Coffin, of the Rattlesnake, they thought it more prudent to desist from the attempt, and retired, after some skirmishing, attended with little loss on our side, and only remarkable for the steadiness displayed by the 1st battalion of seamen, commanded by captain Hardy, of the Echo, who having crossed the water with the marines, received the enemy's fire without returning a shot, and manœuvred with a regularity that would not have discredited veteran troops. The marines, under major Hill, displayed an equal degree of steady resolution on the occasion.

On the 9th the Arniston arrived from St. Helena, with such assistance as governor Brooke had been able to afford us. It consisted of 352 rank and file, with some field artillery, and a very limited proportion of ammunition. They were

directed to proceed immediately to camp, and the boats of the fleet were unremittingly employed in forwarding stores and provisions to us: a work in which, from the peculiar difficulty of our situation, and the insufficiency of our means, our progress was very slow, and frequently so much interrupted by unfavourable weather, that we could hardly get a-head of our consumption. While this necessary business was going on, our future operations became the object of my most earnest consideration. On the one hand, as the enemy appeared numerous, and disposed to an obstinate defence, for the which they had had ample time to make the best preparations, I could not but be sensible that the force under my command was, in point of numbers, inadequate to the attempt of reducing them; and I had little to rely on to counterbalance the disparity, but the spirit of the individuals belonging to it. I possessed no cattle or carriages for the transport of ammunition or provisions, and a communication of twelve miles was to be kept up to be furnished with either, at least till I could open a shorter one with the ships that the admiral might send to Table Bay, for which the season was still very unfavourable. On the other hand, though these difficulties were sufficiently discouraging, yet the arrival of general Clarke was uncertain, and the state of our provisions was such as to render the possibility of our stay, till it should happen, very doubtful. Under these circumstances, I determined on an attempt by night on the most considerable of the enemy's out-posts, in the hopes that a

severe execution among the burgher militia might intimidate them, and produce circumstances to our advantage. It took place on the 27th of last month; but unfortunately, notwithstanding every attention on the part of lieutenant-colonel M'Kenzie, who commanded, it failed, from the intricacy of the roads and the timidity and ignorance of the guides; while it served only to produce among the enemy a degree of vigilance, which soon convinced me of the impracticability of any further attempt by way of surprize.

On the morning of the 1st of September, the enemy, having lined the mountains above us with Hot-tentots and burgher militia, commenced a fire of musquetry upon our camp, which, from the total want of effect that had attended a former attempt of the same nature, was little attended to, till unfortunately the piquet of the reserve, being too much occupied with covering themselves from it, neglected their front, from whence the enemy poured in considerable numbers, and forced them with some loss. Captain Brown, with the 78th grenadiers, advancing however to their support, the enemy were immediately driven down the hill again, and the ground of the piquets re-occupied. In this affair major Moneypenny, of the 78th, was severely wounded; and we suffered a great loss in being deprived of the assistance of an officer of distinguished zeal and activity in the command of the reserve, with which he had been charged since our march from Simon's Town. Captain Dentaile, of the St. Helena troops, was also wounded.

In a conference with sir George Elphinstone, on the 2d of September, it was agreed to wait six days longer for the possibility of the arrival of general Clarke, and that if he did not appear by that time I should then advance, and, under every disadvantage of numbers and situation, try the fortune of an attack, which, however hazardous, we deemed it our duty to make, before the total failure of our provisions put us under an absolute necessity of seeking a supply elsewhere.

On the morning of the 3d, however, the enemy, encouraged by the little success which had attended our attempt on the 1st, meditated a general attack on our camp, which in all probability would have been decisive of the fate of the colony: they advanced in the night with all the strength they could muster, and with a train of not less than 18 field pieces. Some movements which had been observed the preceding evening had given me a suspicion of their intention, and we were perfectly prepared to receive them. They were on their march, and considerable bodies began to make their appearance within our view, when at that critical moment the signal for a fleet first disconcerted them, and the appearance of 14 sail of large vessels, which came in sight immediately after, induced them to relinquish their enterprise, and retire to their former posts. General Clarke came to an anchor in Simon's Bay the next morning: and for the subsequent events, which have been attended with the capture of this important colony, I do myself the honour to refer you to his account; trusting that his majesty and our

country will do me, and the troops and seamen under my command, the justice to believe, that it has not been owing to any want of zeal, or of a cheerful determination to encounter every hazard in the necessary discharge of our duty; that the same event did not take place during the period in which we were left to ourselves. Under the circumstances of our situation, I did not think the attempt justifiable, unless compelled to it by necessity; but we were at the same time fully resolved not to retire, in any event, without making that attempt, which, whether successful or not, would at least have been a proof of our zeal for his majesty's service.

It is impossible for me to close this report, sir, without making my acknowledgments to lieutenant colonel M'Kenzie, of the 78th, major Hill of the marines, and the captains Hardy and Spranger, of the *Echo* and *Rattlesnake* sloops, who commanded the two battalions of seamen. Animated by the exertions of those officers, the troops and seamen have undergone great fatigue and hardships with a cheerful resignation, and have encountered a more numerous enemy with an active spirit, which entitles them to the most favourable report from me to his majesty. Lieutenant Campbell, of the *Echo*, who commanded a company of seamen, which I formed into a light company, merits also that I should notice his indefatigable zeal, and the ability with which he conducted the service in which his company was constantly employed. To this, sir, I have only to add, that my sense of the obligation I am under to sir George Elphinstone is such, as I should not do justice to in an attempt

attempt to express it; his advice, his active assistance, and cordial co-operation on every occasion, have never been wanting, and entitle him to my warmest gratitude.

I have the honour to be,
with the greatest respect, sir,
your most obedient,
humble servant,

J. H. CRAIG, major-general.

I have the honour to enclose a return of the killed and wounded during the period of my command.

*Right hon. Henry Dundas, one of
his majesty's principal secretaries
of state, &c.*

[Then follows a return of the killed, wounded, and missing, of the troops and seamen under the command of major-general Craig, between the 7th of August and the 3d of September, 1795; amounting in the whole to 3 rank and file killed; 1 major, 2 captains, 1 subaltern, 1 drummer, 32 rank and file wounded; 5 rank and file missing.]

Names of the officers wounded.

Major Moneypenny, of the 78th regiment; captain Hercules Scott, of ditto; captain Dentaffe, of St. Helena corps; Mr. Hardy, midshipman, R. N.

J. H. CRAIG, major-gen.

Cape Town, Sept. 23, 1795.

Sir,

My letters from St. Salvador, by the Chatham brig, will have acquainted you of our leaving that place: and I have now the honour to inform you, that all the India company's ships having troops on board, arrived off the Cape of Good Hope on the 3d, and entered Simon's Bay on the 4th instant, where I found the admiral in possession of

the harbour, and major-general Craig at Muzzenburg, a post of importance about six miles on the road to this place, with a corps composed of seamen and marines from the fleet, six companies of the 78th regiment that came in it, and a detachment of the East-India company's troops from St. Helena, amounting in all to about 1900 men, and the enemy, who had peremptorily rejected all negotiation, in a state of active hostility against us. Under these circumstances it became necessary to endeavour to effect the execution of our orders without loss of time; I therefore, in conjunction with, and aided by the admiral, disembarked the regiments, artillery, and necessary stores, and forwarded them to the advanced post as fast as possible, where, through his ardent zeal for the public service, and indefatigable exertions, as much provision was collected as we hoped might enable us to set down before the town, and go on till we could communicate with our ships in Table Bay, or draw some assistance from the country behind us: and having made the best arrangement we could for transporting our provisions, guns, stores, ammunition, and necessary articles of every kind, by the only means in our power, men's labour, we marched on the 14th from Muzzenburg, leaving a sufficient detachment for the protection of our camp and stores at that place. The enemy could see all our motions, and the country through which we were to pass for several miles being very favourable to the sort of warfare that it was their business to pursue (many of them being on horseback, and armed with guns that kill at a great distance),

distance), I had reason to think we might be greatly harassed, and suffer much on our route. Our loss, however, from the precautions taken, and the shyness of the enemy, fortunately proved less than might have been expected, having only one seaman killed and seventeen soldiers wounded in our progress to the post of Wynberg, where the enemy were in force, with nine pieces of cannon, and had determined, as we are told, to make serious resistance. But having formed the army from columns of march in two lines, and made a detachment from my right and left to attack both their flanks, while I advanced with the main body and artillery (which, much to the credit of major Yorke, was extremely well conducted and served) against their centre, they found themselves so pressed by us, and at the same time alarmed by the appearance of commodore Blankett with three ships the admiral had detached into Table-bay, to cause a diversion on that side, of which they were very jealous, that they retired with the loss of a few men from our cannon, before we could gain the top of the hill; from whence we followed them close for two miles; but dark coming on, and great part of the troops being much fatigued by the burdens they carried, and the harassment they met with through very swampy ground in the course of the day, I determined to halt for the night in the position I found myself, which proved favourable for the purpose, with the intention of prosecuting my march at daylight next morning. In this situation an officer arrived with a flag and letter from governor Sluyssin,

asking a cessation of arms for 48 hours, to arrange and offer proposals for surrendering the town; but I did not think it prudent to grant more than 24, in which time every thing was settled agreeably to the articles of capitulation that I have the honour to enclose, whereby the regular troops that formed the garrison became prisoners of war, and his majesty put into the full possession of the town and colony, which I hope will prove acceptable to him, and justify the commendation and report that I think it my duty to make of the meritorious services of all the officers, soldiers, seamen, and marines that have been employed in this arduous service. The difficulties and hardships that great part of them have experienced are extreme, and the perseverance and cheerfulness with which they were encountered, do them the highest credit, and, I am persuaded, will recommend them all in the strongest manner to his majesty's favour.

The general character of sir George Keith Elphinstone, and his ardent desire to serve his country, are too well known to receive additional lustre from any thing I could say upon that subject; but I should do injustice to my own feelings, if I did not express the obligations I am under, for the ready co-operation and assistance that he afforded upon every occasion, which so eminently contributed to the successful issue of our joint endeavours.

The arrangements made by major-general Craig previous to my arrival, and the active services he rendered afterwards, claim my thanks, and furnish the best proof of his having conducted his majes-

ty's service in a manner honourable to himself and beneficial to his country.

Lieutenant-colonel M^cMurdoc, deputy quarter-master-general to the expedition under my orders, will have the honour of delivering this dispatch. He is well qualified to give you every information that his short residence here will admit; and I take the liberty, sir, of recommending this old and most valuable officer to your good offices and his majesty's favour.

I have the honour to be,
with the highest respect and regard,
sir,
your most obedient and most faithful
humble servant,

ALURED CLARKE.

P.S. The quantity of ordnance, ammunition, naval and other stores that we find here, is very considerable; but as there is not time to have it examined, and proper inventories made before the departure of the ship which conveys these dispatches, we must defer sending such documents as may be thought necessary upon this subject till another opportunity.

The regular troops made prisoners of war amount to about one thousand, six hundred of which are of the regiment of Gordon, and the rest principally of the corps of artillery. Enclosed is a return of the killed and wounded on the 14th instant.

A. C.

ARTICLES OF CAPITULATION, proposed by the honourable commissary and council of regency of the Cape of Good Hope, to general Alured Clarke, commanding his Britannic majesty's

troops, and to vice-admiral the honourable sir George Keith Elphinstone, K. B. commanding the ships of war of his said majesty.

Art. I. The castle and the town shall be surrendered to the troops of his Britannic majesty.

Ans. The capitulation being signed, the castle and the town must be surrendered to a detachment of his Britannic majesty's troops at eleven o'clock this day.

Art. II. The military shall march out with the honours of war, and shall then lay down their arms and become prisoners of war; but the officers shall retain their swords.

Ans. Agreed.

Art. III. Such officers as shall be desirous of leaving the colony shall have permission to do so, they giving their parole of honour that they will not serve against Great Britain during the present war; and there shall be no impediment to their going home in neutral ships, if they chuse it, at their own expence.

Ans. Agreed; and in the mean time they shall remain prisoners on their parole at the Cape Town.

Art. IV. Such officers as chuse to remain here without service, shall have leave so to do.

Ans. Agreed.

Art. V. All property belonging to the Dutch East India Company shall be faithfully delivered up without reservation, and proper inventories furnished to such officers as shall be appointed to receive it; but all private property of every sort, whether belonging to the company's civil, naval, or military servants, to the burghers and inhabitants, to churches, orphans, or public

public institutions, shall remain free and untouched.

Ans. Agreed, in its fullest latitude.

Art. VI. Servants of the company out of pay, or in the service of the burghers, desirous of remaining in the colony, shall be permitted to do so.

Ans. Agreed.

Art. VII. The inhabitants of the colony shall preserve the prerogatives which they at present enjoy. Public worship, as at present in use, shall also be maintained without alteration.

Ans. Agreed.

Art. VIII. His Britannic majesty shall continue the paper money in its present value, to prevent the total ruin of the inhabitants.

Ans. Agreed.

Art. IX. No new taxes shall be introduced, but the present ones shall be modified as much as possible, in consideration of the decay of the colony.

Ans. Agreed.

Art. X. The commissary, as governor, being prisoner of war, shall, after having delivered up what belongs to the company, be at liberty to depart from hence on his patrol of honour, and may, if he chuses it, take his passage on board a neutral ship.

Ans. Agreed.

Art. XI. He shall also be permitted to carry along with him, or to realize all his private property of every sort, giving his word of honour as to its being really such.

Ans. Agreed.

Art. XII. He shall likewise have permission, after having faithfully delivered up all papers, plans, &c. belonging to this government, to retain all papers belonging to him-

self, and which may appear necessary to him for the vindication of his conduct during the time of his ministry, in the same manner as he might have done; had he been discharged by his sovereign.

Art. XIII. No persons whatever, whether servants of the company, seamen, military, burghers, or others belonging to the colony, shall be pressed into his Britannic majesty's service, or engaged but by their own free-will and consent.

Ans. Agreed.

(Signed)

ALURED CLARKE, General.

GEO. KEITH ELPHINSTONE,
Vice-admiral.

Additional Article.—It having been represented to us, that the utmost confusion must ensue in the colony, and that it would, in all probability, be attended with the entire ruin of it, if the paper money now circulating in it were deprived of that security which can alone give any effect to the eighth article, we therefore consent, that the lands and houses, the property of the Dutch East India company in this settlement, shall continue the security of that part of the money which is not already secured by mortgages upon the estates of individuals, by its having been lent to them. This is to be, however, without prejudice to the government of Great Britain having the use of the buildings, &c. for public purposes. And we will further represent to his majesty's government the infinite importance of this subject to the future prosperity of the colony, and request that they will take it into consideration, in order to make such arrangements as may appear proper for

for its further security, if necessary, or for its final liquidation, if practicable.

(Signed)

ALURED CLARKE, General.

GEO. KEITH ELPHINSTONE.

Vice-admiral.

Copy of translation,

JOHN JACKSON.

Return of the killed and wounded of the troops and seamen under the command of general Alured Clarke, on the 14th of September, 1795.

78th grenadiers. 2 rank and file wounded.

84th ditto. 1 rank and file wounded.

95th ditto. 4 rank and file wounded.

98th ditto. 2 rank and file wounded.

78th light infantry. 2 rank and file wounded.

95th ditto. 2 rank and file wounded.

St. Helena Company. 1 serjeant, 2 rank and file wounded.

98th regiment. 1 rank and file wounded.

Light company of seamen. 1 rank and file killed.

Total. 1 rank and file killed, 1 serjeant, 16 rank and file wounded.

WALTER CLIFFE,

Dep. Adj. Gen.

Extract of a letter from vice-admiral the hon. sir G. K. Elphinstone, K. B. to Mr. Secretary Dundas, dated on board his majesty's ship Monarch, Table-Bay, Cape of Good Hope, September 23, 1795.

"I have the honour to inform you, that on the 3d instant, the India

ships from Salvador arrived in False Bay; his majesty's ship Sphynx, which sailed with them, having met with an accident, was obliged to return to the former place for repair.

"On the 4th general Clarke came into the harbour, and on a conference with him, it was determined to land the troops without a moment's loss of time; but, notwithstanding the utmost exertion of the troops and seamen, it was the 14th before provision, guns, ammunition, &c. could be collected to enable the general to move forward from the camp at Muyzenburg.

"On the morning of that day the army marched, each man carrying four days provisions, and the volunteer seamen from the India ships dragging the cannon through a deep sand: the country being difficult to proceed on, they were considerably galled by the enemy during a fatiguing march performed in hot weather.

"At Wynberg the bulk of the Dutch made a stand, but were soon dislodged by his majesty's forces; and nearly at the same moment commodore Blankett, whom I had previously detached for the express purpose of alarming the enemy, and giving them a diversion on the Cape Town side, appeared off Camps Bay with the America, Echo, Rattlesnake, and Bombay Castle India ship, and performed that service in the completest manner. At eleven P. M. the commissary Sluskin sent in a flag of truce to demand a cessation of arms for 48 hours; and on the following morning the colony was surrendered to his majesty.

"I cannot conclude this letter without

without acknowledging the consolation I have derived from the friendly assistance and advice of major-general Craig during a tedious sojournment before this place, under many distressing circumstances; and it is a real pleasure to add, that, with him, and also since the arrival of general Clarke, the same sentiments seem to have actuated the minds of the officers to whom his majesty has been pleased to entrust the conduct of the expedition.

“ I beg leave to notice the eminent services of captains Hardy and Spranger; the conduct of the officers, and of the sea and marine corps, is also truly praise-worthy, and will be acceptable to his majesty: the readiness with which the seamen of the India ships, under the command of captain Acland, of the Brunswick, offered their service, gave me the highest satisfaction; indeed all ranks of men bore this long service, during bad weather, with the utmost cheerfulness, though often unavoidably ill fed, and attended with great fatigue.

“ My anxiety to dispatch the Orpheus, and the short time since our obtaining possession, will, I hope, plead my excuse for not transmitting, by this opportunity, a return of the naval stores taken, which I understand are considerable; but the variety of other circumstances at present occupying my mind have hitherto prevented my attending to that point.”

Admiralty Office, Nov. 23, 1795.
A dispatch, of which the following is an extract, has been this day received from vice-admiral the hon. sir George Keith Elphinstone,

K. B. dated on board his majesty's ship Monarch, in Table Bay, Sept. 23, 1795.

“ I have the honour to acquaint you, for the information of my lords commissioners of the admiralty, that on the 16th instant, the colony and castle of the Cape of Good Hope surrendered by capitulation to the British arms, in consequence of which I proceeded in the Monarch to this bay, whither I had previously dispatched commodore Blankett, in the America, with the two sloops and an India ship, for the purpose of raising an alarm on the Cape Town side, in which he succeeded admirably.

“ This event has given me great satisfaction; not only from the fortunate termination, but also from the relief it affords to the officers, seamen, and marines of the fleet under my command, after a laborious service for a length of time, wherein they were continually fatigued, and often unavoidably ill fed. They merit my warmest thanks, to which the volunteer seamen from the East India company's ships are also entitled, for their readiness in undertaking to draw the cannon, and the cheerfulness with which they performed that duty; and I must more particularly beg leave to notice the eminent services of captains Hardy and Spranger, which, however, are more fully described in a letter from major-general Craig to me, a copy of which I have the honour to enclose, together with a list of promotions, wherein you will perceive I had given the command of the Princess to captain Hardy, whose acknowledged merit will, I trust, justify my election, and recommend him to

to their lordships' confirmation. This ship is one of those found in Simon's Bay, called the Dutch Wilhemstadt and Boetzlaar, of 1000 tons burthen, mounting 26 guns, and most completely sound, with copper in the hold sufficient to sheath her.

"The ship Castor, and Star armed brig, late belonging to the Dutch East India company, were found at anchor in this bay; the latter being fit for his majesty's service and much wanted, I have also presumed to commission her."

THE NEW FRENCH CONSTITUTION.

Adopted by the Convention, August 22, 1793.

Declaration of the Rights and Duties of Man, and of a Citizen.

THE French people proclaim, in the presence of the Supreme Being, the following declaration of the rights and duties of man, and of a citizen.

Rights.

1. The rights of man in society are—liberty, equality, security, property.

2. Liberty consists in the power of doing that which does not injure the rights of another.

3. Equality consists in this—that the law is the same for all, whether it protect or punish—Equality admits no distinction of birth, no hereditary power.

4. Security results from the concurrence of all to secure the rights of each.

5. Property is the right of enjoying and disposing of a man's

own goods, his revenues, the fruit of his labour, and his industry.

6. The law is the general will, expressed by the majority either of the citizens or of their representatives.

7. That which is not forbidden by the law cannot be hindered.—No man can be constrained to that which the law ordains not.

8. No one can be cited, accused, arrested, or detained, but in the cases determined by the law, and according to the forms it has prescribed.

9. Those who solicit, expedite, sign, execute, or cause to be executed, arbitrary acts, are culpable, and ought to be punished.

10. All rigour not necessary to secure the person of a man under charge, ought to be severely repressed by the law.

11. No man can be judged until he has been heard or legally summoned.

12. The law ought not to decree any punishment but such as is strictly necessary, and proportioned to the offence.

13. All treatment that aggravates the punishment determined by the law is a crime.

14. No law, criminal or civil, can have a retroactive effect.

15. Every man may engage his time and his services; but he cannot sell himself, or be sold; his person is not an alienable property.

16. All contribution is established for general utility; it ought to be assessed upon the contributors in proportion to their means.

17. The sovereignty resides essentially in the universality of citizens.

18. No individual, and no partial union of citizens, can arrogate the sovereignty.

19. No man can, without a legal dele-

delegation, exercise any authority, nor fill any public function.

20. Each citizen has an equal right to concur immediately or mediately in the formation of the law, the nomination of the representatives of the people and of the public functionaries.

21. Public functions cannot become the property of those who exercise them.

22. The social guarantee cannot exist if the division of powers is not established, if their limits are not fixed, and if the responsibility of the public functionaries is not assured.

Duties.

1. The declaration of rights contains the obligations of legislators: the maintenance of society demands that those who compose it should equally know, and fulfil their duties.

2. All the duties of man, and of a citizen, spring from these two principles, engraved by nature in every heart:—"Do not to another that which you would not another should do to you."—"Do constantly to others the good you would receive from them."

3. The obligations of each society consist in defending it, in serving it, in living obedient to the laws, and in respecting those who are the organs of the laws.

4. No man is a good citizen, if he is not a good son, a good father, a good brother, a good friend, a good husband.

5. No man is a good man, if he is not frankly and religiously an observer of the laws.

5. He who openly violates the laws, declares himself in a state of war with society.

7. He who, without openly in-

fringing the laws, eludes them by craft or by address, hurts the interests of all; he renders himself unworthy of their benevolence and of their esteem.

8. Upon the maintenance of property rest the cultivation of the earth, all produce, all means of labour, and all social order.

9. Every citizen owes his service to his country, and to the maintenance of liberty, of equality, and of property, as often as the law calls upon him to defend them.

Constitution.

1. The French republic is one and indivisible.

2. The universality of French citizens is the sovereign.

Title I.

3. France is divided into—departments. These departments are: l'Ain, l'Aisne, l'Allier, les Basses-Alpes, les Hautes-Alpes, les Alpes-Maritimes, l'Ardèche, les Ardennes, l'Arriège, l'Aube, l'Aude, l'Aveyron, les Bouches du Rhône, le Calvados, le Cantal, la Charente, la Charente Inférieure, le Cher, la Corrèze, la Côte-d'Or, les Côtes-du-Nord, la Creuse, la Dordogne, le Doubs, la Drôme, l'Eure, Eure-et-Loire, le Finistère, le Gard, la Haute-Garonne, le Gers, la Gironde, le Golo, l'Hérault, l'Ille-et-Villaine, l'Indre, l'Indre-et-Loire, l'Isère, le Jura, les Landes, le Liamone, Loire-et-Cher, la Loire, la Haute-Loire, la Loire-Inférieure, le Loiret, le Lot, Lot-et-Garonne, la Lozère, Maine-et-Loire, la Manche, la Marne, la Haute-Marne, la Mayenne, la Meurthe, la Meuse, le Mont-Blanc, le Mont Terrible, le Morbihan, la Moselle, la Nièvre, le Nord, l'Oise, l'Orne, Pas-de-Calais, le Puy-de-Dôme,

les Basses-Pyrénées, Les Hautes-Pyrénées, les Pyrénées-Orientales, le Bas-Rhin, le Haut-Rhin, le Rhone, la Haute-Saone, Saone-et-Loire, la Sarthe, la Seine, la Seine-Inferieure, Seine-et-Marne, Seine-et-Oise, les deux Sevres, la Somme, le Tarn, le Var, Vaucluse, la Vendée, la Vienne, la Haute-Vienne, les Vosges, l'Yonne.

4. The limits of departments may be changed or rectified by the legislative body; but in this case, the surface of a department cannot exceed one hundred square myriamètres (400 square leagues, of 2566 toises each).

5. Each department is distributed into cantons, each canton into communes. The cantons retain their present limits. Their limits may nevertheless be changed or rectified by the legislative body; but, in this case, there cannot be more than one myriamètre (two leagues of 2566 toises each) from the most distant commune to the chief place of the canton.

6. The French colonies are integral parts of the republic, and subject to the same constitutional law.

7. They are divided into departments as follow: The island of St. Domingo, the legislative body of which shall settle the division into four departments at least, or six at most. Guadaloupe, Marie-Galante, la Desirade, les Saintes, and the French part of St. Martin; Martinico; French Guiana and Cayenne; St. Lucia and Tobago, The isle of France, les Seychelles, Roderigue and the establishments of Madagascar. The isle of Reunion. The East Indies, Pondicherry, Chandernagore, Mahe, Karical, and other establishments.

Title II.—*Political state of Citizens.*

8. Every man born and resident in France, who being twenty-one years of age, has inscribed his name on the civic register of his canton, and who has lived afterwards one year on the territory of the republic, and who pays a direct contribution, real or personal, is a direct citizen.

9. Are citizens without any condition of contribution, Frenchmen who have made one or more campaigns for the establishment of the republic.

10. A foreigner becomes a French citizen when, after having attained the age of twenty-one years, and having declared his intention of settling in France, he had resided there for seven years following, provided he pays a direct contribution, and moreover possesses a real property, or an establishment in agriculture or commerce, or has married a French woman.

11. French citizens alone can vote in the primary assemblies, and be called to the functions established by the constitution.

12. The exercise of the rights of a citizen is lost:—1. by naturalization in a foreign country. 2. By affiliation with any foreign corporation, which supposes distinctions of birth, or requires religious vows. 3. By the acceptance of functions, or of pensions, offered by a foreign government. 4. By condemnation to corporal or infamous punishment until recapacitation.

13. The exercise of the rights of citizens is suspended:—1. By a judicial interdict on account of insanity, idiotism, or imbecility. 2. By a state of bankruptcy, or being an immediate heir, and detaining gratuitously, the whole or part of

of the succession of a bankrupt.

3. By being a domestic on wages, attending on the person, or serving in the house. 4. By being under accusation. 5. By a sentence of contumacy, until that sentence shall be annulled.

14. The exercise of the rights of citizen is neither lost nor suspended, but in the cases expressed in the two preceding articles.

15. Every citizen who has resided seven years following out of the territory of the republic, without mission or authorization given in the name of the nation, is reputed a foreigner. He becomes not a French citizen until he has conformed to the conditions prescribed by Article 10.

16. Young men cannot be inscribed in the civic register, unless they prove that they can read and write, and exercise a mechanical profession. The manual operations of agriculture belong to mechanic professions. This article shall not operate till the twelfth year of the republic.

Title III.—*Primary Assemblies.*

17. The primary assemblies are composed of citizens domiciliated in the same canton. The domiciliation requisite for voting in these assemblies is acquired by simple residence during a year, and is lost by a year's absence.

18. No man can send a deputy to the primary assembly, or vote for the same object, in more than one of these assemblies.

19. There is one primary assembly at least for every canton. Where there are several, each is composed of 450 citizens at least, or 900 at most. These numbers are understood of citizens, present or

absent, having a right to vote in them.

20. The primary assemblies are constituted, provisionally, under the presidency of the oldest man; the youngest fills provisionally the office of secretary.

21. They are definitively constituted by the nomination, by ballot, of a president, a secretary, and three scrutineers.

22. If difficulties arise upon the right of voting, the assembly decides provisionally, saving recourse to the civil tribunal of departments.

23. In every other case, the legislative body alone pronounces on the validity of the operations of the primary assemblies.

24. No man can appear in arms in the primary assemblies.

25. Their police belongs to themselves.

26. The primary assemblies meet,

1. To accept or reject the changes in the constitutional act, proposed by the assemblies of revision. 2. To make the election which belong to them according to the constitution.

27. They assemble in full right on the 1st Germinal (March 21) of each year, and proceed according as there may be occasion to the election.—1. Of the members of electoral assembly. 2. Of the justice of peace and his assessors. 3. Of the president of the municipal administration of the canton, or of the municipal officers in communes of more than 5000 inhabitants.

28. Immediately after these elections, there are held, in communes of less than 5000 inhabitants, communal assemblies, which elect the agents of each commune and their assistants.

29. Whatever is done in a primary or

or communal assembly; beyond the object of its convocation, and against the forms determined by the constitution, is null.

30. The assemblies, whether primary or communal, make no elections but those which are attributed to them by the constitutional act.

31. All the elections are made by secret ballot.

32. Every citizen who is legally convicted of having sold or bought a suffrage, is excluded from the primary and communal assemblies, and from all public functions, for twenty years; in case of a second offence, he is excluded for ever.

Title IV.—*Electoral Assemblies.*

33. Each primary assembly nominates one elector for 200 citizens, present or absent, having a right to vote in the said assembly. To the number of 300 citizens inclusively, but one elector is nominated. Two are nominated, for from 301 to 500; three, for from 501 to 700; four, for from 701 to 900.

34. The members of the electoral assemblies are nominated every year, and cannot be re-elected till after an interval of two years.

35. No man can be nominated an elector if he be not twenty-five years of age, and if he do not unite to the qualifications, necessary for exercising the rights of a French citizen, one of the following conditions, viz. In communes of more than 6000 inhabitants, that of being proprietor or having the *usufruct* of a property valued at a revenue equal to the local value of two hundred days' labour; or being lessee, either of a habitation valued at a revenue equal to the value of one hundred and fifty days' labour, or

of a rural property; valued at one hundred and fifty days' labour. In communes of less than 6000 inhabitants, that of being proprietor or having the *usufruct* of a property, valued at a revenue equal to the local value of 150 days' labour; or of being lessee, either of a habitation valued at a revenue equal to the value of 100 days' labour, or of a rural property valued at 100 days' labour. And in the country, that of being proprietor or having the *usufruct* of a property valued at a revenue equal to the local value of 150 days' labour, or of being the renter (*Fermier ou Metayer**) of property valued at 200 days' labour. With respect to those who may be proprietors, or have the *usufruct* of one property, and be lessees or renters of another, their means under both heads shall be taken cumulatively, to make out the necessary qualification for being eligible.

36. The electoral assembly of each department meets on the 20th Germinal (April 9th) of each year, and terminates in one single session of ten days at most, and without the power of adjourning, all the elections to be made; after which it is dissolved of full right.

37. The electoral assemblies cannot employ themselves upon any object foreign to the election with which they are charged; they can neither send nor receive any address, any petition, any deputation.

38. The electoral assemblies cannot correspond with one another.

39. No citizen, having been a member of an electoral assembly, can take the title of elector, or meet in this quality with those who have been members of the same assembly with him. The

* *Metayer* is a person who rents both a farm and the stock upon it.

contravention of this article is an infringement of the general safety.

40. Articles 18, 21, 23, 24, 25, 29, 30, 31, and 32, of the preceding title on the primary assemblies, are common to the electoral assemblies.

41. The electoral assemblies choose, as there may be occasion—

1. The members of the legislative body, viz. the members of the council of elders; afterwards, the members of the council of five hundred.—2. The members of the tribunal of annulment.—3. The high jurors.—4. The administrators of department.—5. The president, public accuser, and register of the criminal tribunal.—6. The judges of the civil tribunals.

42. When a citizen is elected by the electoral assemblies to replace a functionary who is dead, resigned, or removed, that citizen is elected only for the time that remained to the functionary replaced.

43. The commissary of the executive directory, at the administration of each department, is bound, on pain of removal, to inform the directory of the opening and the closing of the electoral assemblies: this commissary can neither stop nor suspend the operations, nor enter the place of sitting of the assembly; but he has a right to demand communication of the minutes of each sitting within the twenty-four hours following; and he is bound to denounce to the directory infractions of the constitutional act. In all cases the legislative body alone pronounces on the validity of the operations of the electoral assemblies.

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Title V.—*Legislative Power.—General Dispositions.*

44. The legislative body is composed of a council of elders, and a council of five hundred.

45. The legislative body cannot, in any case, delegate to one or more of its members, or to any one whomsoever, any of the functions attributed to it by the present constitution.

46. It cannot exercise, by itself, or by delegates, the executive power, or the judicial authority.

47. There is incompatibility between the quality of member of the legislative body, and the exercise of any other public function, except that of archivist of the republic.

48. The law determines the mode of the definitive or temporary replacing public functionaries, who are elected members of the legislative body.

49. Each department concurs, in proportion to its population only, in its nomination of members of the council of elders, and of members of the council of five hundred.

50. Every ten years of the legislative body, according to statements of population sent to it, determines the number of members of either council which each department ought to furnish.

51. No change can be made in this distribution during that interval.

52. The members of the legislative body are not representatives of the departments which nominate them, but of the whole nation; and no instruction can be given them.

53. Both councils are renewed annually by thirds.

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54. The members going out, after three years, may be immediately re-elected for the three years following, after which there must be an interval of two years to render them eligible again.

55. No man, in any case, can be a member of the legislative body during more than six years following.

56. If, by extraordinary circumstances, one of the two councils finds itself reduced to less than two-thirds of its members, it gives notice to the executive directory, which is bound to convoke, without delay, the primary assemblies of the departments which have members of the legislative body to replace, in consequence of circumstances. The primary assemblies immediately nominate electors, who proceed to the necessary replacings.

57. The members newly elected for either council, meet on the 1st Prairial (May 20) of each year, in the commune pointed out by the legislative body preceding, or in the commune where it held its last sittings, if another be not pointed out.

58. The two councils reside always in the same commune.

59. The legislative body is permanent: it may nevertheless adjourn itself for stated terms.

60. In no case can the two councils meet in the same hall.

61. The functions of president, and of secretaries, cannot exceed the duration of one month, either in the council of elders, or in that of five hundred.

62. The two councils have respectively the right of police, in the place of their sittings, and its external circuit such as they determine it.

63. They have respectively the right of police over their members; but they cannot pronounce a sentence more severe than censure, arrest for eight days, and imprisonment for three.

64. The sittings of both councils are public: the persons who attend cannot exceed the number of the half of the respective members of each council. The minutes of their sittings are printed.

65. Every vote is taken by sitting down and rising up: in case of doubt, their names are called over; but the individual votes are then secret.

66. On the demand of one hundred of its members, each council may form itself into a general and secret committee; but only to discuss, and not to vote.

67. Neither council can create, in its own body, a permanent committee. Only each council has the power, when a matter appears to it susceptible of a preparatory examination, to nominate, from among its members, a special commission, which confines itself solely to the object of its formation. This commission is dissolved as soon as the council has decided upon the object with which it was charged.

68. The members of the legislative body receive an annual indemnity: it is, in both councils, fixed at the value of 3000 myriagrammes of wheat (613 quintals 32 pounds.)

69. The executive directory cannot cause to pass, or stop any body of troops, within the distance of six myriametres (12 mean leagues) of the commune where the legislative body holds its sittings, unless upon

upon its requisition, or with its authority.

70. There is about the legislative body a guard of citizens taken from the sedentary national guard of all the departments, and chosen by their brothers in arms. This guard cannot be less than 1500 men in activity of service.

71. The legislative body determines the mode and duration of this service.

72. The legislative body attends no public ceremony, and sends thither no deputation.

Council of Five Hundred.

73. The council of five hundred is invariably fixed at this number.

74. To be elected a member of the council of five hundred, a man must be thirty years of age complete, and have been domiciliated upon the territory of the republic during the ten years which immediately preceded the election. The condition of being thirty years of age shall not be requirable before the seventh year of the republic; till that period, the age of twenty-five years shall be sufficient.

75. The council of five hundred cannot deliberate, if its sittings be not composed of two hundred members at least.

76. The proposing of laws appertains exclusively to the council of five hundred.

77. No proposition can be debated or resolved upon in the council of five hundred, without observing the following forms:—The proposition is read three times; the interval between two of these readings cannot be less than ten days. The discussion is opened after each reading; and, neverthe-

less, after the first or the second reading, the council of five hundred may declare that there is ground for adjournment, or, that there is not ground for deliberating. Every proposition must be printed and distributed two days before the second reading. After the third reading, the council of five hundred decides whether or not there be ground for adjournment.

78. No proposition, which, being submitted to discussion, has been definitively rejected after the third reading, can be re-produced till after the revolution of a year.

79. The propositions adopted by the council of five hundred are called resolutions.

80. The preamble of every resolution sets forth,—1. The dates of the sittings in which the three readings of the proposition took place.—2. The act by which it was declared, after the third reading, that there was not ground for adjournment.

81. Are exempted from the forms prescribed by article 77, Propositions recognized as urgent, by a previous declaration of the council of five hundred. This declaration sets forth the motives of urgency, and mention is made of it in the preamble of the resolution.

Council of Elders.

82. The council of elders is composed of two hundred and fifty members.

83. No man can be elected a member of the council of elders—If he be not forty years of age complete; if he be not married, or a widower; and, if he has not been domiciliated on the territory of the republic,

republic, during the fifteen years which immediately preceded the election.

84. The condition of domiciliation required by this article, and that prescribed by article 74, do not concern the citizens who are gone out of the territory of the republic with mission from government.

85. The council of elders cannot deliberate, if the sitting be not composed of one hundred and twenty-six members at least.

86. It appertains, exclusively to the council of elders, to approve or reject the resolutions of the council of five hundred.

87. As soon as a resolution of the council of five hundred comes to the council of elders, the president reads the preamble.

88. The council of elders refuses to approve the resolutions of the council of five hundred, which have not been come to according to the forms prescribed by the constitution.

89. If the proposition has been declared urgent by the council of five hundred, the council of elders deliberates upon approving or rejecting the act of urgency.

90. If the council of elders rejects the act of urgency, it does not deliberate upon the principle of the resolution.

91. If the resolution be not preceded by an act of urgency, it is read three times: the interval between two of these readings cannot be less than five days. The discussion is opened after each reading. Every resolution is printed and distributed, two days at least before the second reading.

92. The resolutions of the coun-

cil of five hundred, adopted by the council of elders, are called laws.

93. The preamble to laws sets forth the dates of the sittings of the council of elders, in which the three readings took place.

94. The decree by which the council of elders recognizes the urgency of a law is mentioned, with reasons assigned for it, in the preamble to that law.

95. The proposition of a law made by the council of five hundred, is understood of all the articles of one plan; the council of elders must reject them all, or approve the whole.

96. The approbation of the council of elders is expressed on each proposition of law by this *formula*, signed by the president and secretaries: *the council of elders approves.*

97. The refusal to adopt, on account of omission of the forms pointed out in article 77 of this title, is expressed by this *formula*, signed by the president and secretaries: *the constitution annuls.*

98. The refusal to approve the principle of a law proposed is expressed by this *formula*, signed by the president and secretaries: *the council of elders cannot adopt.*

99. In the case of the present article, the plan of the law rejected cannot be again presented by the council of five hundred, till after the revolution of a year.

100. The council of five hundred may, nevertheless, present, at any period whatever, a plan of a law which contains articles that made part of a plan which has been rejected.

101. The council of elders sends the laws it has adopted, within the day,

day, both to the council of five hundred, and to the executive directory.

102. The council of elders may change the residence of the legislative body: it points out, in this case, a new place, and the period at which the two councils are bound to repair to it. The decree of the council of elders upon this subject is irrevocable.

103. On and after the day of this decree, neither of the councils can deliberate any more in the commune where they had till then resided. The members who shall there continue their functions shall render themselves guilty of an offence against the safety of the republic.

104. The members of the executive directory who shall retard, or refuse to seal, promulgate, and dispatch, the decree of the translation of the legislative body, shall be guilty of the same crime.

105. If, within twenty days after that fixed by the council of elders, the majority of each of the two councils has not made known to the republic its arrival at the new place pointed out, or its meeting in some other place, the administrators of department, or, in their default, the civil tribunals of department, convoke the primary assemblies to nominate electors, who proceed immediately to the formation of a new legislative body, by the election of 250 deputies for the council of elders, and of five hundred for the other council.

106. The administrators of department who, in the case of the preceding article, fail to convoke the primary assemblies, render themselves guilty of high treason, and of an offence against the safety of the republic.

107. Are declared guilty of the same crime, all citizens who oppose any obstacle to the convocation of the primary and electoral assemblies in the case of article 106.

108. The members of the new legislative body, assemble in the place to which the council of elders had transferred the sittings. If they cannot meet in that place, in whatever place the majority is, there is the legislative body.

109. Except in the case of article 102, no proposition of law can originate in the council of elders.

Of the Guarantee of the Members of the Legislative Body.

110. The citizens who are, or who have been, members of the legislative body, cannot be examined, accused, or tried at any time, for what they have said or written in the exercise of their functions.

111. The members of the legislative body, from the moment of their nomination to the thirtieth day after the expiration of their functions, cannot be brought to trial, but according to the forms prescribed by the following articles.

112. They may, for criminal acts, be seized *in flagrante delicto*; but notice is given of it, without delay, to the legislative body; and the prosecution cannot be continued till after the council of five hundred has proposed the bringing to trial, and the council of elders has decreed it.

113. Except in the case of *flagrans delictum*, the members of the legislative body cannot be carried before the officers of police, or put in a state of arrest, before the council of five hundred has proposed the bringing to trial, and the council of elders has decreed it.

114. In the case of the two preceding articles, a member of the legislative body cannot be carried before any tribunal but the high court of justice.

115. They are carried before the same court for acts of treason, dilapidation, manœuvres to overturn the constitution, and offences against the internal security of the republic.

116. No denunciation against a member of the legislative body can give room for a prosecution, if it be not drawn up in writing, signed and addressed to the council of five hundred.

117. If after having there been deliberated upon in the form prescribed by article seventy-seven, the council of five hundred admit the denunciation, it declares it in these terms:

The denunciation against
for the act of _____ dated
the _____, signed by _____
is admitted.

118. The person inculpated is then cited; he has for his appearance a delay of three free days; and when he appears he is heard in the interior of the place of sitting of the council of five hundred.

119. Whether the person inculpated be present or not, the council of five hundred declares, after this delay, if there be, or be not, room for an examination of his conduct.

120. If it be declared by the council of five hundred that there is room for an examination, the person under charge is cited by the council of elders; he has for his appearance a delay of two free days; and if he appear, he is heard in the interior of the place of sitting of the council of elders.

121. Whether the person under charge be present or not, the coun-

cil of elders, after this delay, and after having deliberated according to the forms prescribed by article ninety-one, pronounces the accusation, if there be room for it, and sends the person accused before the high court of justice, which is bound to proceed to trial without any delay.

122. Every discussion, in either council, relative to charging or accusing a member of the legislative body, is had in general council (perhaps general committee). Every vote upon the same subject is taken by calling over the names, and secret ballot.

123. The accusation pronounced against a member of the legislative body carries with it suspension. If he be acquitted by the judgment of the high court of justice, he resumes his functions.

Relation of the two Councils with one another.

124. When the two councils are definitively constituted, they give mutual notice by a messenger of state.

125. Each council nominates four messengers of state for its service.

126. They carry to each of the councils and to the executive directory, the laws and acts of the legislative body; they have entrance to this effect into the place of sitting of the executive directory. They march preceded by two ushers.

127. One of the councils cannot adjourn itself beyond five days without the consent of the other.

Promulgation of Laws.

128. The executive directory causes to seal and publish the laws and other acts of the legislative body,

body, within two days after their reception.

129. It causes to seal and promulgate within the day, the laws and acts of the legislative body, which are preceded by a decree of urgency.

130. The publication of the laws and acts of the legislative body is ordained in the following form:

"In the name of the French republic (law) or (act) of the legislative body.—The directory ordains that the above law or act of the legislative body shall be published, executed, and the seal of the republic shall be affixed to it."

131. Laws of which the preamble does not attest the observance of the forms prescribed by articles seventy-seven and ninety-one, cannot be promulgated by the executive directory, and its responsibility in this respect lasts for six years. Are excepted, the laws for which the act of urgency has been approved by the council of elders.

Title VI.—*Executive Power.*

132. The executive power is delegated to a directory of five members, nominated by the legislative body, performing the functions of an electoral assembly in the name of the nation.

133. The council of five hundred forms, by secret ballot, a list ten times the number of the members of the directory to be nominated, and presents it to the council of elders, who choose by secret ballot also, out of this list.

134. The members of the directory must be forty years of age at least.

135. They cannot be taken but from among the citizens who have

been members of the legislative body or ministers. The disposition of this article shall not be observed till the commencement of the ninth year of the republic.

136. From the first day of the ninth year of the republic, the members of the legislative body cannot be elected members of the directory, or ministers, either during the continuance of their legislative functions, or during the first year after the expiration of those functions.

137. The directory is partially renewed by the election of a new member every year. Lot shall decide, during the first four years, upon the successive going out of those nominated the first time.

138. None of the members going out can be re-elected till after an interval of five years.

139. The ascendant and the descendant, in direct line; the brother, the uncle, and the nephew, cousins in the first degree, and connexions by marriage in the same degrees, cannot be members of the directory at the same time, nor succeed one another in it, till after an interval of five years.

140. In the case of vacancy, the death, or otherwise, of a member of the directory, his successor is elected by the legislative body within ten days at most. The council of five hundred is bound to propose the candidates within the first five days, and the council of elders must complete the election within the last five days. The new member is not elected but for the remaining period of the person he succeeds. If, however, this does not exceed six months, he who is elected shall continue in office for five years and a half.

141. Each member of the directory is president of it in turn, for three months only. The president signs and keeps the seals. The laws and the acts of the legislative body are addressed to the directory in the person of its president.

142. The executive directory cannot deliberate if there be not three members present at least.

143. A secretary is chosen, not one of its members, who countersigns dispatches, and draws up the deliberation on register, in which each member has the right of entering his opinion, with his reasons for it. The directory may, when it thinks proper, deliberate without the attendance of its secretary: in this case the deliberations are drawn upon a particular register, by one of the members of the directory.

144. The directory provides, according to the laws, for the external or internal security of the republic: it may make proclamations conformable to the laws, and for the execution of the laws. It disposes of the armed force, without in any case the directory collectively, or any of its members, being capable of commanding it either during the time of their functions, or during the two years which immediately follow the expiration of those functions.

145. If the directory is informed that any conspiracy is plotting against the external or internal safety of the state, it may issue warrants of summons, or warrants of arrest, against the presumed authors, or accomplices; it may interrogate them; but it is obliged, under the penalties against the

crime of arbitrary detention, to send them before the officer of police, within the delay of two days, to proceed according to the laws.

146. The directory nominates the generals in chief, it cannot choose them among the relations or connexions of its members within the degrees expressed by article one hundred and thirty-nine.

147. It superintends and assures the execution of laws in the administrations and tribunals, by commissaries of its nomination.

148. It nominates, not of its own body, the ministers, and dismisses them when it thinks fit. It cannot choose them under the age of thirty years, nor from among the relations or connexions of its members within the degrees set forth in article 139.

149. The ministers correspond immediately with the authorities subordinate to them.

150. The legislative body determines the attributions, and the number of ministers. This number is six at least, or eight at most.

151. The ministers do not form a council.

152. The ministers are respectively responsible both for the non-execution of laws, and the non-execution of orders of the directory.

153. The directory nominates the receiver of direct taxes in each department.

154. It nominates the superintendants in chief of indirect contributions, and of the administration of national domains.

155. All the public functionaries in the French colonies, except the departments of the Isles of France and Reunion, shall be nominated by the directory till peace.

156. The

156. The legislative body may authorize the directory to send into all the French colonies according to the exigency of the case, one or more particular agents nominated by it for a limited time. The particular agents shall exercise the same functions as the directory, and shall be subordinate to it.

157. No member of the directory can go out of the territory of the republic, till two years after the cessation of his functions.

158. He is bound during that interval, to prove his residence to the legislative body. Article 112, and the following to article 123 inclusively, relative to the guarantee of the legislative body, are common to the members of the directory.

159. In case of more than two members of the directory being brought to trial, the legislative body shall provide, in the ordinary forms, for replacing them provisionally during the trial.

160. Except in the case of articles 119 and 120, neither the directory nor any of its members can be cited either by the council of five hundred, or by the council of elders.

161. The accounts and information demanded of the directory, by either council, are furnished in writing.

162. The directory is bound every year to present to both councils, in writing, an estimate of the expences, the situation of the finances, the state of existing pensions, and the plan of those which it thinks it expedient to establish or create. It must point out the abuses that have come within its knowledge.

163. The directory may at all times invite the council of five hundred, in writing, to take a subject into consideration; it may propose to it measures, but not plans drawn up in the form of laws.

164. No member of the directory can absent himself more than five days, or remove above four myriameters (eight mean leagues) from the place of the residence of the directory, without being authorized by the legislative body.

165. The members of the directory cannot appear in the exercise of their functions, either without or within their houses, unless clothed in their appropriate dress.

166. The directory has its constant guard, paid at the expence of the republic, composed of 120 infantry and 120 cavalry.

167. The directory is attended by its guards in public ceremonies and processions, in which it has always the first rank.

168. Each member of the directory is attended out of doors by two guards.

169. Every post of armed force owes to the directory, and to each of its members, the superior military honours.

170. The directory has four messengers of state, whom it nominates, and whom it may remove. They carry to the two legislative bodies the letters and memorials of the directory; they have entrance to this effect into the place of sitting of the legislative councils. They march preceded by two ushers.

171. The directory resides in the same commune with the legislative body.

172. The members of the directory are lodged at the expence of the

the republic, and in the same edifice.

173. The salary of each of them is fixed, for each year, at the value of 150,000 myriagrammes of wheat (10,222 quintals.)

Title VII.—*Administrative and Municipal Bodies.*

174. In each department there is a central administration, and in each canton one municipal administration at least.

175. Every member of a departmental or municipal administration ought to be twenty-five years of age at least.

176. The ascendant and descendant, in direct line, brothers, the uncle and nephew, and connexions by marriage in the same degrees, cannot be members of the same administration at the same time, or succeed one another in it till after an interval of two years.

177. Each administration of department is composed of five members; it is renewed by a fifth every year.

178. Every commune of which the population is from 5000 to 10,000 inhabitants, has for itself alone a municipal administration.

179. In each commune, of which the population is less than 5000 inhabitants, there is a municipal agent and an assistant.

180. The union of the municipal agents of each commune forms the municipality of the canton.

181. There is, moreover, a president of municipal administration chosen out of the whole canton.

182. In communes, of which the population is from five to ten thousand inhabitants, there are five municipal officers; seven for from

ten thousand to fifty thousand; nine for from fifty thousand to an hundred thousand.

183. In communes, of which the population exceeds one hundred thousand inhabitants, there are three municipal administrations at least. In these communes the division of municipalities is made in such manner that the population of the jurisdiction of each exceeds not fifty thousand individuals, and is not less than thirty thousand. The municipality of each jurisdiction is composed of seven members.

184. In communes divided into several municipalities, there is a central office for matters judged indivisible by the legislative body. This office is composed of three members, nominated by the administration of department, and confirmed by the executive power.

185. The members of every municipal administration are nominated for two years, and renewed every year by one half, or by a part approximating the nearest to one-half, and alternately by the larger and smaller fraction.

186. The administrators of department, and the members of municipal administrations, may be re-elected once without an interval.

187. Every citizen who has been elected twice following, administrator of department or member of a municipal administration, and who has discharged the functions in virtue of both elections, cannot be elected again till after an interval of two years.

188. In case of a departmental or municipal administration losing one or several of its members by death, resignation, or otherwise, the remaining administrators may add to their number temporary administrators

tors to act in that quality till the next elections.

189. The departmental and municipal administrations cannot modify the acts of the legislative body, or those of the executive directory, or suspend the execution of them. They cannot interfere in matters depending on the judicial order.

190. The administrators are essentially charged with the assessment of direct taxes, and the superintendence of money arising from the public revenues in their territory. The legislative body determines the rules, and the mode of their functions, both upon these objects and the other parts of the interior administration.

191. The executive directory nominates to each departmental and municipal administration a commissary, whom it recalls when it thinks expedient. This commissary superintends and requires the execution of the laws.

192. The commissary to each local administration must be taken from among the citizens domiciliated for a year in the department where that administration is established. He must be twenty-five years of age at least.

193. The municipal administrations are subordinate to the administrations of department, and the latter to the ministers. In consequence, the ministers (each in his department) may annul the acts of administrations of department, and the latter, the acts of municipal administrations, when those acts are contrary to the laws or to the orders of superior authorities.

194. The ministers may also suspend the administrators of departments who have contravened the laws, or the orders of superior au-

thorities; and the administrations of department have the same right with respect to the members of municipal administrations.

195. No suspension or annulment is definitive without the formal confirmation of the executive directory.

196. The directory may also annul immediately the acts of departmental or municipal administration. It may also suspend or remove immediately, when it thinks necessary, the administrators either of department or canton, and send them before the tribunals of department when there is ground for it.

197. Every order importing annulment of acts, suspension, or removal of administrators, must have reasons assigned for it.

198. When the five members of a departmental administration are removed, the executive directory provides for replacing them till the following election; but it cannot choose their provisional successors, but among the ancient administrators of the same department.

199. The administrations, either of department or of canton, cannot correspond with one another, but upon the affairs which are attributed to them by the law, and not upon the general interests of the republic.

200. Every administration must give an annual account of its management. The accounts rendered by the departmental administrations are printed.

201. All the acts of the administrative bodies are rendered public by a register in which they are entered, and which is open to all persons under their administration. This register is closed every six months,

months, and is not deposited for inspection till the day on which it is closed. The legislative body may prolong, according to circumstances, the delay fixed for this deposit.

Title VIII.—Judicial Power.—
General Dispositions.

202. The judicial functions cannot be exercised either by the legislative body or by the executive power.

203. The judges cannot interfere in the exercise of the legislative power, or make any regulation. They cannot stop or suspend the execution of any law, or summon before them administrators on account of their functions.

204. No man can be withdrawn from the judges, whom the law assigns him, by any commission, or by any other attributions than those which are determined by an anterior law.

205. Justice is administered gratuitously.

206. The judges cannot be removed, but by forfeiture legally pronounced; or suspended, but by an admitted accusation.

207. The ascendant and descendant in direct line, brothers, uncle or nephew, cousins in the first degree, and connexions by alliance in these several degrees, cannot be members of the same tribunal at the same time.

208. The sittings of the tribunals are public; the judges deliberate in secret; judgments are pronounced with a loud voice: reasons for them are assigned, and the terms of the law applied set forth.

209. No citizen, if he be not thirty years of age complete, can be elected judge of a tribunal of de-

partment, or justice of peace, or assessor to a justice of peace, or judge of a tribunal of commerce, or member of the tribunal of annulment, or juror, or commissary of the executive directory with the tribunals of civil justice.

210. There can be no infringement of the right to cause differences to be pronounced upon by arbitrators of the choice of the parties.

211. The decision of these arbitrators is without appeal, and without recourse to annulment, if the parties have not made an express reserve.

212. There is in each district determined by the law, a justice of peace and his assessors: they are all elected for two years; and may be immediately and indefinitely re-elected.

213. The law determines the objects of which justices of peace and their assessors take cognizance in dernier resort. It attributes to them other matters of which they judge, subject to appeal.

214. There are particular tribunals for commerce by land and sea: the law determines the places where it is useful to establish them. Their power of judging in dernier resort cannot be extended beyond the value of 500 myriagrammes of wheat (102 quintals 22 pounds).

215. The affairs, of which judgment belongs not to justices of peace, or tribunals of commerce, either in dernier resort, or subject to appeal, are carried immediately before the justice of peace and his assessors, to be conciliated. If the justice of peace cannot conciliate them, he sends them before the civil tribunal.

216. There is a civil tribunal for every

every department. Each civil tribunal is composed of 20 judges at least, of a commissary, and a substitute, nominated and removeable by the executive directory, and of a register. Every five years the election of all the members of the tribunal is proceeded to. The judges may be always re-elected.

217. At the time of electing the judges, five suppléans are nominated, of whom three are taken from among the citizens resident in the commune where the tribunal sits.

218. The civil tribunal pronounces in dernier resort, in all cases determined by the law, on appeals from justices of peace, arbitrators, or tribunals of commerce.

219. The appeal from judgments pronounced by the civil tribunal is carried before the civil tribunal of one of the three nearest departments, as is determined by the law.

220. The civil tribunal is divided into sections—a section cannot judge under the number of five judges.

221. The whole of the judges of each tribunal nominate among themselves, by secret ballot, the president of each section.

Of correctional and criminal Justice.

222. No man can be seized, but to be carried before the officer of police; and no man can be put under arrest or detained, but by virtue of a warrant from the officers of police, or of the executive directory, in the case of article 145, or of an order of caption from a tribunal of the director of a jury of accusation, of a decree of accusation by the legislative body, in the case in which it belongs to it to pronounce such a decree, or of a

sentence of condemnation to prison, or correctional detention.

223. In order, that the act which ordains arrest may be executed, it is requisite: first, that it express formally the motive of arrest, and the law in conformity to which it is ordered; secondly, that it has been notified to him who is the object of it, and a copy of it left with him.

224. Every person seized and conducted before the officers of police shall be examined immediately, or, at farthest, within the day.

225. If it result from the examination, that there is no ground of crimination against him, he shall immediately be set at liberty; or, if there be ground to send him to the house of arrest, he shall be conducted thither in as short a space of time as possible, which, in no case, can exceed three days.

226. No person arrested can be detained, if he give sufficient bail, in every case where the law admits the remaining at liberty upon bail.

227. No person, in cases where his detention is authorized by law, can be conducted to, or confined in, any places but those legally and publicly appointed, as houses of arrest, houses of justice or of detention.

228. No keeper or gaoler can receive or detain any person, except by virtue of a warrant of arrest, according to the forms prescribed by articles 222 and 223, an order of caption, a decree of accusation, or a sentence of condemnation to prison, or correctional detention, which shall be transcribed upon his register.

229. Every keeper or gaoler is bound

bound, without any order being capable of dispensing with his so doing, to present the person of the prisoner to the civil officer, having the police of the house of detention, as often as shall be required by that civil officer.

230. The production of the person confined cannot be refused to his relations and friends, who have an order of the civil officer, which he shall be bound to grant, except the keeper or gaoler present a direction from the judge, transcribed upon his register, to detain the person arrested in secret custody.

231. Every man, whatever be his place or employment, except those to whom the law gives the right of arrest, who shall give, sign, execute, or cause to be executed, an order to arrest an individual; or whoever, even in the case of arrest authorized by the law, shall conduct, receive, or detain an individual, or in a place of detention not publicly and legally appointed; and all keepers and gaolers, who shall contravene the regulations of the above articles, shall be guilty of the crime of arbitrary detention.

232. All rigours employed in arrests, detentions, or executions, other than those prescribed by the law, are crimes.

233. There are in each department for the trial of offences, the punishment of which is neither corporal nor infamous, three correctional tribunals at least, or six at most. These tribunals cannot pronounce heavier punishments than imprisonment for two years. The cognizance of offences, the punishment of which exceeds not the value of three days' labour, or imprisonment for three days, is dele-

gated to the justice of peace, who pronounces in dernier resort.

234. Each correctional tribunal is composed of a president, two justices of peace, or assessors to a justice of peace of the commune in which it is established, of a commissary of the executive power, nominated and removable by the executive directory, and of a register.

235. The president of each correctional tribunal is taken every six months, and by turn, from among the members of the sections of the civil tribunal of department, the presidents excepted.

236. There is an appeal from the judgments of the correctional tribunal to the criminal tribunal of department.

237. In matter of offences subject to corporal or infamous punishment, no person can be tried but upon an accusation admitted by the jurors, or decreed by the legislative body, in the case in which it belongs to it to decree accusation.

238. A first jury declares if the accusation ought to be admitted or rejected; the fact is tried by a second jury, and the punishment determined by the law is applied by the criminal tribunal.

239. The juries vote only by secret ballot.

240. There are in each department as many juries of accusation as correctional tribunals. The president of the correctional tribunals are the directors of the juries, each in his district. In communes of more than 50,000 souls, there may be established by law, besides the president of the correctional tribunal, as many directors of juries of accusation as the dispatch of trials may require.

241. The functions of commissary of executive power, and of register to the jury of accusation, are discharged by the commissary, and the register of the correctional tribunal.

242. Each director of a jury of accusation has the immediate superintendence of all the officers of police of his district.

243. The director of the jury prosecutes immediately, as officer of police, upon the denunciations made to him by the public accuser, either officially, or by order of the executive directory:—1. Offences against the liberty or individual security of citizens.—2. Those committed against the right of persons.—3. Resistance to the execution of judgments and of all executive acts issuing from the constituted authorities.—4. Troubles occasioned, and acts of violence committed, to impede the collection of contributions, the free circulation of provisions, and other objects of commerce.

244. There is a criminal tribunal for each department.

245. The criminal tribunal is composed of a president, a public accuser, four judges, taken from among those of the civil tribunal, the commissary of the executive power of the same tribunal, or his substitute, and a register. There are in the criminal tribunal of the department of the Seine, a vice-president, and a substitute of the public accuser; this tribunal is divided into two sections: eight members of the civil tribunal exercise in it the functions of judges.

246. The presidents of sections of the civil tribunals cannot dis-

charge the functions of judges in the criminal tribunal.

247. The other judges do their duty in it, each in turn, for six months, in the order of their nomination, and cannot during that period exercise any function in the civil tribunal.

248. The public accuser is charged:—1. With prosecuting offences on acts of accusation admitted by the first juries.—2. With transmitting to the officers of police denunciations addressed to him directly.—3. With superintending the officers of police of the department, and acting against them according to the law, in case of negligence or more grave offences.

249. The commissary of the executive power is charged:—1. With requiring, in the course of process, the regularity of forms, and, before judgment, the application of the law.—2. With following up the execution of judgments passed by the tribunal.

250. The judges cannot propose any complex question to the jury.

251. The jury to try, consists of twelve jurors at least; the person accused may challenge, without assigning any reason, a number determined by the law.

252. The process before the jury to try is public, and persons accused cannot be refused the aid of counsel, whom they may choose, or who are nominated officially.

253. No person acquitted by a legal jury, can be apprehended or accused again upon account of the same fact.

Of the Tribunal of Annulment.

254. There is for the whole republic, one tribunal of annulment;

it pronounces:—1. On demands of annulment against decisions in the last resort given by the tribunals.—

2. On demands of reference from one tribunal to another, on grounds of lawful suspicion, or public security.—3. On the regulations of the judges, and exceptions taken to a whole tribunal.

255. The tribunal of annulment can never investigate the merits of the case, but it annuls sentences passed on trials, in which the form have been violated, or which have been attended with any deviation from the express terms of the law, and refers the merits of the process to the tribunal which ought to take cognizance of them.

256. When, after one annulment, the second judgment on the merits is attacked by the same means as the first, the question can be no longer agitated in the tribunal of annulment without having been submitted to the legislative body, which passes a law to which the tribunal of annulment is bound to conform.

257. Every year the tribunal of annulment is bound to send to each of the sections of the legislative body a députation, to present to it a statement of the sentences passed, with a notice on the margin, and the text of the law, which determined the sentence.

258. The number of the judges of the tribunal of annulment cannot exceed two-thirds of the number of departments.

259. One-fifth of this tribunal is renewed every year. The electoral assemblies of departments nominate successively and alternately the judges who are to succeed those who go out of the tribunal of an-

nulment. The judges of this tribunal may be always re-elected.

260. Each judge of the tribunal of annulment has a *suppleant*, elected by the same electoral assembly.

261. There are with the tribunal of annulment a commissary, and substitutes, nominated and removable by the executive directory.

262. The executive directory denounces to the tribunal of annulment, through the national commissary, and without prejudice to the right of parties interested, the acts by which the judges have exceeded their power.

263. The tribunal annuls these acts; and if they afford a ground of crimination, the act is denounced to the legislative body, who pass a decree of accusation, after having heard or cited the parties under charge.

264. The legislative body cannot annul the judgments of the tribunal of amendment, but may prosecute, personally, the judges who have incurred prosecution.

High Court of Justice.

265. There is a high court of justice to try accusations admitted by the legislative body, either against its own members, or those of the executive directory.

266. The high court of justice is composed of five judges, and two national accusers, taken from the tribunal of annulment, and of high jurors, nominated by the electoral assemblies of departments.

267. The high court of justice is not formed till after a proclamation of the legislative body, drawn up and published by the council of five hundred.

268. It is formed and holds its sittings

sittings in the place appointed by the proclamation of the council of five hundred. This place cannot be nearer than twelve *myriameters* to that where the legislative body resides.

269. When the legislative body has proclaimed the formation of the high court of justice, the tribunal of annulment draws by lot fifteen of its members in a public sitting; it afterwards, in the same sitting, nominates five of these fifteen by a secret ballot; the five judges thus nominated are the judges of the high court of justice; they choose among them a president.

270. The tribunal of annulment nominates, in the same sitting, by ballot, with the absolute majority, two of its members to exercise, in the high court of justice, the functions of national accusers.

271. The acts of accusation are prepared and drawn up by the council of five hundred.

272. The electoral assemblies of each department nominate every year a juror for the high court of justice.

273. The executive directory causes to be printed and published, a month after the date of the election, a list of the jurors nominated for the high court of justice.

Title IX.—*Of the Public Force.*

274. The public force is instituted to defend the state against enemies abroad, and to secure at home the maintenance of order, and the execution of the laws.

275. The public force is essentially obedient; no armed body can deliberate.

276. It is divided into national guard sedentary, and national guard in activity.

Of the National Guard, Sedentary.

277. The national guard, sedentary, is composed of all the citizens, and sons of citizens; capable of bearing arms.

278. Its organization and discipline are the same for all the republic; they are determined by the law.

279. No Frenchman can exercise the rights of a citizen, if he is not inscribed on the roll of the national guard sedentary.

280. The distinction of ranks and subordination, subsist only with relation to the service, and for the period of its duration.

281. The officers of the national guard sedentary are chosen for a time by the citizens who compose it, and cannot be re-elected till after an interval.

282. The command of the national guard of a whole department cannot be habitually entrusted to one citizen.

283. If it be judged necessary to assemble all the national guard of a department, the executive directory may nominate a temporary commandant.

284. The command of the national guard sedentary in cities of an hundred thousand souls and upwards, cannot be habitually entrusted to one man.

Of the National Guard in Activity.

285. The republic maintains in its pay, even in time of peace, under the name of national guards in activity, an army by land and sea.

286. The army is formed by voluntary enrolment, and in case of necessity, by the mode which the law determines.

287. No foreigner, who has not acquired the rights of French citizen, can be admitted into the

French armies, unless he has made one or more campaigns for the establishment of the republic.

288. The commanders in chief, land and sea, are only nominated in case of war; they receive commissions revokeable at pleasure from the executive power. The duration of these commissions is limited to one campaign, but they may be renewed.

289. The general command of the armies of the republic cannot be confined to a single man.

290. The army by land and sea is subject to particular laws, with respect to its discipline, the form of sentences, and the nature of punishments.

291. No part of the national guard sedentary, or of the national guard in activity, can act for the service of the interior of the republic, except on the requisition, in writing, of the civil authority, according to forms prescribed by law.

292. The public force cannot be called out by the civil authorities, except in the extent of their jurisdiction. It cannot be removed from one canton to another, without being authorized by the administration of department, or from one department to another, without the orders of the executive directory.

293. The legislative body nevertheless, determines the means of securing by the public force the execution of sentences, and the prosecution of accused persons, throughout all the French territory.

294. In case of imminent danger, the municipal administration of one canton may call out the national guard of the neighbouring cantons; in that case the administration which has so called out, and the chiefs of the national guard called out, are equally bound

to render an account, at the same moment, to the departmental administration.

295. No foreign troops can be introduced upon the French territory, without the previous consent of the legislative body.

Title X.—*Public Instruction.*

296. There are in the republic primary schools, where the pupils learn to read, to write, the elements of arithmetic, and those of morality. The republic provides only for the expence of the lodging of the instructors appointed for these schools.

297. There are, in different parts of the republic, schools superior to the primary schools, and to such a number, that there shall be at least one for every two departments.

298. There is for the whole republic, a national institution charged to collect discoveries, and to improve the arts and sciences.

299. The different establishments of public instruction have not, with respect to each other, any connexion of subordination, or administrative correspondence.

300. Citizens have a right to form particular establishments of education and instruction, as well as free societies, to promote the progress of the sciences, of letters, and of arts.

301. There shall be established national festivals, to keep alive fraternity among the citizens, and to attach them to the constitution, to their country, and to the laws.

Title XI.—*Finances—Contributions.*

302. The public contributions are discussed and fixed every year by the legislative body. To it alone belongs to establish them; they cannot subsist beyond that period,

period, if they are not expressly renewed.

303. The legislative body may create such kind of contributions as is shall judge necessary; but it must establish, every year, an imposition upon land, and a personal imposition.

304. Every individual, who not coming within articles twelve and thirteen of the constitution, is not included in the roll of direct contributions, has the right of presenting himself to the municipal administration of his commune, and to inscribe himself for a personal contribution, equal to the local value of three days agricultural labour.

305. The inscription mentioned in the preceding article cannot be made but during the month of Messidor every year.

306. Contributions of every description are assessed upon those who contribute in proportion to their means.

307. The executive directory orders and superintends the receipt and the paying in of contributions, and gives all the necessary orders for that purpose.

308. The detailed account of the expences of ministers, signed and certified by them, are made public at the commencement of each year. The same shall be done with all the statements of the receipt of different contributions, and of all the public revenues.

309. The statement of these expences and receipts are distinguished according to their nature; they express the sums received and expended, year by year, in each part of the general administration.

310. There are also published, accounts of the expences particular to the departments, and relative

to the tribunals, to the administrations, to the promotion of the sciences, and to all public works and establishments.

311. The administrations of department, and the municipalities, cannot make any assessment beyond the sums fixed by the legislative body, nor discuss, nor permit, without being authorized by it, any local loan at the charge of the citizens of the department, of the commune or of the canton.

312. To the legislative body alone belongs the right of regulating the coining, and issuing of all kinds of money, fixing the value, the weight, and the impression.

313. The directory superintends the coining of money, and nominates the officers charged immediately with the inspection of it.

314. The legislative body determines the contributions of the colonies, and their commercial connexions with the mother country.

National Treasury and Account.

315. There are five commissaries of the national treasury chosen by the council of elders from a treble list presented by that of five hundred.

316. The duration of their functions is for five years, and one of them is renewed every year, and may be re-elected indefinitely without interval.

317. The commissaries of the treasury are charged to superintend the receipt of all the national money. To order the movements of funds, and the payment of all public expences consented to by the legislative body. To keep an open account of receipt and expence with the receiver of direct contributions for each department; with the different national boards,

and with the payers established in the departments. To maintain with the said receivers and payers with the boards and administrations, the correspondence necessary for assuring the exact and regular paying in of money.

318. They can pay nothing under penalty of forfeiture, but by virtue,—1. Of a decree of the legislative body, and to the amount of the sum decreed by it for each object.—2. Of a decision of the directory.—3. Of the signature of the minister who directs the expence.

319. They cannot, under penalty of forfeiture, approve of payment, if the mandate signed by the minister, who directs the expence, do not set forth the date, the decision of the executive directory, and the decrees of the legislative body, which authorize the payment.

320. The receivers of direct contributions in each department, the different national boards, and the payers in the departments, give in to the national treasury their respective accounts; the treasury audits and passes them.

321. There are five commissaries of national accounts, elected by the legislative body at the same periods, and according to the same forms and conditions as the commissaries of the treasury.

322. The general account of receipt and expenditure of the republic, with the particular accounts and documents, is presented by the commissaries of the treasury to the commissaries of accounts, who audit and pass them.

323. The commissaries of accounts give notice to the legislative body of abuses, malversations, and all cases of responsibility, which they discover in the course of their

operations; they propose measures suitable to the interests of the republic.

324. The result of the accounts passed by the commissaries of accounts, is printed and made public.

325. The commissaries of the national treasury and accounts cannot be suspended or removed but by the legislative body. But during the adjournment of the legislative body, the executive directory may suspend and replace provisionally the commissaries of the national treasury, to the number of two at most, but are bound to refer them to both councils of the legislative body, as soon as they have resumed their sittings.

Title XII.—*External Relations.*

326. War cannot be decided upon but by a decree of the legislative body, upon the formal and necessary proposition of the executive directory.

327. The two legislative councils concur according to the ordinary forms in the decree, by which war is decided upon.

328. In case of hostilities, imminent, or actually commenced, of menaces, or preparations for war against the French republic, the executive directory is bound to employ, for the defence of the state, the means at its disposal, charged, however, with communicating them without delay to the legislative body. It may even, in that case, point out the augmentation of force, and the new legislative regulations, which circumstances may require.

329. The directory alone can maintain political relations abroad, conduct negotiations, distribute the land and naval forces as it judges

judges necessary, and regulate their directions in case of war.

330. It is authorized to make preliminary stipulations, such as armistices, treaties of neutrality; it may likewise agree upon secret conventions.

331. The executive directory agrees to, signs, or causes to be signed, with foreign powers, all treaties of peace, alliance, truce, neutrality, commerce, and other conventions, which it may judge to be necessary for the interest of the state. These treaties and conventions are negotiated in the name of the French republic, by diplomatic agents, nominated by the executive directory, and charged with its instructions.

332. In the case of a treaty containing secret articles, the regulations of those articles cannot be subversive of the open articles, or contain any alienation of the territory of the republic.

333. Treaties are not binding till after having been examined and ratified by the legislative body; nevertheless, the secret conditions provisionally receive their execution from the moment they shall have been agreed upon by the executive directory.

334. Neither of the legislative councils deliberate upon war or peace, but in general committee.

335. Foreigners, whether established in France or not, succeed to their foreign or French relations; they may contract for, acquire and receive property situated in France, and dispose of it in the same manner as French citizens, by all the means authorized by the laws.

Title XIII.—*Revision of the Constitution.*

336. If experience shew the inconveniences of some articles of the constitution, the council of elders proposes the revision of them.

337. The proposition of the council of elders is, in that case, submitted to the ratification of the council of five hundred.

338. When, in a period of nine years, the proposition of the council of elders, ratified by the council of five hundred, has been made at three intervals, of at least two years each, an assembly of revision is convened.

339. This assembly is formed of two members by department, all chosen in the same manner as members of the legislative body, and possessing the same qualifications as those required for the council of elders.

340. The council of elders points out, for the meeting of the assembly of revision, a place distant 20 myriameters at least from that where the legislative body sits.

341. The assembly of revision has a right to change the place of its residence, observing the distance prescribed by the preceding article.

342. The assembly of revision exercises no function of legislation or government; it confines itself to the revision of the constitutional articles pointed out to it by the legislative body.

343. All the articles of the constitution, without exception, continue to be in vigour as long as the changes proposed by the assembly of revision are not accepted by the people.

344. The members of the assembly of division deliberate in common.

345. The citizens who are members of the legislative body, at the time of convoking an assembly of revision, cannot be elected members of that assembly.

346. The assembly of revision addresses immediately to the primary assemblies the plan of reform it has agreed upon. It is dissolved the moment the plan is addressed to them.

347. The duration of the assembly of revision can in no case exceed three months.

348. The members of the assembly of revision cannot be examined, accused, or tried at any time for what they have said or written in the exercise of their functions. During the continuance of those functions they cannot be put upon trial, except by a decision of the members of the assembly of revision.

349. The assembly of revision attends no public ceremony; its members receive the same indemnity as the members of the legislative body.

350. The assembly of revision has the right of exercising, or causing to be exercised, the police of the commune in which it resides.

Title XIV.—*General Dispositions.*

351. There exists among the citizens no superiority but that of public functionaries, and relative to the exercise of their functions.

352. The law acknowledges neither religious vows, nor any other engagement, contrary to the natural rights of man.

353. No man can be hindered from speaking, writing, printing, and publishing his thoughts. Writings cannot be subject to any censure before their publication. No man can be responsible for what he has written or published, but in cases provided for by the law.

354. No man can be hindered from exercising the form of worship he has chosen, while he conforms to the laws. No man can be forced to contribute to the expences of any form of worship. The republic pays for none.

355. There is neither privilege nor right of companies, nor corporation, nor limitation to the freedom of the press, of commerce, and to the exercise of industry and arts of every kind. Every prohibitory law of this sort, when circumstances render it necessary, is essentially provisional, and has no effect beyond a year at most, unless it be formally renewed.

356. The law watches particularly the professions which interest public morals, the safety and the health of citizens; but admission to the exercise of these professions cannot be made to depend upon any pecuniary security.

357. The law ought to provide for the recompense of inventors, or for the maintenance of the exclusive property of their discoveries or productions.

358. The constitution guarantees the inviolability of all property, of a just indemnity for that of which public necessity legally proved may require the sacrifice.

359. The house of every citizen is an inviolable asylum; during the night no one has a right to enter it, except in case of fire, inundation,

tion, or a call from within the house. During the day, the orders of the constituted authorities may be executed in it. No domiciliary visit can be made but in virtue of a law, and for the person or object expressly stated in the act which orders the visit.

360. No corporation or association contrary to public order can be formed.

361. No assembly of citizens can call itself a popular society.

362. No particular society employing itself upon political questions, can correspond with any other, or affiliate with it, or hold public sittings, composed of members and auditors, distinguished from one another, or impose conditions of admission and eligibility, or arrogate rights of exclusion, or make its members wear any external mark of their association.

363. The citizens cannot exercise their political rights, but in the primary or communal assemblies.

364. All the citizens are free to address petitions to the public authorities, but the petitions must be individual: no association can present collective petitions, except the constituted authorities, and that only upon subjects appertaining to their functions. The petitioners must never forget the respect due to the constituted authorities.

365. Every armed assemblage is an offence against the constitution; it ought to be instantly dispersed by force.

366. Every assemblage, not armed, ought also to be dispersed, at first by means of verbal command, and, if necessary, by the display of armed force.

367. Several constituted autho-

rities cannot meet to deliberate together; no act issuing from such a meeting can be executed.

368. No man can wear distinctive marks which call to mind functions formerly exercised, or services performed.

369. The members of the legislative body, and all the public functionaries, wear, in the exercise of their functions, the dress or sign of the authority with which they are invested; the law determines the form of it.

370. No citizen can renounce, in whole or in part, the indemnity or salary allowed him by the law on account of public functions.

371. There is uniformity of weights and measures in the republic.

372. The French era commences on the 22d of September 1792, the day of the foundation of the republic.

373. The French nation declares, that in no case will it suffer the return of the French, who having abandoned their country since the 15th of July, 1789, are not comprehended in the exceptions made to the laws against emigrants; and the nation interdicts the legislative body from creating new exceptions upon this point. The property of emigrants is irrevocably confiscated to the benefit of the republic.

374. The French nation proclaims also as a guarantee of the public faith, that after an adjudication legally completed of national property, whatever may have been its origin, the legitimate holder cannot be dispossessed of it, but a person reclaiming it may, if there be reason, be indemnified by the national treasury.

375. None of the powers instituted

tuted by the constitution, has the right to change it, in whole or in part, saving the reforms that may be made in it, by means of revision, conformably to the dispositions of title thirteen.

376. The citizens shall call to mind incessantly, that it is upon the wisdom of choice in the primary electoral assemblies, the duration, preservation and prosperity of the republic principally depend.

377. The French people commit the deposit of the present constitution to the fidelity of the legislative body, of the executive directory, of the administrators and judges; to the vigilance of fathers of families; to wives and to mothers; to the affection of the young citizens, and to the courage of all the French.

Inspected by the representatives of the people, inspectors of the minutes.

(Signed) LEHAULT, ENJUBAULT.

Collated with the original, by us, president and secretaries of the national convention. At Paris, the 5th Fructidor (August 22, 1795), third year of the French republic.

(Signed) M. J. CHENIER, President; DERASEY, SOULIGNAC, BERNIER, LAURENCEOT, DENTZEE, QUIROT, Secretaries.

An Account of the different Sums of Money that have been paid by Great Britain to the Emperor, or the Commanders of his Imperial Majesty's Forces at different times during the present War.

1794. September 18 £.50,000.
October 30 50,000

November 19	50,000
December 18	100,000
1795. February 6	50,000
21	50,000
22	100,000
May 9	100,000

£.550,000

Whitehall, Treasury Chambers,

22d May, 1795.

CHARLES LONG.

Accurate List of the Dutch Navy belonging to the Admiralty of the Maese or Rotterdam.

	Guns.
Prins Willem den Ersten	74
De Staaton Generaal	74
Admiral Cortenar	64
Admiral Wassenaer	64
Prins Frederick	64
Herculus	64
Dortrecht	64
Rotterdam	64
Braakel	54
Delft	54
Admiral Tromp	54
Centaurus	40
Pollux	40
Castor	40
Frederica Louisa Wilhelmina	36
Jason	36
Ceres	36
Bellona	24
De Arend	24
Scipio	24
De Leeuw	16
Kemphaan	16
Wesp	16
Panther	16
Braak	16
Sperwer	16
Five smaller vessels of	12
Two ditto	6

Belonging

Belonging to the Admiralty of Zeeland.

	<i>Guns.</i>
Zuid Beverland	64
Zeeland	64
Goes	56
Thoolen	40
Brunswyk	36
Wilhelmina	36
Walcharen	24
Minerva	24
Meermin	24
Diana	10
Flora	8
Two small vessels of	6

	<i>Guns.</i>
Echo	—
Mercur	—
Three small vessels of	12
Four ditto	6

Belonging to the Admiralty of North Holland.

De 7 Provinciën	74
Noord Holland	64
Westfriesland	64
Hertsteller	64
Verwagting	64
Hoop	64
Pluto	64
Bechermer	56
Alkmaar	54
Monnikkendum	40
Medenblik	36
Enkhuizen	24
Expeditie	12

Belonging to the Admiralty of Amsterdam.

Jupiter	74
Vryheid	74
Prins Mawritz	74
Neptunus	74
Haarlem	64
Cerberix	64
Overysse	64
Utrecht	64
Gelderland	64
Leyden	64
Frederica Wilhelmina	64
Princess Louisa	54
Admiral Peit Hein	54
Batavier	54
Hector	44
Media	40
Amazone	36
Zephier	36
Meerman	36
Aliantie	36
Argo	36
Erfsprins Van Brunswyk	36
Venus	24
Waaksaamheid	24
Valk	24
Allarm	24
Dolphin	24
Het Zeepard	24
Triton	24
Havick	18
Komeet	18

Belonging to the Admiralty of Vriesland.

Vriesland	74
Groningen	74
Admiral de Vries	64
Zevenwouden	64
Westergoo	64
Oostergoo	64
Pallas	40
Karlingen	36
Ensggezindhei	36
Sirene	24
Snelheid	12

Petition of the Lord Mayor, &c. of London, 23d January, 1795.

To the Honourable the Commons of Great Britain, in Parliament assembled, the humble Petition, &c. sheweth,

THAT your petitioners deplore the evil consequences of war in general, but more particularly the disastrous effects of the present war, on the trade, manufactures, and

and commerce of the British empire.

Your petitioners conceive that none of the ends proposed by the present war either have been, or appear likely to be obtained, although it has been carried on at an unprecedented expence to this country, and has already produced an alarming increase of the national debt, augmented by subsidies paid to allies, who have notoriously violated their solemn engagements, and rendered no adequate service for large sums actually received by them, and wrung from the credulity of the generous and industrious inhabitants of this island.

Your petitioners, from their present view of public measures, presume humbly, but firmly, to express to this honourable house their decided conviction, that the principle upon which the war appears now to be carried on, neither is or can be essential to the property, the liberty, or the glory of the British empire.

Your petitioners, therefore, humbly pray, that this honourable house, disclaiming all right of interfering in the internal concerns of France, will be pleased to take such measures as they, in their wisdom, shall think proper, for the purpose of promoting a speedy peace between Great Britain and the power with whom we are at war,

Southwark Petition,

To the Honourable the House of Commons of Great Britain in Parliament assembled,

The humble Petition of the Inhabitants of the Town and Borough

of Southwark, convened by public Advertisement of the High Bailiff of the said Borough.

Sheweth,

That your petitioners, sincerely and awfully affected by a due sense of the trying and momentous circumstances, under which they now appeal to the wisdom and to the feelings of their constitutional representatives, the commons of Great Britain, in parliament assembled, find it their bounden duty to give their opinion upon the present alarming state of public affairs, with all the frankness and explicitness which the crisis demands.

And, first, your petitioners freely and zealously declare their true and unshaken attachment to the monarch on the throne, and to his royal family; and their firm determination to support the genuine principles of this most excellent constitution; should any attempt, from whatever quarter, whether foreign or domestic, be made to subvert it.

In revolving, however, the events of the present war with France, your petitioners, with the deepest concern, have observed that the uniform bravery manifested by the British fleets and armies, has, in no respect, advanced the presumed object of the war, and now, less than ever, appears likely to attain it.

The consideration of the disasters and defeats which have lately attended the unsupported efforts of the British arms on the continent, is, in the minds of your petitioners, bitterly aggravated by the reflection that those allies, whose councils and resentments first

first engaged us in the contest, have wrung, from the credulity and confidence of the generous and industrious people of Great Britain, large sums of money, for which, in violation of all faith, no adequate service appears to have been performed, or attempted.

In the events of a campaign, so unparalleled in calamity, your petitioners, among other fatal consequences, perceive a large addition to the existing national debt, the speedy diminution of which has been long held forth to your petitioners, and to the country, as a measure indispensably necessary to the maintenance of the constitution, as well as to the credit of Great Britain.

Under the increasing pressure of such burthens, your petitioners are convinced, however highly they are disposed to estimate the fortitude and loyalty of all descriptions of their countrymen, and however readily they admit the temporary advantages which both the general commerce and the public funds of this country may have derived from the terrors and calamities of other nations, that the consequences of persevering in the present destructive war must tend rapidly to depress and ruin the occupations of useful labour, and profitable industry; and ultimately to destroy the only true sources of the nation's power, our trade, our commerce, and our manufactures.

Under this impression, your petitioners are compelled to turn their thoughts most seriously, and eagerly, to the only real remedy for the evils they apprehend, peace;—for in the tranquillity, the civilized intercourse, and the commercial prosperity of the surround-

ing nations of Europe, your petitioners conceive the commercial interests of Great Britain can alone find their interest and support. In the pursuits of vengeance or ambition, in wars and camps, in desolation and blood-shed, even were the contest attended with temporary success, the result to a country, circumstanced as this is, must be national bankruptcy, and ultimate ruin.

On these grounds your petitioners humbly, but distinctly, pray, that your honourable house, disclaiming every pretence of right on the part of Great Britain, to create or correct a government for France, and disregarding whatever is or may be the title or construction of the ruling power, which either does, or may exist in that country, will earnestly adopt the most effectual means for recommending an immediate negotiation for peace, on terms consistent with the honour and security of the British empire. And your petitioners further assure your honourable house, that if, contrary to the hopes of your petitioners, motives of inordinate ambition, or of implacable resentment, however rashly and improvidently excited, in the mind of the enemy, should render it impossible to obtain a termination of hostilities upon safe and honourable terms, your petitioners will be found among the readiest of his majesty's loyal subjects, to stand forward to the last means of exertion, in defence of their country, or to perish with its fall.

And your petitioners will ever pray,

[Variety of other petitions to the same purposes, which were echoes of the

the above were presented. A very few counter petitions were also laid on the table.]

Copy of a Circular Letter written by Mr. Dundas, on the Subject of Manning the Navy.

Horse-Guards, Jan. 17, 1795.

SIR,

HIS majesty's ministers being desirous of submitting to parliament the most speedy and effectual means of procuring an additional supply of men for his majesty's naval service; and being desirous, for that purpose, to receive the best information on that subject from the principal ports in the kingdom, I have thought it right to apprise you of it, in order that you may communicate this intention to the merchants and traders of Hull; and in hopes that they will send up some persons enabled to state whatever may occur to them with a view to the general service, as well as to the particular interest of that port.

I am Sir,

Your obedient servant,

(Signed) HENRY DUNDAS.

The Mayor of Hull.

Answer from the Mayor of Yarmouth.

SIR,

IN consequence of your letter of the 17th instant, there have been two public meetings of the merchants and ship-owners of this port, whose opinion, on the subject

of it, I am requested to communicate to you.

With respect to any particular persons being deputed by Yarmouth to wait on his majesty's ministers, it was thought, that as various plans for procuring supplies for the naval service have, at different times, been suggested by many, who had the best opportunities for ascertaining the most effectual means for that purpose, very little additional information could be communicated on this subject.

The putting of the navy upon the most respectable footing, however, being in the present situation of affairs highly important, still larger bounties and an increase of wages, together with a more speedy and regular payment, by way of support to the families of seamen, were conceived to be measures indispensably requisite.

The establishment of an equitable peace appeared, at the same time, to be the object deserving of principal attention; for the speedy negotiation of which, it is respectfully recommended to government that every just and proper mode may be adopted. After this, should the ambition of the enemy render a continuance of the war necessary, persons of every description, it was the unanimous opinion, would cheerfully unite in whatever might contribute to a vigorous prosecution of it.

I have the honour to remain,

Sir, your most obedient,

And very humble servant.

Yarmouth, WILLIAM TAYLOR,
Jan. 28th, 1795.

Estimate of the Charge of Foreign Troops in the Service of Great Britain, for the Year 1795, laid before Parliament on Jan. 14th.

	<i>Hanoverians.</i>	Numbers. 18,000	Charge for 365 days. £.
Pay	— — — — —	—	388,172
Recruiting, artillery, and contingent charges	— — — — —	—	107,483
			<u>495,655</u>
<i>Troops belonging to the Landgrave of Hesse Cassel, 12,000</i>			
Pay	— — — — —	—	223,099
Subsidy	— — — — —	—	84,210
<i>Additional Corps of two Brigades of Hessian Artillery, 531</i>			
Pay	— — — — —	—	9872
Subsidy	— — — — —	—	16,072
			<u>333,253</u>
<i>Troops belonging to the Landgrave of Hesse Darm- stadt, } 3000</i>			
Pay	— — — — —	—	55,774
Subsidy	— — — — —	—	20,302
			<u>76,076</u>
<i>Troops belonging to the Duke of Brunswick, 2,289</i>			
Levy money	— — — — —	—	17,659
Subsidy	— — — — —	—	15,565
Pay	— — — — —	—	45,022
Charges of marching and equipping of officers	— — — — —	—	13,096
			<u>92,242</u>
		Total 35,820	<u>£.997,226</u>

War Office, 13th January, 1795.

W. WINDHAM.

An Account of the Troops employed by the King of Prussia in pursuance of the Treaty signed at the Hague in April, 1794, as far as the same can be ascertained, laid before Parliament in February.

BY the table annexed to the Prussian treaty it appears, that the force therein stipulated

for by the maritime powers, was to consist of fifty-two battalions and sixty squadrons, which, together with the artillery, &c. formed an army of 62,407 men, viz.

Bearing arms - - - 51,442

Not bearing arms - - 10,965

By the statement made in the beginning of June to Lord Malmesbury, by count Haugwitz, the Prussian

Prussian minister, and also by an Austrian officer of rank; who was then just arrived from the Prussian army, it appeared that the army immediately under marshal Mollendorf was complete to 62,400 effective men; but in the statement of the latter it was added that the corps under general Kalkreuth, which was to furnish the contingent of 20,000 men to the emperor, was not complete.

By a dispatch from marquis Cornwallis, dated Mayence, 21st June, it appears that marshal Mollendorf then represented to his lordship, that the corps stipulated in the treaty was complete at the time of the signature to 51,000 fighting men; but that they were since reduced by casualties to 39,000 fighting men, and that the whole force under marshal Mollendorf's command, including men of all descriptions, amounted at that time to 84,000.

By an abstract, taken from an inclosure in a dispatch from lord Malmesbury to lord Gernville; it appears that the return of the Prussian army employed on the Rhine on the 6th of August was,

Under	Batt.	Squadrs.
General Kalkreuth	19	— 30
Prince Hohenloe	19	— 35
General Ruchel	9	— 15
Marshal Mollendorf	30	— 20
	77	100

In the return of the Prussian force transmitted by lieutenant-colonel Don, dated 26th of October, 1794, it appears that at that period it consisted of 70,000 men.

In another return of the Prussian force transmitted by the same officer, dated November, 1794, in which the names of the corps are specified, a list is given of 77 battalions and 100 squadrons. This list includes the names of all the battalions and squadrons enumerated in the table annexed to the treaty.

N. B. Besides the force which the king of Prussia was to furnish, under the treaty with the maritime powers, he was bound to furnish his contingent as a member of the empire, and the contingent stipulated for under his treaty with the emperor was 20,000 men.

Account of the Number of Foreign Troops actually in British Pay, as far as the same can be ascertained by the latest Returns received at the Secretary of State's Office, laid before the House of Commons on the 13th of February, 1795.

	Returns	Cavalry.	Infant.
Hanoverians	Nov. 1, 1794	2440	8972
Hesse Cassel	Ditto	1750	4353
Hesse Darmstadt	Ditto	446	1145
La Chartre's Loy. Emg.	Dec. 1	—	732
British Hulans	October 1	521	—
Salm's Hussars	Ditto	798	—
Hompesch's Hussars	Ditto	616	—
Rohan's Hussars	Ditto	858	—
Choiseul's Hussars	Ditto	883	—
			York

	Returns.	Cavalry.	Infant.
York Hussars	Ditto	569	—
Ditto Rangers	Ditto	—	461
Hompesch's Chasseurs	Ditto	—	89
Rohan's Light Infantry	Ditto	—	828
Salm's Light Infantry	No returns received	—	—
Power's Chasseurs		Total 8881	1680
Perigord's Light Infan.			

Ceremony of the Acquittal of Warren Hastings, Esq. (late Governor General of Bengal) before the High Court of Parliament, for High Crimes and Misdemeanors.

ON Thursday, April 23, this celebrated trial, which began on the 12th of February 1788, came to a decision. The hall was as much crowded as on the first day. The splendour of the assembly, from the number of ladies, it is impossible to describe. Mr. Fox and the rest of the managers came into their box at twelve o'clock. The peers entered the hall half an hour afterwards.

Proclamation being made in the usual way, Warren Hastings, esq. with his bail, came into the court, and was directed to withdraw.

The lord chancellor then stood up, and said, that the lords had upon Friday last resolved, that judgment should be given this day on the charges of high crimes and misdemeanors brought by the house of commons against Warren Hastings, esq.

The following are the resolutions which they entered into, and the questions to be put to the lords severally:

Resolved by the lords spiritual and temporal, in parliament assembled, that the following questions be put to the lords in Westminster hall, viz.

1. Is Warren Hastings, esq. guilty, or not guilty, of high crimes and misdemeanors, charged upon him by the commons in the first article of charge?

2. Is Warren Hastings, esq. guilty, or not guilty, of high crimes and misdemeanors, charged upon him by the commons in the second article of charge?

3. Is Warren Hastings, esq. guilty, or not guilty, of high crimes and misdemeanors, charged upon him by the commons in the sixth article of charge, in so far as relates to the said Warren Hastings having in the years 1772, 1773, and 1774, corruptly taken the several sums of money charged to have been taken by him in the said years, from the several persons in the said article particularly mentioned?

4. Is Warren Hastings, esq. guilty, or not guilty, of high crimes and misdemeanors, charged upon him by the commons in the sixth article of charge, in so far as relates to his having, on or before the 26th of June 1780, corruptly received and taken from Sadanund, the Buxey of the Rajah Cheit Sing, the sum of two lacks of rupees as a present or a gift?

5. Is Warren Hastings, esq. guilty, or not guilty, of high crimes and misdemeanors, charged upon him by the commons in the sixth article of charge, in so far as relates to his having, in October 1780,

1780, taken and received from Kelleraam, on behalf of himself and a certain person called Cullian Sing, a sum of money amounting to four lacks of rupees, in consideration of letting to them certain lands in the province of Bahar in perpetuity, contrary to his duty, and to the injury of the East India company?

6. Is Warren Hastings, esq. guilty, or not guilty, of high crimes and misdemeanors, charged upon him by the commons in the sixth article of charge, in so far as relates to his having, in the year 1781, received and taken as a present from Nundoolol, the sum of fifty-eight thousand rupees?

7. Is Warren Hastings, esq. guilty, or not guilty, of high crimes and misdemeanors, charged upon him by the commons in the sixth article of charge, in so far as relates to his having, on or about the month of September, 1781, at Chunar, in the province of Oude, contrary to his duty, taken and received as a present from the vizier the sum of ten lacks of rupees?

8. Is Warren Hastings, esq. guilty, or not guilty, of high crimes and misdemeanors, charged upon him by the commons in the sixth article of charge, in so far as relates to his having first fraudulently solicited as a loan, and of his having afterwards corruptly and illegally taken and retained as a present or gift, from rajah Nobkissen, a sum of money amounting to 34,000*l.* sterling; and of his having, without any allowance from the directors, or any person, authorized to grant such allowance, applied the same to his own use, under pretence of discharging certain expences said to be incurred

by the said Warren Hastings in his public capacity?

9. Is Warren Hastings, esq. guilty, or not guilty, of high crimes and misdemeanors, charged upon him by the commons in the fourth article of charge, in so far as relates to his having, in the year 1781, granted a contract for the provision of opium for four years, to Stephen Sullivan, esq. without advertising for the same, and upon terms glaringly extravagant and wantonly profuse, for the purpose of creating an instant fortune to the said Stephen Sullivan?

10. Is Warren Hastings, esq. guilty, or not guilty, of high crimes and misdemeanors, charged upon him by the commons in the fourth article of charge, in so far as relates to his having borrowed money at a large interest, for the purpose of advancing the same to the contractor for opium, and engaging the East India company in a smuggling adventure to China?

11. Is Warren Hastings, esq. guilty, or not guilty, of high crimes and misdemeanors, charged upon him by the commons in the fourth article of charge, in so far as relates to the contract for bullocks granted to Charles Croft, esq.

12. Is Warren Hastings, esq. guilty, or not guilty, of high crimes and misdemeanors, charged upon him by the commons in the fourth article of charge, in so far as relates to his having granted the provision of bullocks to sir Charles Blunt by the mode of agency?

13. Is Warren Hastings, esq. guilty, or not guilty, of high crimes and misdemeanors, charged upon him by the commons in the fourth article of charge, in so far as relates to the several allowances charged

to have been made to sir Eyre Coote, and directed to be paid by the vizier for the use of the said sir Eyre Coote?

14. Is Warren Hastings, esq. guilty, or not guilty, of high crimes and misdemeanors, charged upon him by the commons in the fourth article of charge, in so far as relates to the appointment of James Peter Auriol, esq. to be agent for the purchase of supplies for the relief of the presidency of Madras, and all the other presidencies in India, with a commission of fifteen per cent.?

15. Is Warren Hastings, esq. guilty, or not guilty, of high crimes and misdemeanors, charged upon him by the commons in the fourth article of charge, in so far as relates to the appointment of John Belli, esq. to be agent for the supply of stores and provisions for the garrison of Fort William in Bengal, with a commission of thirty per cent.?

16. Is Warren Hastings, esq. guilty, or not guilty, of the residue of the high crimes and misdemeanors, or any of them, charged upon him by the impeachment of the commons?

Resolved, by the lords spiritual and temporal, in parliament assembled, that the said questions shall be severally put in Westminster-hall to each of the lords, beginning with the junior baron; and that the only answer shall be given by each lord in these words:—"Guilty, upon my honour;" or, "Not guilty, upon my honour;" laying his right hand on his breast.

The lord chancellor held in his hand a list of the peers present, and who had taken their seats in

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their robes before the throne. Those peers who did not mean to vote retired behind the throne.

The noble lord then began with the junior peer present, in the following manner:

George lord Douglas, is Warren Hastings, esq. guilty, or not guilty, of the high crimes and misdemeanors charged upon him by the commons in the first article of charge? Lord Douglas stood up, took off his hat, and laying his right hand on his heart, pronounced—Not guilty, upon my honour.

James lord Fife, how say you?—Not guilty, upon my honour.

Charles lord Somers, how say you?—Not guilty, upon my honour.

Francis lord Rawdon, how say you?—Not guilty, upon my honour.

Thomas lord Walsingham, how say you?—Not guilty, upon my honour.

Edward lord Thurlow, how say you?—Not guilty, upon my honour.

Martin lord Hawke, how say you?—Not guilty, upon my honour.

Frederic lord Boston, how say you?—Not guilty, upon my honour.

Edwin lord Sandys, how say you?—Not guilty, upon my honour.

Henry lord Middleton, how say you?—Not guilty, upon my honour.

Samuel lord bishop of Rochester, how say you?—Not guilty, upon my honour.

John lord bishop of Bangor, how say you?—Not guilty, upon my honour.

I

Thomas

Thomas lord viscount Sidney, how say you?—Not guilty, upon my honour.

George lord viscount Falmouth, how say you?—Not guilty, upon my honour.

Henry earl of Caernarvon, how say you?—Guilty, upon my honour.

Joseph earl of Dorchester, how say you?—Not guilty, upon my honour.

Algernon earl of Beverley, how say you?—Not guilty, upon my honour.

Jacob earl of Radnor, how say you?—Guilty, upon my honour.

William earl Fitzwilliam, how say you?—Guilty, upon my honour.

George earl of Warwick, how say you?—Not guilty, upon my honour.

George William earl of Coventry, how say you?—Not guilty, upon my honour.

John earl of Suffolk, how say you?—Guilty, upon my honour.

George marquis Townshend, how say you?—Not guilty, upon my honour.

Francis duke of Bridgewater, how says your grace?—Not guilty, upon my honour.

Francis duke of Leeds, how says your grace?—Not guilty, upon my honour.

Charles duke of Norfolk, how says your grace?—Guilty, upon my honour.

David earl of Mansfield, how say you?—Not guilty, upon my honour.

William lord archbishop of York, how says your grace?—Not guilty, upon my honour.

Alexander lord Loughborough, the lord chancellor pronounced—Guilty, upon my honour.

Thus on the first question, twenty-three peers pronounced Mr. Hastings not guilty. Six pronounced him guilty.

On the 2d question the numbers were the same.

On the 3d question he was unanimously declared not guilty. The duke of Norfolk then retired behind the throne and did not vote any more.

On the fourth question, four peers pronounced him guilty—the earl of Caernarvon, earl Fitzwilliam, earl of Suffolk, and the lord chancellor; all the rest not guilty.—Lord Suffolk then withdrew.

On the 5th, 6th, and 7th, lord Caernarvon, lord Fitzwilliam, and the lord chancellor, guilty—all the rest not guilty.

On the 8th, lord Caernarvon, lord Fitzwilliam, lord Mansfield, and the lord chancellor, guilty—all the rest not guilty.

On the 9th, lord Walsingham, lord Caernarvon, lord Radnor, lord Fitzwilliam, and the lord chancellor, guilty—all the rest not guilty.

On the 10th he was unanimously acquitted.

On the 11th and 12th lord Caernarvon, lord Fitzwilliam, and the chancellor, guilty—all the rest not guilty.

On the 13th and 14th, lord Caernarvon, lord Radnor, lord Fitzwilliam, and the chancellor, guilty—all the rest not guilty.

On the 15th and 17th, lord Caernarvon, lord Fitzwilliam, and the lord chancellor, guilty—all the rest not guilty.

The following will shew the whole in one point of view.

The figures answer to the 16 questions. N. G. stands for not guilty. G. stands for guilty.

Lord

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
Lord Douglas, (E. of Morton)	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.
Lord Fife	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.
Lord Somers	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.
Lord Raydon, (E. Moira)	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.
Lord Walsingham	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.
Lord Thurlow	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.
Lord Hawke	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.
Lord Boston	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.
Lord Sandys	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.
Lord Middleton	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.
Bishop of Rochester	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.
Bishop of Bangor	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.
Lord Viscount Sidney	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.
Lord Viscount Falmouth	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.
Earl of Caernarvon	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.
Earl of Dorchester	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.
Earl of Beverley	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.
Earl of Radnor	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.
Earl Fitzwilliam	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.
Earl of Warwick	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.
Earl of Coventry	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.
Earl of Suffolk	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.
Marquis of Townshend	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.
Duke of Bridgewater	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.
Duke of Leeds	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.
Duke of Norfolk	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.
E. of Mansfield, (L. President)	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.
Lord Archbishop of York	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.
L. Loughborough, (L. Chan.)	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.	N.G.
Total, Not Guilty	23	23	28	24	24	24	24	24	22	28	24	24	23	23	24	24
Guilty	6	—	—	4	3	3	3	5	5	—	3	3	4	4	3	5

As soon as they had gone through all the 16 questions,

The lord chancellor said, it appears that there is a great majority for the acquittal of the prisoner on each of the articles; I am, therefore pursuant to your lordships' directions, to declare that Warren Hastings, esq. is acquitted of all the charges of impeachment brought against him by the commons, and of all the matter contained therein.

Mr. Hastings was then called to come into court: he came into his

box, and knelt in the usual way; the chancellor desired him to rise, and addressed him in these words:

"Warren Hastings, you are acquitted of all the charges of impeachment brought against you by the commons, and of all the matter contained therein; you and your bail, therefore, are discharged."

Mr. Hastings bowed to the house.

The lord chancellor moved that their lordships do adjourn to the chamber of parliament.

SUPPLIES granted by Parliament for the Service of the Year 1795.

N A V Y.

JAN. 8.

	£.	s.	d.
FOR 100,000 men, including 15,000 marines	5200,000	0	0

FEB. 17.

Ordinary of the navy	-	-	-	589,683	3	9
Extra navy	-	-	-	525,840	0	0
				<u>£.6,315,523</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>9</u>

A R M Y.

JAN. 22.

For 119,380 men, as guards and garrisons	2777,534	19	1
Forces in the plantations	691,307	15	7
Difference between British and Irish pay	40,096	9	9
Troops in the East Indies	8323	17	10½
Recruiting land-forces, contingencies, &c.	385,000	0	0
Levy money, &c. for augmentation to the forces	480,000	0	0
General and staff-officers, &c.	115,820	0	3
Full pay to supernumerary officers	79,978	4	4
Allowances to the paymaster-general, &c.	110,820	18	3
Reduced officers of land-forces and marines	128,864	3	9
Reduced horse-guards	135	16	3
Officers late in the service of the States General	1000	0	0

Reduced

	£.	s.	d.
Reduced officers of British American forces	60,000	0	0
Widows' pensions	10,387	13	3
Scotch roads and bridges	4500	0	0
Embodied militia and fencible infantry	930,047	12	3
Contingencies, &c. for ditto	210,000	0	0
Clothing for militia	107,137	11	6
Fencible cavalry	280,048	8	3
Bread and necessaries for ditto	80,000	0	0
Hanoverian troops	495,655	0	0
Troops of Hesse Cassel	333,253	0	0
Troops of Hesse Darmstadt	76,076	0	0
Brunswick troops	92,242	0	0
FEB. 23.			
Extraordinaries	3,063,968	12	4
Regiments and corps to be raised	427,269	1	6
FEB. 26.			
Subsidy to the king of Sardinia	200,000	0	0
APRIL 27.			
Augmentations to the militia	23,806	11	5
Corps transferred from the Irish to the British establishment	246,877	15	0
Chelsea pensioners	149,856	15	1
	<u>£.11,610,008</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>8½</u>

O R D N A N C E.

JAN. 22.			
Land service, not provided for in 1793	34,155	1	9
Sea service, ditto	25,357	14	5
Land service, ditto, in 1794	1,045,305	19	8
Sea service, ditto	39,387	0	3
Ordnance for 1795	1,176,804	17	9
	<u>£.2,321,010</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>10</u>

MISCELLANEOUS SERVICES.

JAN. 6.			
To discharge exchequer bills	£.6,000,000	0	0
FEB. 19.			
Civil establishment of Upper Canada	7175	0	0
Ditto, Nova Scotia	4415	0	0
Ditto, New Brunswick	4550	0	0
Ditto, St. John's Island	1900	0	0
Ditto, Cape Breton	1800	0	0
I 3			Ditto,

Ditto, Newfoundland	-	1232	10	0
Ditto, Bahama Islands	-	4050	0	0
Salary of the chief-justice of the Bermuda Islands	-	580	0	0
Ditto of Dominica	-	600	0	0
Civil establishment of New South Wales	-	5241	0	0
Extraordinary expence of the Mint, from Jan. 1, to July 27, 1794	} 5682	2	4	
Ditto, from July 28, to Dec. 31, 1794	-	1386	2	6
FEB. 23.				
Address money	-	47,649	1	5
American and East Florida sufferers	-	259,641	3	7
Expences of Mr. Hastings's prosecution	-	4794	6	6
For sending articles to New South Wales	-	6958	8	4
Convicts on the Thames	-	11,463	13	8
Ditto at Langstone and Portsmouth	-	15,440	5	11½
Allowances for the relief of American civil officers, sufferers	} 24,500	0	0	
French proprietors of St. Domingo	-	1059	14	0
Relief of the suffering clergy and laity of France	-	98,410	0	0
His majesty's service abroad	-	24,335	18	0
To discharge fees on escheats and forfeitures in Nova Scotia	} 468	16	1	
For business arising out of the Alien Act	-	1089	16	1
For perfecting the index to the journals of the house of lords	} 2823	10	5	
For business done relative to penitentiary houses	-	2823	10	5
For the Board of Agriculture	-	3000	0	0
FEB. 26.				
For the reduction of the national debt	-	200,000	0	0
MARCH 3.				
African forts	-	20,000	0	0
Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel for extraordinaries incur- red during the late war in America, by the Hes- sian troops in his majesty's service	} 68,850	12	0½	
To the representatives of Richard Oswald, esq. as contractor for bread, forage, &c. for the allied army in Germany, between the years 1758 and 1763	} 41,688	14	6½	
APRIL 27.				
To Mr. Mash, for money advanced by him for the first five payments towards the lottery for 1794, and forfeited by omitting to make the future pay- ments	} 525	16	8	
MAY 14.				
For forming an establishment in Africa	-	4069	2	0
For the suffering clergy and laity of France	-	37,500	0	0
JUNE 10.				
Veterinary college	-	1500	0	0
JUNE				

JUNE 15.

Preparations for the prince of Wales's marriage	-	27,500	0	0
Completing the works at Carlton House	-	25,000	0	0
		<u>£.7,467,750</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>2½</u>

DEFICIENCIES.

APRIL 20.

Deficiency of grants in 1794	-	744,057	11	1
To complete money granted out of the consolidated fund	-	848,915	4	2¾
		<u>£.1,592,972</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>3¾</u>

Navy,	-	6,315,523	3	0
Army,	-	11,610,008	5	8½
Ordnance,	-	2,321,010	13	10
Miscellaneous services,	-	7,467,750	12	2½
Deficiencies,	-	<u>1,592,972</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>3¾</u>
		<u>£.29,307,265</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>9¾</u>

WAYS and MEANS for raising the Supplies for 1795.

JAN. 8.

Land and malt-tax,	-	2,750,000	0	0
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FEB. 24.

Annuities,	-	18,000,000	0	0
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MAR. 9.

Exchequer bills,	-	3,500,000	0	0
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MAR. 26.

Profit of a lottery, 55,000 tickets, at £.13 15s. 10d.	-	258,541	13	4
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MAR. 31.

Exchequer bills,	-	2,500,000	0	0
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APRIL 23.

Surplus of consolidated fund,	-	2,895,000	0	0
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£.29,903,541 13 4

Principal Public Acts passed in the Fifth Session of the Seventeenth Parliament of Great Britain.

January 21.

Land and malt-tax bills.

February 5.

An act to continue, for a limited time; an act made in the last session of parliament, intituled, "An act to empower his majesty to secure

and detain such persons as his majesty shall suspect are conspiring against his person and government.

March 5.

An act for raising a certain number of men, in the several counties of England, for the service of the navy.

The mutiny bill.

The marine mutiny bill.

I 4

April

April 16.

An act for procuring a supply of men, from the several ports of this kingdom, for the service of the navy.

April 28.

An act further to continue the act respecting aliens.

The American intercourse bill.

An act to enable petty officers in the navy, and seamen, non-commissioned officers of marines, &c. to allot part of their pay, for the maintenance of their wives and families.

An act to enable magistrates, in the several counties of Great Britain, to raise and levy such able-bodied and idle persons as shall be found in the said counties, to serve in the navy.

An act for making allowances, in certain cases, to subaltern officers of the militia, in time of peace.

An act for raising a certain number of men, in the several counties, &c. of Scotland, to serve in the navy.

May 19.

An act for making part of certain principal sums, or stock and annuities, created by the parliament of the Kingdom of Ireland, &c. transferable and the dividends payable, at the bank of England.

An act for increasing the rates of subsistence to be paid to innkeepers, &c. on quartering soldiers, for a limited time.

An act to render more effectual an act of James I. against bigamy.

June 22.

An act for guaranteeing the payment of the dividends on a loan of four millions six hundred thousand pounds, to the emperor of Germany.

An act for establishing a more easy and expeditious method for the punctual and frequent payment

of the wages of certain officers belonging to the navy.

An act for enabling boatswains, gunner, and carpenters in the navy, to allot part of their pay for the maintenance of their families.

An act for the further relief of persons imprisoned for want of bail, in certain cases relating to the revenue.

An act for the more effectual prevention of the use of defective weights, and of false and unequal balances.

June 26.

An act to prevent the accumulation of debts by any future heir-apparent of the crown; and for regulating the mode of expenditure, from the time when a separate establishment shall be made for such future heir-apparent.

An act to enable his majesty to erect independent burghs of barony, &c. in Scotland.

An act for the more easy and expeditious recovery of small debts in Scotland.

An act for more effectually carrying into execution an act, 33 Geo. III. for the encouragement and relief of friendly societies.

An act for enabling woolcombers to exercise trades in any town of Great Britain.

An act for widening and improving the entrance into the city of London by Temple Bar and Snow Hill, &c.

July 27.

An act for enabling his majesty to settle an annuity on the prince of Wales; for making provision, out of his revenues, for the payment of debts due from his royal highness; for preventing the accumulation of debts in future; and for regulating the mode of expenditure of the said revenues.

An act for making provision for a jointure for the princess of Wales.

PRICES OF STOCK, FOR THE YEAR 1795.

N. B. The highest and lowest Prices of each Stock, in the Course of any Month, are put down in that Month.

APPENDIX to the CHRONICLE.

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	Bank Stock.	5 per Cents.	Long Ann.	Short Ann.	India Stock.	India Bonds.	S. Sea. Stock.	Old Ann.	New Ann.	Navy Bills.	Exchequer Bills.	Lottery Tickets.
Jan.	155 1/2	65 1/2	18 1/2	8 1/2	189 1/4	10 pre.	69 1/2	65	63 1/4	3 1/4 dis.	11s. pre.	20 9 0
	150 1/2	62 1/2	18 1/2	8 1/4	180 1/4	Par.	65	63 1/4	61 1/2	2 1/4	3s.	19 17 0
Feb.	153 1/2	64 1/2	18 1/2	9	184 1/4	11 pre.	66	62 1/4		2 1/2 dis.	10s. pre.	20 0 0
	151	62 1/2	18 1/2	8 1/2	180 1/2	3 pre.				2 1/2	3s.	18 3 0
March	154 1/2	64 1/2	18 1/2	8 1/2	182 1/4	7 pre.	66 1/2	62 1/2	62 1/2	4 dis.	10s. pre.	
	153 1/2	63 1/2	18 1/2	8 1/2	181 1/4	6 dis.	66 1/4			2 1/4	10s. dis.	
April	162	67	18 1/2	8 1/2	193	Par.		65		3 1/2 dis.	1s. pre.	
	152 1/2	65 1/2	18 1/2	8 1/2	180 1/4	6 dis.		63 1/2		2 1/2	6s. dis.	
May	164 1/2	67	18 1/2	8 1/2	195 1/4	Par.		66 1/2	65 1/2	3 1/4 dis.	3s. pre.	
	158 1/2	64 1/2	18 1/2	8 1/2	190	4 dis.		64 1/2	64	2 1/2	3s. dis.	
June	168 1/2	68 1/2	18 1/2	8 1/2	200 1/4	1 pre.		66 1/2		4 dis.	4s. pre.	
	162 1/2	66	18 1/2	8 1/2	194	8 dis.		66 1/4		2 1/2	5s. dis.	
July	171 1/2	70 1/2	19 1/2	8 1/2	204 1/4	5 pre.		69		3 1/4 dis.	4s. pre.	
	165 1/2	67 1/2	18 1/2	8 1/2	196 1/4	3 dis.				2 1/2	3s. dis.	
Aug.	174 1/2	71 1/2	20 1/2	9 1/2	203	10 pre.	73	70 1/4	69 1/2	2 1/2 dis.	2s	14 6 0
	166 1/2	68 1/2	19 1/2	8 1/2	196	5 pre	72 1/2	68 1/2	68 1/2	1 1/4	14s. pre.	14 3 0
Sept.	171 1/2	70 1/2	20 1/2	9	201 1/4	15 pre.	73	70 1/4	68 1/2	2 1/2 dis.	3s.	14 3 0
	168 1/2	68 1/2	19 1/2	8 1/2	198 1/4	4 pre.	72 1/2		68 1/4	1 1/4	8s. pre.	13 18 0
Oct.	170	70 1/2	19 1/2	9	200	10 pre.	72 1/2	68 1/2	69	3 dis.	2s.	14 7 0
	166	67 1/2	18 1/2	8 1/2	196 1/4	3 pre.	71 1/4	67 1/2		2 1/2	3s. pre.	13 19 0
Nov.	168 1/2	68 1/2	19 1/2	8 1/2	204	6 pre.	72 1/2	67 1/2	68 1/4	3 1/2 dis.	5s. dis.	14 18 0
	162	66	18 1/2	8 1/2	199 1/4	2 dis.	72	67 1/4		2 1/2	19s. dis.	14 18 0
Dec.	180	71	19 1/2	8 1/2	219	5 dis.		68 1/2		4 1/2 dis.	4s.	14 2 0
	165 1/2	66 1/2	18 1/2	8 1/2	200	11		68 1/4		3 1/4		

Prices of the Products of Live Stock, paid by the Victualling-Office.

From 1740 to 1795.

Date.	Beef.			Pork.		
	cwt.		lb.	cwt.		lb.
	s.	d.	d.	s.	d.	d.
1740 23	7	$\frac{3}{4}$	$2\frac{1}{2} \frac{15}{112}$	31	$0\frac{1}{2}$	$3\frac{1}{2} \frac{34}{112}$
41 24	9	$\frac{1}{2}$	$2\frac{1}{2} \frac{70}{112}$	36	$3\frac{1}{4}$	$3\frac{1}{2} \frac{61}{112}$
42 24	4		$2\frac{1}{2} \frac{48}{112}$	32	9	$3\frac{1}{2} \frac{4}{2112}$
43 19	$2\frac{1}{2}$		$2\frac{1}{2} \frac{26}{112}$	27	2	$2\frac{1}{2} \frac{71}{112}$
44 18	$3\frac{1}{2}$		$1\frac{3}{4} \frac{94}{112}$	22	$5\frac{1}{2}$	$2\frac{1}{2} \frac{70}{112}$
45 19	$9\frac{1}{2}$		$2\frac{1}{2} \frac{54}{112}$	21	9	$2\frac{1}{2} \frac{36}{112}$
46 21	$3\frac{3}{8}$		$2\frac{1}{2} \frac{12}{112}$	24	$8\frac{1}{4}$	$2\frac{1}{2} \frac{65}{112}$
47 19	$4\frac{1}{4}$		$2\frac{1}{2} \frac{33}{112}$	24	$0\frac{1}{2}$	$2\frac{1}{2} \frac{34}{112}$
67 25	$5\frac{1}{2}$		$2\frac{1}{2} \frac{102}{112}$			
68 25	$3\frac{1}{2}$		$2\frac{1}{2} \frac{94}{112}$			
69 22	9		$2\frac{1}{2} \frac{84}{112}$	33	0	$3\frac{1}{2} \frac{16}{112}$
70 22	$2\frac{1}{2}$		$2\frac{1}{2} \frac{58}{112}$	41	$5\frac{1}{2}$	$4\frac{1}{2} \frac{84}{112}$
71 22	6		$2\frac{1}{2} \frac{72}{112}$	43	3	$4\frac{1}{2} \frac{62}{112}$
72 26	3		$2\frac{3}{4} \frac{28}{112}$	52	6	$5\frac{1}{2} \frac{56}{112}$
73 24	$0\frac{1}{2}$		$2\frac{1}{2} \frac{32}{112}$	49	11	$5\frac{1}{2} \frac{44}{112}$
74 28	$8\frac{1}{2}$		$3\frac{3}{4} \frac{34}{112}$	38	3	$4\frac{1}{2} \frac{44}{112}$
75 30	$4\frac{1}{2}$		$3\frac{1}{2} \frac{2}{112}$	44	$7\frac{1}{2}$	$4\frac{1}{2} \frac{14}{112}$
76 28	7		$3\frac{2}{3} \frac{28}{112}$	42	$11\frac{3}{4}$	$4\frac{1}{2} \frac{47}{112}$
77 28	$5\frac{1}{2}$		$3\frac{2}{3} \frac{22}{112}$	43	$11\frac{1}{2}$	$4\frac{1}{2} \frac{94}{112}$
78 25	8		$2\frac{3}{4}$	43	0	$4\frac{1}{2} \frac{48}{112}$
79 33	2		$3\frac{1}{2}$	38	6	$4\frac{1}{2} \frac{56}{112}$
80 31	2		$3\frac{1}{2} \frac{40}{112}$	40	9	$4\frac{1}{2} \frac{52}{112}$
81 26	3		$2\frac{3}{4} \frac{28}{112}$	37	6	$4\frac{1}{2} \frac{8}{112}$
82 26	8		$2\frac{3}{4} \frac{48}{112}$	41	0	$4\frac{1}{2} \frac{64}{112}$
83 30	0		$3\frac{9}{112}$			
84						
85 25	6		$2\frac{1}{2} \frac{104}{112}$	45	0	$4\frac{1}{2} \frac{32}{112}$
86 28	6		$3\frac{2}{3} \frac{24}{112}$			
87 26	5		$2\frac{3}{4} \frac{36}{112}$			
88 29	1		$3\frac{5}{112}$	47	11	$5\frac{60}{112}$
89 29	2		$3\frac{5}{112}$	43	11	$4\frac{1}{2} \frac{92}{112}$
90 28	9		$3\frac{3}{112}$	43	2	$4\frac{1}{2} \frac{56}{112}$
91 28	6		$3\frac{24}{112}$	46	5	$4\frac{1}{2} \frac{100}{112}$
92 28	7		$3\frac{28}{112}$	46	5	$4\frac{1}{2} \frac{100}{112}$
93 30	4		$3\frac{1}{4}$	46	5	$4\frac{1}{2} \frac{108}{112}$
94 31	10		$3\frac{1}{4} \frac{72}{112}$	47	7	$5\frac{44}{112}$
95 33	11		$3\frac{1}{2} \frac{60}{112}$	51	3	$5\frac{1108}{112}$

It has been thought by many persons that the carcass butchers, at London, make a very unfair profit. If it is considered that during the year 1795, the price of beef, to the consumer, was nearly, if not quite, the double of what is here noted, it will furnish abundant matter for speculation, to those who are curious to analyze such questions.

*Prices of the Products of Live Stock, paid by the Victualling-Office,
From 1781 to 1795.*

Date.	Butter.			Cheese.		
	cwt.		lb.	cwt.		lb.
	s.	d.	d.	s.	d.	d.
1781			5 $\frac{3}{4}$			3 $\frac{3}{4}$
82			6			3 $\frac{3}{4}$
83						
84			6 $\frac{1}{4}$			4 $\frac{1}{2}$
85			7 $\frac{1}{4}$			4 $\frac{1}{2}$
86	46	5 $\frac{1}{4}$	4 $\frac{3}{4}$ 101	37	10	4 $\frac{2}{4}$ 112
87	54	6	5 $\frac{3}{4}$ 112	38	8	4 $\frac{6}{4}$ 112
88	50	2	5 $\frac{1}{4}$ 112	39	0	4 $\frac{1}{4}$ 112
89	45	6 $\frac{1}{2}$	4 $\frac{3}{4}$ 112	36	9	3 $\frac{3}{4}$ 112
90	57	5	6 $\frac{1}{4}$ 112	41	11	4 $\frac{1}{4}$ 112
91	57	6	6 $\frac{7}{4}$ 112	44	6	4 $\frac{3}{4}$ 112
92	58	9 $\frac{1}{2}$	6 $\frac{1}{4}$ 112	44	0	4 $\frac{1}{4}$ 112
93	59	10	6 $\frac{1}{4}$ 112	44	9	4 $\frac{3}{4}$ 112
94	63	4	6 $\frac{3}{4}$ 112	46	3	4 $\frac{3}{4}$ 112
95	71	3	7 $\frac{1}{4}$ 112	46	6	4 $\frac{3}{4}$ 112

Account of the total net Produce of Duties arising from the Stamp Revenue, that have amounted to One Thousand Pounds or more in the Four Quarters, ending October 10, 1795.

	£.	s.	d.
Consolidated duties	745,064	11	5
Insurance	129,389	11	0
Burials, &c.	3068	15	6
Hats	6168	13	8
Plate	25,286	12	5
Post horse duty, &c.	193,586	6	2
Medicine	11,820	8	7
Game	40,425	12	3
Attornies	25,639	19	2
Pawnbrokers	3892	16	11
Perfumery			

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	£.	s.	d.
Perfumery	2714	0	0
Scotch judges	1517	10	9
Additional game, 1791	16,023	9	2
Bills of exchange	124,151	2	10
Receipts, 1791	42,758	6	0
Attornies, 1794	16,195	13	6
Hair powder certificates, 1795	187,085	15	0
Additional stamps, 1795	8713	15	8
Receipts, 1795	4204	0	0
Sea policies, 1795	16,059	19	0
Apprentice duty	6140	0	3
	<u>£.1,609,906</u>	<u>19</u>	<u>3</u>

ROBERT THOMPSON, Compt.

Stamp-office, 5th Nov. 1795.

INCIDENTS.

Letter money, per week	156,000	0	0
Salt	388,361	13	0
Seizures	30,817	3	0½
Letter money, 1760	269,029	18	1
Sixpence deduction on pensions	41,626	0	0
One shilling ditto on salaries	31,990	17	5
Houses and windows, 1766	331,505	15	6½
Inhabited houses, 1779	144,202	19	4½
Hawkers and pedlars	2749	18	10
Hackney coaches and chairs	11,000	0	0
Ditto, 1784	12,800	0	0
Male servants, 1785	87,618	17	9½
Ten pounds per cent.	94,415	5	2½
First fruits	4305	14	1½
Tenths	9959	3	1½
Horses	110,860	1	11½
Four-wheeled carriages	148,021	12	1½
Two-wheeled ditto	36,455	0	8½
Alienation duty	1924	8	8
	<u>1,913,645</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>1¼</u>
The produce of duties under 1000l. within the same period, amounts to	2,510	14	9½
	<u>1,916,156</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>10½</u>

Money paid by T. Lumley, for money over received by him on an annuity granted in 1746

25 0 0
Money

	£.	s.	d.
Money paid by C. Long, esq. for interest on 187,000l. for annuities	8053	13	11
Ditto by J. Charlton, late agent to a corps of invalids	271	0	0
Ditto by Messrs. Fludyer and company, on account of clothing sold for use of the public	7000	0	0
Ditto ditto	5706	0	6
Ditto by C. Goddard, esq. agent for Upper Canada, to December 31, 1793	2553	16	0
Ditto by W. B. Clinton, on account of an annuity granted in 1746	30	0	0
Imprest money repaid by sir G. Eliot, late treasurer of the navy	226	2	1
Ditto by J. Dally, esq. secretary to commissioners appointed to inquire into emoluments of officers of the customs	12	0	8½
Ditto by A. D'Abaunt, esq. late chief engineer in North America	297	18	11½
	<hr/>		
	£. 1,940,331	13	0½

Exchequer, 6th November, 1795.

GRENVILLE.

GENERAL TOTAL.

Customs	3,412,255	6	8½
Excise	8,739,013	11	9¼
Stamp duties	1,609,906	19	3
Incidents	1,940,331	13	0½
	<hr/>		
	£. 15,701,507	10	10

MEM.—To the above sum of 3,412,255l. 6s. 8½d. the produce of the duties of customs, should be added, 112,918l. 18s. 4d. the amount of the payments in the several ports for bounties for raising seamen, pursuant to acts of the 35th of the king. In the sum of 1,940,331l. 13s. 0½d. stated as the amount of incidents, is included 24,175l. 12s. 2d. being the amount of imposts and other monies paid within the period,

GEORGE ROSE.

Account of the total net Produce of the Duties of Customs in England and Scotland, distinguishing the Produce of every separate Article, the Duties on which shall have amounted to One Thousand Pounds, or more, in the Four Quarters, ending October 10, 1795.

CHARGE.

SPECIES OF GOODS				Net produce, subject to the payment of bounties and management.		
Ashes, pearl and pot	—	—	—	£.	813	9 0
Barilla	—	—	—	22,897	9	1
Bristles, undressed	—	—	—	5257	4	3
Bugle, great	—	—	—	1524	8	2
Carpets, Turkey	—	—	—	1509	11	4
China ware	—	—	—	11,101	7	7
Copper, unwrought	—	—	—	1744	13	0
Cork	—	—	—	4336	17	8 $\frac{1}{2}$
Corn, oats	—	—	—	1903	3	11 $\frac{1}{4}$
— wheat	—	—	—	1063	12	8 $\frac{1}{2}$
<i>Drugs.</i> —Almonds, bitter	—	—	—	1089	17	7 $\frac{1}{2}$
Aloes succotrina	—	—	—	422	3	9
Benjamin	—	—	—	363	12	6
Borax, refined	—	—	—	3591	9	8
Cassia lignea	—	—	—	1315	16	3
Cortex peru	—	—	—	8279	8	1 $\frac{1}{2}$
Cream of Tartar	—	—	—	1140	17	4 $\frac{1}{2}$
Ginsang	—	—	—	1143	1	4 $\frac{1}{2}$
Juniper berries	—	—	—	731	6	4
Lead, black	—	—	—	160	1	3 $\frac{1}{2}$
Manna	—	—	—	199	2	10
Oil, perfumed	—	—	—	521	6	5 $\frac{1}{2}$
Opium	—	—	—	43	12	3
Quicksilver	—	—	—	5686	12	7
Rhubarb	—	—	—	2745	5	11
Saccharum saturni	—	—	—	1435	13	2
Senna	—	—	—	1199	12	6
Succus liquoritiæ	—	—	—	3719	12	6
Dye Stuffs, smalts	—	—	—	10,699	5	10
Elephant's teeth	—	—	—	2208	4	8
Feathers for beds	—	—	—	6909	12	0 $\frac{1}{2}$
Fish, anchovies	—	—	—	527	15	3
Fruit, lemons and oranges	—	—	—	7828	17	2 $\frac{1}{2}$
— nuts, small	—	—	—	2425	6	4 $\frac{1}{2}$
Glass plates	—	—	—	5412	4	3 $\frac{1}{2}$
<i>Grocery.</i> —Almonds, Jordan	—	—	—	4777	13	0
— not Jordan	—	—	—	1308	0	5
Aniseed	—	—	—	583	15	10
				Grocery		

	£.	s.	d.
<i>Grocery.</i> —Cocoa	1799	1	2 $\frac{3}{4}$
Coffee	33,725	7	5 $\frac{1}{2}$
Currants	91,040	19	3 $\frac{1}{4}$
Figs	5125	10	5 $\frac{1}{4}$
Ginger	4274	7	9 $\frac{1}{4}$
Mace	267	6	6
Nutmegs	651	1	5
Pepper	28,143	1	9
Pimento	2261	19	5
Prunes	1201	11	6
Raisins, Denia	22,387	4	11 $\frac{1}{2}$
— Lexia	18,981	19	2 $\frac{3}{4}$
— Lipari	4417	7	8 $\frac{1}{2}$
— Smyrna	11,943	19	8
— Solis	25,271	13	4 $\frac{1}{2}$
Rice	2723	9	2 $\frac{1}{4}$
Sago	1270	1	9
Sugar, brown	1219,586	18	1
Tea	142,222	17	4
Hair, horse	446	17	7
— human	1147	4	0
Hats, chip	1699	0	9 $\frac{1}{2}$
— straw	267	13	1
Hemp, rough	85,204	5	6 $\frac{1}{2}$
Hides, losh	6397	5	10
— ox or cow	1457	1	8
Incle, wrought	1869	4	5
Iron, bar	105,684	14	1 $\frac{1}{2}$
— cast	730	3	7 $\frac{1}{2}$
Kelp	420	13	11
<i>Linen.</i> —Cambrics	854	12	4
Canvas, Hessens	18,994	13	10 $\frac{1}{4}$
— Spruce	11,375	0	5
Damask tableing, Silesia	1175	11	5 $\frac{1}{4}$
Diaper napkin, ditto	317	7	2
Drilling	3391	17	0 $\frac{3}{4}$
Germany, narrow	29,544	13	11 $\frac{1}{4}$
Lawn, Silesia, not Holland, whited	606	16	2
Russia broad, above 22 $\frac{1}{2}$	21,552	19	5 $\frac{1}{4}$
— ditto, above 31 $\frac{1}{2}$	2065	5	3
— ditto, above 36	6793	16	1 $\frac{3}{4}$
— narrow	4996	17	9 $\frac{1}{4}$
— towelling and napkining	1139	18	8 $\frac{1}{4}$
Manufactured articles of India	2896	12	2
Mats, Russia	1161	3	3 $\frac{1}{2}$
Oil, ordinary	13717	3	7 $\frac{1}{2}$

Oil,

	£.	s.	d.
Oil, salad	2409	15	5
— train	796	13	9½
Paper	2250	16	2½
Pictures	1348	8	4
India piece goods.—Calicoes	33,689	19	8½
— Muslins	90,559	4	9½
— Nankins	5723	13	7½
— Prohibited	16,421	10	11½
Salt-petre	883	18	9
Seeds, clover	1029	7	10½
Silk.—Raw	22,456	18	0
— Bengal, raw	73,811	15	2
— China, raw	14,312	0	10
— Thrown	101,988	13	0
Skins.—Bear, black	3013	1	0
— Beaver	923	9	0½
— Calf, undressed	2135	15	0
— — tanned	312	2	0½
— Deer, in hair	3872	1	0
— Fox, ordinary	411	14	3½
— Goat, tanned	622	15	0
— Kid, undressed	2370	15	9½
— Martin	273	16	0½
— Mink	92	10	7½
— Otter	321	19	0
— Seal	734	2	3
Snuff	392	14	10
Spirits, brandy	13,858	11	0¼
— Geneva	14,278	0	7½
— rum	31,612	0	10¼
Stones, blocks of marble	596	3	8
Tar	5858	5	5½
Thread, sisters	793	12	0
Tobacco	242,494	3	0
Tow	2334	3	9
Turpentine	5008	3	11½
Wax, bees	7405	7	9½
Wine.—Canary	1326	5	5
— French	11,107	6	4½
— Madeira	10,208	18	8
— Portugal	429,936	8	7½
— Rhenish	1259	6	3
— Spanish	87,539	6	2½
Wood.—Balks	3500	19	3½
— Battens	9789	9	8½
— Boards, paling	1166	9	8½

Wood.

			£.	s.	d.
<i>Wood.</i> —Boards, scale	—	—	980	7	9
— wainscot	—	—	212	8	8 $\frac{3}{4}$
Deals	—	—	638,123	6	2 $\frac{3}{4}$
— ends	—	—	4203	10	10 $\frac{1}{4}$
Lath wood	—	—	2665	8	3
Masts	—	—	6113	3	9 $\frac{1}{2}$
Plank, oak	—	—	4574	0	0 $\frac{1}{4}$
Staves	—	—	8774	7	10 $\frac{3}{4}$
Timber, fir	—	—	61,471	18	7 $\frac{1}{4}$
— oak	—	—	867	17	5 $\frac{1}{2}$
Ufers	—	—	1617	1	10 $\frac{3}{4}$
Wainscot logs	—	—	1873	14	6 $\frac{1}{2}$
Yarn, mohair	—	—	1326	7	8
<i>Subsidies.</i> —Allum	—	—	1944	12	7
Coals	—	—	92,902	1	0
Indigo	—	—	6861	15	8 $\frac{1}{4}$
Lead	—	—	30,014	0	8 $\frac{1}{4}$
Salt rock	—	—	4350	6	5
Skins, beaver	—	—	2806	6	0
Tin	—	—	4965	19	7 $\frac{3}{4}$
Other subsidies	—	—	6584	18	7 $\frac{1}{2}$
<i>Carried coastways.</i> —Coals	—	—	616,811	8	9
Corn	—	—	2720	16	2
Stones and slates	—	—	16,278	11	6
Wine	—	—	872	18	9 $\frac{1}{4}$
Remitted from the plantations	—	—	22,056	3	10 $\frac{1}{2}$
— from the inspector of corn returns	—	—	554	2	9
— from Mr. Needham, receiver of fines and forfeitures	—	—	1455	6	10 $\frac{1}{4}$
— from Mr. Williams, for wines sold by the excise	—	—	2114	4	5
Received from the receivers general of the counties,					
on account of window money	—	—	206,324	8	2
Produce of condemned tobacco	—	—	1267	13	3
Sundry small articles	—	—	160,226	4	1 $\frac{1}{4}$
Total	—	—	£. 4,749,464	13	8

DISCHARGE.

Bounties	—	—	693,286	1	8 $\frac{1}{4}$
Re-payment on over entries, &c. &c.	—	—	51,508	12	7
Charges of management	—	—	448,334	11	9 $\frac{1}{2}$
Payments per order of the barons of exchequer in Scotland, applicable to the civil list	—	—	31,161	2	6 $\frac{1}{2}$
Vol. XXXVII.		K			Payments

	£.	s.	d.
Payments into the exchequer	4412,255	6	8½
Cash paid in the several ports of the kingdom, in bounties for raising seamen, by acts of 35th of the king	112,918	18	4
Total	£.4749,464	13	8

THOMAS IRVING,
Inspector-general of the
Imports and exports of Great Britain.

Account of the total net Produce of the Duties of Excise in England and Scotland, distinguishing the Produce on every separate Article, the Duties on which shall have amounted to One Thousand Pounds, or more, in the Four Quarters, ending October, 10, 1795.

On the Part of England.

	£.	s.	d.
Auctions	84,802	0	0
Beer	1958,135	0	0
Bricks and tiles	89,125	0	0
Candles	208,609	0	0
Coaches built for sale	1666	0	0
Cocoa nuts and coffee	38,610	0	0
Cyder, perry, and verjuice	19,456	0	0
Glass	119,157	0	0
Hides, skin, vellum, and parchment	243,576	0	0
Hops	192,331	0	0
Malt, perpetual	629,072	0	0
Metheglin, or mead, and vinegar	20,628	0	0
Paper. See below			
Printed goods	202,192	0	0
Soap	359,811	0	0
Spirits, British	711,838	0	0
foreign	532,133	0	0
Starch	92,849	0	0
Sweets	12,224	0	0
Tea	531,298	3	9½
Tobacco and snuff	353,004	0	0
Verjuice is with cyder and perry.			
Vinegar is with metheglin.			
Wine	318,536	0	0
Wire	4466	0	0

Licences to auctioneers are with auctions.

Licences

			<i>£.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
<i>Licences to</i>	coachmakers are with coaches.				
—	dealers in coffee, chocolate, and tea	—	14,210	0	0
—	makers and sellers of wax and spermaceti candles are with candles.				
—	makers of and dealers in exciseable commodities	—	42,748	0	0
—	retailers of spirituous liquors	—	160,593	0	0
—	ditto of wine	—	32,234	0	0
—	sellers of gold and silver	—	8373	0	0
—	manufacturers of and dealers in tobacco and snuff are with tobacco, &c.				
Duties commenced	British spirits	—	119,043	0	0
5 Jan. 1791.	Foreign ditto	—	107,151	0	0
24 Feb. 1794.	British ditto	—	120,209	0	0
	Foreign	—	106,733	0	0
28 March, 1794.	Bricks	—	53,279	0	0
6 April, 1794.	Paper	—	122,996	0	0
18 April, 1794.	Glass	—	42,592	0	0
24 Feb. 1795.	British spirits	—	63,777	0	0
	Foreign ditto	—	28,076	0	0
	Wine	—	591,976	0	0
	Cocoa nuts and coffee	—	9486	0	0
	Sweets	—	4416	0	0
17 March, 1795.	Tea	—	81,744	0	0
Total of duties, except malt, annual			8433,054	3	9 $\frac{3}{4}$
Annual malt, mum, cyder, and perry			574,799	0	0
Total of England			9007,853	3	9 $\frac{3}{4}$

On the Part of Scotland.

Auctions	—	—	—	—	5000	0	0
Beer	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Bricks and tiles	—	—	—	—	2000	0	0
Glass	—	—	—	—	14,000	0	0
Malt, perpetual	—	—	—	—	23,959	8	0
Paper	—	—	—	—	15,000	0	0
Printed goods	—	—	—	—	45,000	0	0
Soap	—	—	—	—	27,000	0	0
British spirits	—	—	—	—	42,000	0	0
Ditto, quarterly remittance	—	—	—	—	36,000	0	0
Foreign spirits	—	—	—	—	13,000	0	0
Starch	—	—	—	—	1000	0	0
Tobacco	—	—	—	—	36,000	0	0
Wine	—	—	—	—	18,000	0	0
<i>Licences.</i> —Tea	—	—	—	—	1000	0	0

			£.	s.	d.
<i>Licences.</i> —General	—	—	2000	0	0
— Spirituous liquors	—	—	19,000	0	0
Bricks and tiles	—	—	1000	0	0
Foreign spirits, 1794	—	—	5000	0	0
			<hr/>		
Total of duties, except malt, annual	—	—	305,959	8	0
Annual malt, mum, cyder, and perry	—	—	12,040	12	0
			<hr/>		
Total of Scotland	—	—	318,000	0	0
			<hr/>		
<i>Perpetual duties.</i> —England	—	—	8,433,054	3	9½
— Scotland	—	—	305,959	8	0
			<hr/>		
Total of perpetual duties	—	—	8,739,013	11	9½
			<hr/>		
<i>Annual duties.</i> —England	—	—	574,799	0	0
— Scotland	—	—	12,040	12	0
			<hr/>		
Total of annual duties	—	—	586,839	12	0
			<hr/>		
Total of England and Scotland			9,325,853	3	9½
			<hr/>		

Excise Office, London,
27th Oct. 1795.

JAMES WEBB,
Accomptant-general.

An Account of the Quantity of Coals Imported into the Port of London, for the last Fifty Years.

Years.	Coals.	Years.	Coals.
1744	467,625	1772	710,914
45	471,453	73	645,434
46	487,375	74	614,981
47	469,398	75	668,728
48	449,341	76	689,920
49	504,213	77	685,489
1750	458,376	78	640,473
51	538,906	79	588,624
52	508,485	1780	656,175
53	508,230	81	650,691
54	526,708	82	660,846
55	479,137	83	695,329
56	550,322	84	724,638
57	502,866	85	732,737
58	451,799		
59	551,708	86	730,187
1760	498,707	87	653,446
61	504,693	88	771,429
62	529,596	89	810,931
63	603,004	1790	753,013
64	597,155	91	821,872
65	587,754	92	849,942
66	638,135	93	801,223
67	599,218	94	782,716
68	613,842	95	912,236
69	642,042		
1770	613,494		7,886,994
71	677,869		

Average 10 years, 788,699

N. B. The last is from the 10th of October, 1794, to the 10th of October, 1795. *Inspector-General's Office, Custom-house, London.*

Average Prices of Wheat and Barley during the Year 1795, on the general Average of England and Wales.

Wheat.				Barley.				Wheat.				Barley.			
s. d.				s. d.				s. d.				s. d.			
January	-	7	0	—	4	4		July	-	10	6	—	5	4	
February	-	7	3	—	4	3		August	-	13	6	—	6	2	
March	-	7	5	—	4	4		September	-	9	10	—	4	9	
April	-	7	9	—	4	6		October	-	9	6	—	4	1	
May	-	8	1	—	4	8		November	-	10	5	—	4	4	
June	-	8	9	—	4	10		December	-	10	10	—	4	5	

STATE of the BAROMETER, THERMOMETER, and HYGROMETER, for the Year 1795.

1795.	THERMOMETER without.			THERMOMETER within.			BAROMETER.			HYGROMETER.			RAIN.
	Greatest height.	Least height.	Mean height.	Greatest height.	Least height.	Mean height.	Greatest height.	Least height.	Mean height.	Greatest height.	Least height.	Mean height.	
	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Inches.	Inches.	Inches.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	
January	46	8	26	49	36	43,4	30,47	29,16	30,01	92	66	71,2	0,476
February	51	25	36,4	55	42	47,9	30,68	29,04	29,60	91	64	77	1,255
March	54,5	25	41,1	59	47	52,7	30,35	29,02	29,80	85	56	72,6	1,744
April	58,5	37	48	61,5	53	57,5	30,22	29,34	29,79	80	54	69,7	0,497
May	81	43	55,8	68	57	61,1	30,49	29,73	30,17	79	47	61,1	0,276
June	76	41	57,2	66	56	61,1	30,14	29,50	29,86	90	56	71	3,339
July	76	51	59,8	68	59	62,8	30,26	29,54	29,97	86	58	68	1,400
August	78	53	64,3	73	64	67,4	30,31	29,02	29,97	81	57	69,2	1,856
September	77,5	46	63,7	73	63,5	67,8	30,46	29,64	30,08	84	61	69,3	0,081
October	67	44	55,8	66	59	62,6	30,18	29,16	29,06	87	64	75,7	2,539
November	56	27	43,1	61	49	55,4	30,58	28,94	29,87	90	64	76,1	2,428
December	55	36	46,9	62	54	57,5	30,39	29,42	29,97	88	71	80,4	0,973
Whole year	—	—	49,9	—	—	58,1	—	—	29,90	—	—	71,8	16,864

A
GENERAL BILL
OF
CHRISTENINGS AND BURIALS,

From December 9, 1794, to December 8, 1795.

Christened { Males 9341 } 18,361.
 { Females 9017 }

Buried { Males 10,778 } 21,179.
 { Females 10,401 }

Increased in the Burials this Year, 1938.

Died under two years	6466	Between 20 and 30	1443	Between 70 and 80	1321
Between two and five	1982	— thirty and forty	1901	— eighty and ninety	579
— five and ten	768	— fifty and sixty	2920	— ninety and a hundred	65
— ten and twenty	764	— sixty and seventy	1816	Hundred, &c.	1

DISEASES.		Dropsey		979	Measles		328	CASUALTIES.	
A	Bortive and still-	Evil	-	2	Miscarriage	6	Bit by a mad dog	1	
	born	738	Fever, malignant fe-	2	Mortification	262	Broken limbs	3	
Abscess	-	38	ver, scarlet fever,	1	Palpitation of heart	1	Bruised	2	
Aged	-	1637	spotted fever, and	1	Palsy	76	Burnt	15	
Ague	-	10	purples	1947	Pleurisy	11	By a corn	1	
Apoplexy	-	100	Fistula	5	Quinsey	2	Choaked	1	
Asthma and Phthi-	-	936	Flux	12	Rheumatism	3	Dropped down	-	
sic	-	15	French pox	22	Rising of the lights	2	dead	3	
Bedridden	-	17	Gout	116	Rickets	2	Drowned	99	
Bleeding	-	16	Gravel, stranguary,	26	Scurvy	4	Excessive drinking	5	
Bursten and rup-	-	78	and stone	6	Small-pox	1040	Executed*	6	
ture	-	1	Grief	1	Sore throat	23	Found dead	4	
Cancer	-	1	Head-ach	1	Sores and ulcers	5	Fractured	4	
Canker	-	1	Head mould-shot,	1	Spasm	6	Frighted	1	
Chicken-pox	-	1	horse-shoe-head,	1	St. Anthony's fire	1	Killed by falls and	-	
Childbed	-	142	and water in the	81	Stoppage in the	14	other accidents	60	
Cold	-	56	head	56	Stomach	120	Killed by fighting	1	
Cholic, gripes, twist-	-	8	Jaundice	1	Suddenly	1	Killed themselves	16	
ing of the guts	-	5733	Jaw-locked	4	Surfeit	1	Murdered	1	
Consumption	-	4758	Imposthume	406	Swine-pox	495	Scalded	5	
Convulsions	-	311	Inflammation	1	Teeth	61	Shot	1	
Cough and hoop-	-	17	Leprosy	2	Thrush	18	Strangled	2	
ing-cough	-	3	Lethargy	3	Worms	-	Suffocated	3	
Croup	-	1	Liver-grown	91					
Diabetes	-	1	Lunatic						
							Total	245	

* There have been executed in Middlesex and Surry, 28; of which number, six have only been reported to be buried (as such) within the Bills of Mortality.

STATE PAPERS.

Message from the King to the House of Commons, Feb. 4, 1795.

GEORGE REX.

HIS majesty thinks it proper to acquaint the house, that he has received from the emperor strong assurances of a disposition to make the greatest exertions for the common cause in the course of the next campaign. But it is represented on the part of his Imperial majesty, that these efforts cannot be made without the assistance of a loan, which his Imperial majesty is desirous of raising on the credit of the revenues of his hereditary dominions, under the guarantee of his majesty, with the concurrence of parliament, to the extent of four millions; and it is stated that such loan, in addition to his other resources, would enable his Imperial majesty to employ against the common enemy the force of 203,000 effective men. His majesty is of opinion that, on these grounds, such an arrangement would be beneficial to the common cause, but thinks that it would be still more advantageous, if, by the means of a similar loan to a larger extent, the emperor should be enabled to employ a force still more considerable; and his majesty has desired his minister at Vienna to express his readiness to recommend to his parliament an arrangement founded

on that principle. Some temporary advance which his majesty was induced to make for the immediate supply of the Austrian army, under the pressure of unforeseen circumstances in the latter part of the last campaign, will be included in any arrangement of this nature; as soon as the negotiation is concluded, his majesty will not fail to communicate the result to parliament; but as any measure of this sort is necessarily connected with the consideration of the provision to be made for the current service of the year, his majesty has thought it right not to delay making this communication; and he relies on the zeal and public spirit of his faithful commons, for taking such measures; as, on full consideration of all the circumstances, they may think most conducive to the immediate interests of this country, at the present conjuncture, and to the great object of re-establishing on secure and honourable grounds, the peace and tranquillity of these kingdoms and of Europe.

Message from his Majesty to the House of Commons, April 27, 1795.

George Rex.

HIS majesty relies on the liberality and affection of his faithful commons, and on the cordial interest

terest which they have manifested on the happy event of the prince's marriage, that they will be ready to concur in such a provision as shall be deemed necessary to settle an establishment on the prince and princess of Wales, suitable to their rank and dignity. On an occasion so satisfactory in all other respects, his majesty feels the deepest regret in communicating to the house, that the benefit of any settlement that may be made must fail in its most desirable effect, if means be not provided to extricate his royal highness from the incumbrances under which he labours, to a great amount.

Anxious as his majesty must be to relieve the prince of Wales, his majesty entertains no idea of proposing the payment of his royal highness's debts in any other manner than by appropriating a part of his income, and the revenues of the duchy of Cornwall, to the payment of such debts: and his majesty will be ready to co-operate in any plan which the wisdom of the house may devise, for establishing a ready and punctual order of payment, and for guarding against the possibility of the prince's being again involved in any similar embarrassments.

His Majesty's Speech from the Throne on closing the Session, June 27.

My lords and gentlemen,

THE zealous and uniform regard which you have shewn to the general interests of my people, and particularly the prudent, firm, and spirited support which you have continued to afford me in the prosecution of the great contest in which we are still unavoidably engaged, demand my warmest ac-

knowledgments. The encouragement which my allies must derive from the knowledge of your sentiments, and the extraordinary exertions which you have enabled me to make in supporting and augmenting my naval and military forces, afford the means most likely to conduce to the restoration of peace to these kingdoms, and to the re-establishment of general tranquillity on a secure, an honourable, and a lasting foundation.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

I have to return you my hearty thanks for the liberal and ample supplies which the resources of the country have enabled you to provide, beyond all former example, for the various exigencies of the public service.

I have also to acknowledge, with peculiar sensibility, the recent proof which you have given me of your attachment to my person and family, in the provision which you have made for settling the establishment of the prince and princess of Wales, and for extricating the prince from the incumbrances in which he was involved.

My lords and gentlemen,

It is impossible to contemplate the internal situation of the enemy with whom we are contending without indulging an hope, that the present circumstances of France may in their effects hasten the return of such a state of order and regular government as may be capable of maintaining the accustomed relations of amity and peace with other powers.

The issue, however, of these extraordinary transactions is out of the reach of human foresight.

Till

Till that desirable period arrives, when my subjects can be restored to the secure enjoyment of the blessings of peace, I shall not fail to make the most effectual use of the force which you have put into my hands. It is with the utmost satisfaction that I have recently received the advices of an important and brilliant success obtained over the enemy by a detachment of my fleet, under the able conduct of lord Bridport; and I have every reason to rely on the continuance of the distinguished bravery and conduct of my fleets and armies, as well as of the zeal, spirit, and perseverance of my people, which have been uniformly manifested through the whole course of this just and necessary war.

*His Majesty's Speech from the Throne
on opening the Session, October 29,
1795.*

My lords and gentlemen,

IT is a great satisfaction to me to reflect, that notwithstanding many events unfavourable to the common cause, the prospect resulting from the general situation of affairs has, in many important respects, been materially improved in the course of the present year.

In Italy, the threatened invasion of the French has been prevented; and they have been driven back from a considerable part of the line of coast which they had occupied: there is also reason to hope that the recent operations of the Austrian army have checked the progress which they had made on the side of Germany, and frustrated the offensive projects which they were pursuing in that quarter.

The successes which have at-

tended the military operations in other parts of the campaign, and the advantages which they have derived from the conclusion of separate treaties with some of the powers who were engaged in the war, are far from compensating the evils which they experience from its continuance. The destruction of their commerce, the diminution of their maritime power, and the unparalleled embarrassment and distress of their internal situation, have produced the impression which was naturally to be expected; and a general sense appears to prevail throughout France, that the only relief from the increasing pressure of these difficulties must arise from the restoration of peace, and the establishment of some settled system of government.

The distraction and anarchy which have so long prevailed in that country, have led to a crisis, of which it is at yet impossible to foresee the issue, but which must, in all human probability, produce consequences highly important to the interests of Europe. Should this crisis terminate in any order of things compatible with the tranquillity of other countries, and affording a reasonable expectation of security and permanence in any treaty which might be concluded, the appearance of a disposition to negotiate for a general peace on just and suitable terms, will not fail to be met, on my part, with an earnest desire to give it the fullest and speediest effect. But I am persuaded you will agree with me, that nothing is so likely to ensure and accelerate this desirable end, as to shew that we are prepared for either alternative, and are determined to prosecute the war with the utmost ener-

gy and vigour until we have the means of concluding, in conjunction with our allies, such a peace as the justice of our cause and the situation of the enemy may entitle us to expect.

With this view I am continuing to make the greatest exertions for maintaining and improving our naval superiority, and for carrying on active and vigorous operations in the West Indies, in order to secure and extend the advantages which we have gained in that quarter, and which are so nearly connected with our commercial resources and maritime strength.

I rely with full confidence on the continuance of your firm and zealous support, on the uniform bravery of my fleets and armies, and on the fortitude, perseverance, and public spirit of all ranks of my people.

The acts of hostility committed by the United Provinces, under the influence and controul of France, have obliged me to treat them as in a state of war with this country.

The fleet which I have employed in the North Seas has received the most cordial and active assistance from the naval force furnished by the empress of Russia, and has been enabled effectually to check the operations of the enemy in that quarter.

I have concluded engagements of defensive alliance with the two Imperial courts; and the ratifications of the treaty of commerce with the United States of America, which I announced to you last year, have now been exchanged. I have directed copies of these treaties to be laid before you.

Gentlemen of the house of commons,

It is matter of deep concern to me, that the exigencies of the public service will require further additions to the heavy burdens which have been unavoidably imposed on my people. I trust that their pressure will, in some degree, be alleviated by the flourishing state of our commerce and manufactures; and that our expences, though necessarily great in their amount, will, under the actual circumstances of the war, admit of considerable diminution in comparison with those of the present year.

My lords and gentlemen,

I have observed, for some time past, with the greatest anxiety, the very high price of grain, and that anxiety is increased by the apprehension that the produce of the wheat harvest in the present year may not have been such as effectually to relieve my people from the difficulties with which they have had to contend. The spirit of order and submission to the laws which, with a very few exceptions, has manifested itself under this severe pressure, will, I am sure, be felt by you as an additional incentive to apply yourselves with the utmost diligence to the consideration of such measures as may tend to alleviate the present distress, and to prevent, as far as possible, the renewal of similar embarrassments in future. Nothing has been omitted on my part, that appeared likely to contribute to this end; and you may be assured of my hearty concurrence in whatever regulations the wisdom of parliament may adopt,

on a subject so peculiarly interesting to my people, whose welfare will ever be the object nearest my heart.

Message from the King, Dec. 7, 1795.

George Rex.

HIS majesty thinks proper to inform his faithful commons, that a considerable sum is likely to arise from the sale of prizes taken from the united provinces of Holland, and that he has ordered the amount to be ascertained, and the overplus, after the claims of the captors had been discharged, to be applied to the public service.

Message from the King, Dec. 8, 1795.

George Rex.

HIS majesty relying on the assurances which he has received from his faithful commons, of their determination to support his majesty in those exertions which are necessary under the present circumstances, recommends it to this house to consider of making provision towards enabling his majesty to defray any extraordinary expences which may be incurred for the service of the ensuing year, and to take such measures as the exigencies of affairs may require. His majesty, on this occasion, thinks proper to acquaint the house, that the crisis which was depending at the commencement of the present session, has led to such an order of things in France, as will induce his majesty, conformably to the sentiments which he has already declared, to meet any disposition for negotiation on the part of the enemy, and with an earnest desire to give it the fullest and speediest effect, and to conclude a

treaty for a general peace, whenever it can be effected on just and suitable terms for himself and his allies.

It is his majesty's earnest wish, that the spirit and determination manifested by parliament, added to the recent and important successes of the Austrian armies, and to the continued and growing embarrassments of the enemy, may speedily conduce to the attainment of this object, on such grounds as the justice of the cause in which this country is engaged, and the situation of affairs, may entitle his majesty to expect.

Message from his Majesty to both Houses, Dec. 8, 1795.

George Rex.

HIS majesty thinks proper to acquaint the house of commons, that a considerable division of ships, having on board foreign troops in the service of Great Britain, having been dispersed and damaged while on their passage from the rivers Elbe and Weser to Spithead, the place of rendezvous appointed for the convoy under which it was intended they should be sent on foreign distant service, his majesty has found it unavoidably necessary to order the said troops to be disembarked, and to be stationed in barracks near Southampton, and in the isle of Wight; and at the same time has given directions, that they shall be re-embarked, and sent to the place of their destination, as soon as the transports necessary for their accommodation and conveyance shall be in readiness to receive them, the necessary orders for that purpose having, by his majesty's command, been already given.

Protest

Protest of Lord Stanhope against our interfering in the internal Affairs of France, Jan. 6, 1795.

1st, BECAUSE the motion made for the house to adjourn, was professedly intended to get rid of the following resolution, viz. "Resolved, that this country ought not, and will not, interfere in the internal affairs of France; and that it is expedient explicitly to declare the same."

2dly, Because I hold that it is contrary both to equity and policy for any foreign country to interfere in the internal affairs or constitution of the French republic, or of any other independent nation.

3dly, Because the government of Great Britain (not having been elected by the citizens of France) can have no more right to give to France a monarchical, or other form of government whatever, than the crowned despots of Prussia and of Russia had to overturn the free constitution of now unhappy Poland.

4thly, Because I heartily disapprove and reprobate the doctrine advanced by ministers in the debate; namely, that to restore the ancient and hereditary monarchy of France, no expence should be spared. And I reprobate that pernicious and uncivic doctrine the more strongly, from it not having been suddenly, hastily or inconsiderately started; but from its having been taken up (as it was solemnly declared) upon the utmost deliberation.

5thly, Because I deem it to be an injustice committed by ministers towards my fellow-citizens, to adopt a principle which shall render it necessary for the government of Great Britain to lay farther heavy burdens upon the people,

and to tax their houses, their windows, their beds, their candles, their shoes, and many other conveniences, and the necessities of life, in order to provide a fund to attempt the accomplishment of such a wicked purpose as aforesaid.

6thly, Because the proposed resolution above stated was intended by me as a solemn pledge that the government of this nation would not interfere in the internal affairs of France; but the refusal of the house to give such a pledge, tends to shut the door to peace, and consequently tends to ensure the ruin of this manufacturing, commercial, and once happy country; particularly considering the increased, and rapidly increasing, strength of the navy of the French republic, independently of the prospect there is of their having the navies of Holland and Spain under their immediate influence.

7thly, Because the public funds, the paper currency, and the public and private credit of this country, will probably be unequal to stand against the tremendous shock to which ministers will now expose them.

8thly, Because I think that frankness, fairness, humanity, and the principles of honesty, and of justice, are always in the end, the best policy: and I believe it to be true, in regard to nations (as well as with respect to individuals), that "nothing that is not just can be wise, or likely to be ultimately prosperous."

9thly, Because I lament the more, that the house should refuse to disclaim the interfering in the internal constitution of France, inasmuch as by the new constitution

of

of the French republic, one and indivisible, adopted by the present national convention, on the 23d of June, 1793, and under the title of "the relation of the French republic with foreign nations," and by the articles 118 and 119 of that constitution, it is declared and enacted, that

"The French people is the
"friend and natural ally of every
"free nation. It does not inter-
"fere with the government of
"other nations; it does not suffer
"that other nations should inter-
"fere with its own."

So frank, so fair, and so explicit a declaration on their part, did, in my opinion, entitle them to a better species of return.

10thly, Because I conceive that a true republican form of government, being firmly established in France, is much more safe for the liberties of the people of Great Britain, than the tyrannical, capricious, perfidious, secret, intriguing, and restless ancient monarchy of France; or than any other monarchy they could there establish: but even if I were of a direct opposite way of thinking, I would not be guilty of the gross injustice of attempting to force a monarchy upon them contrary to their inclination.

11thly, Because I think that no war ought to be continued, that can, by a proper line of moderation, be avoided; and the more especially with respect to the French people, who, by their republican exertions, republican enthusiasm, and republican courage, have made victory the almost constant "order of the day."

12thly, Because the continuing of such a bloody contest, without

necessity, appears to me to be a profane tempting of Divine Providence, in whose benign and almighty hands the fate of battles and of empires is placed.

13thly, Because I wish to wash my hands entirely of all the innocent blood that may be shed in this war with France, of all the carnage which may take place, and of all the destruction, confusion, and devastation (perhaps in Great Britain itself) which may ensue.

14thly, Because it was my object to preclude the government of Great Britain from attempting to stir up, or excite insurrections in La Vendée, or any other department of the French republic; and the resolution I moved was well calculated for that purpose.

And, 15thly, Because the maxim of "do not to others that which you would not wish done to yourself," is an unerring rule founded upon the clear principle of justice, that is to say, of equality of rights. It is upon that strong and solid ground that I make my stand; and all public men, in order to merit the confidence of the British people, must shew their determination to act with frankness, and with unequivocal good faith and justice, towards the French republic.

Having upon this most important and momentous subject, frequently stood alone, and having also been, upon this last occasion, totally unsupported in the division, if I should therefore cease, at present, to attend this house (where I have been placed by the mere accident of birth), such of my fellow-citizens as are friends to freedom, and who may chance to read this my solemn protest, will find that I have not altered my sentiments

ments or opinions, and that I have not changed any of my principles ; for my principles never can be changed.

And those fellow-citizens will also find, that I hereby pledge myself to my country, that I shall continue, what I ever have been, a zealous and unshaken friend to peace, to justice, and to liberty, political, civil, and religious ; and that I am determined to die (as I have lived) a firm and steady supporter of the unalienable rights and of the happiness of all mankind.

STANHOPE.

Protest against the Act for further suspending the Habeas Corpus Act, Feb. 3, 1795.

1st, BECAUSE, whatever pretence there may have existed in the last session of parliament for suspending the habeas corpus act, that pretence is now removed ; the partial *ex parte* examination of the committees of parliament having been refuted by the verdicts of juries, who, with labour unexampled in legal annals in this country, after duly weighing the evidence on both sides, acquitted the persons indicted for a treasonable conspiracy.

2dly, Because intentions hostile to the constitution being entertained by persons, few in number, and devoid of weight and consequence in the country, do not justify the depriving all the people of Great Britain of that security which our laws so anxiously provide for personal liberty.

3dly, Because we find, that as soon as these plots and conspiracies (which have heretofore caused

the suspension of the people's right to their habeas corpus) had been dealt with according to law, and that the conspirators had been convicted and punished, the danger being over, the suspension had dropped. In the same manner, when the proved innocence of the accused have negatived the supposed conspiracy, and when it is not even pretended that any new or other plot exists, to continue to suspend this great and essential safeguard of our kingdom, is equally contrary to the example set us by our ancestors, and inconsistent with that protection which, as legislators, we are bound to afford to the personal security of all our fellow-subjects.

4thly, Because we consider that the national spirit of English freedom, to which was owing the high place that we once held amid surrounding nations, is either checked or deadened by causeless acts of despotism ; or that the disgust necessarily generated by such a conduct is likely (if any thing can produce such an effect upon this free and enlightened nation), to raise a spirit of disaffection even to the constitution itself.

5thly, Because when we trace the history of the habeas corpus act, we find, among other securities from oppression, it was chiefly meant to ensure to the subject a speedy trial, when accused of treason or treasonable practices, and to avert the tyranny of tedious imprisonment for those crimes. We conceive, therefore, that if the legislature is, upon all occasions of suspicion of traitorous acts, to suspend the operation of that most important and invaluable statute, security to the subject must be removed

moved at the very crisis, and in the very case when it was meant by the wise and enlightened framers of that law most to shield and protect him.

GUILDFORD,
BEDFORD,
NORFOLK, E. M.
LAUDERDALE.

*Protest against the Rejection of the
Motion for treating with France,
Feb. 12, 1795.*

BECAUSE we conceive the repeated declarations made in the name of the king, and the resolutions come to by this house, are, as they now stand, an effectual bar to all negotiation with the present government of France, which can alone be removed by a resolution of a similar nature to that avoided by the previous question, and which is become the more necessary, from the declaration of his majesty's ministers in debate—that the government of France is of such a character as to preclude the possibility of treating, so long as they shall continue to act on their present principles: a declaration which we conceive to convey little less than a determination to carry on the war upon such principles that it can alone be terminated by the destruction of one or both of the nations.

BEDFORD,
LAUDERDALE,
BUCKINGHAMSHIRE,
GUILDFORD.

*Protest against the Rejection of the
Motion for investigating the Cause*

*of Lord Fitzwilliam's Recall, May
8, 1795.*

1st, BECAUSE the removal, in the midst of a session of parliament, of such an officer of the crown as a lord-lieutenant of Ireland, the immediate and sole representative of majesty in that kingdom, under the circumstances, is singular, perhaps unprecedented. The effects of that bold and unusual measure, especially in the present critical state of affairs, cannot be indifferent. It is a fact notorious, and not contradicted, that the house of lords and the house of commons in that kingdom, did, at the moment of his recall, directly and explicitly, in a solemn vote and resolution of each house, declare their confidence in the lord-lieutenant. It is a fact equally notorious, and equally uncontradicted, that these votes of confidence from both houses of the Irish parliament were in perfect conformity to the opinions and wishes of all descriptions of the people of that nation.

2dly, Because a strong charge of malversation in office, supported by clear proof or strong presumption, ought to be produced, to weigh against those solemn testimonies of a parliament, and those declared opinions of a people, and to justify a proceeding, the inevitable tendency of which is to produce dissatisfaction and discord amongst his majesty's subjects in that kingdom. That the proceeding itself is within the prerogative there is no doubt; but there is no doubt also that this house is competent to an inquiry into all advice given to the crown, with regard to the use of that prerogative: and that it is its duty to make such inquiry in any event by which

which his majesty's honour or interest, or the tranquillity, concord, and union of his empire, and its common effort against its common enemy, may be effected.

3dly, Because as the peers are bound for their own honour, to examine with a more strict scrutiny into the conduct, and to animadvert with great severity on the misdemeanors of those of their own body, so they owe a peculiar protection to such peers, as on inquiry they shall find, in the exercise of the high prerogatives of the crown, to have demeaned themselves uncorruptly, to the satisfaction of the people, with a diligent attention to the functions of their charge, and with duty, zeal, and fidelity to their sovereign.

4thly, Because earl Fitzwilliam, the lord-lieutenant removed in so unprecedented a manner, did voluntarily solicit in this house the production of all such documents as might furnish matter for a full and impartial inquiry into his conduct; that as the case might appear, he might subject himself to the animadversion, or entitle himself to the protection of this house. No valid reasons for secrecy have been alleged. Delinquency is no proper object of secrecy, on the one side or the other; nor can any depending measure of government be affected by a disclosure of that delinquency. The act is executed. If these vague general allegations of secrecy may be urged to prevent inquiry, peers may be affected with suspicions utterly ruinous to their reputation with regard to the matters of highest trust, without any possibility of clearing themselves.

5thly, Because it appeared in the course of the debate, without any

attempt to contradict it, that the earl aforesaid did actively and effectively promote the service of the crown, and the public interest in Ireland, by encouraging through all fitting means, and discouraging by none, the zeal and affection to his majesty of his parliament of Ireland, by obtaining without delay, and with great unanimity, a vote of more than forty thousand men, by which the internal force of that kingdom was more than doubled; and by obtaining also a vote of two hundred thousand pounds, for the better manning the navy of Great Britain—the first vote of the kind in the present war, and double to the sole example of the supply of the same kind, voted in the Irish parliament in the year 1782, as an acknowledgment of the vast and important concessions in legislation, commerce, and judicature, then made by the parliament of Great Britain; both these supplies for the service of Great Britain were moved by Mr. Grattan, confidence in whom has been imputed as blame to earl Fitzwilliam; though in the debate nothing was alleged to shew that this distinguished person, called to his confidence and councils, had ever, during lord Fitzwilliam's government, made any other use of the estimation in which he is held in his country, than to perform this and other similar services to his majesty's government, and to reconcile the minds of his fellow subjects of that kingdom to bear the burdens brought on by these services with cheerfulness, and to co-operate with alacrity and unanimity in every means of giving them their full effect.

6thly, Because it does not appear

pear that the earl in question, during his administration in Ireland, did, in any degree, or in any manner, subvert, impair, or weaken any one of the legal prerogatives of the crown, or abuse them to the prejudice of the subject, in any instance whatsoever. That in the arrangements proposed with regard to office, either in removals or appointments, it does not appear that the efficacy of his majesty's government, or the popularity of his majesty's measures, were at all impaired, or the unanimity and harmony of the nation disturbed; or the confidence in his majesty's government, as administered by him, in any degree whatsoever lessened. To the great objects of government all official arrangements ought to be subservient; and by their effect on those objects, it is to be determined whether the discretionary powers with regard to official arrangements necessarily invested in his majesty's ministers, have been in any instance properly or improperly employed.

7thly, Because the unanimity and zeal in his majesty's service, which appeared throughout that kingdom, was owing to the hope held out that such arrangements as the late lord-lieutenant proposed would take place, namely, such as ended to demonstrate that those in whom the nation reposed much confidence, had obtained the confidence of his majesty's chief governor, and that those who had the misfortune not to obtain the public confidence, or at least not to obtain it in the same degree, were not to be predominant in the official offices in the kingdom.

8thly, That it did not appear in

the debate, that incapable or obnoxious men, or men of no lead or importance in their country, and therefore unqualified for rendering effectual service to his majesty, were the objects of choice in those arrangements.

9thly, Because it did not appear in the debate, that any harsh or vindictive spirit was manifested in any proposed removals: as the most large and liberal consideration was observed to the dignity, the feelings, and the interests of the parties concerned.

10thly, Because it did not appear in the debate, that this provision was considered in the light of a corrupt and prodigal bargain; but that the people at large regarded it in a contrary light. It appears that the estimation of that government was rather increased than impaired by the whole of those intended measures; and it is asserted and supported by abundant proof, that the defeat of those arrangements, with all their consequences, has excited a considerable discontent among the people of Ireland.

11thly, Because the persons who, on account of their general estimation in their country, were taken into the confidence of the late lord-lieutenant, had previously to his government, given the most striking and unequivocal proofs of their attachment to Great Britain, of their power of subduing all their own private feelings; and of sacrificing to his majesty's service no small part even of their known animosities upon public differences, by supporting, out of office, and out of confidence in the then rulers, the cause of the British govern-

government in a very marked and distinguished manner.

12thly, Because it appeared in the debate, that one of the matters of discussion between his majesty's confidential servants in England and the said lord-lieutenant, had arisen on occasion of a bill intended to be introduced into the parliament of Ireland by Mr. Grattan, "for the farther relief of his majesty's catholic subjects in that kingdom." Of subjects to be agitated in the parliament of that kingdom, this house can take no cognizance; but they may take cognizance of the conduct of a British peer, member of this house, and representing his majesty, for his conduct in his majesty's service, in any part of his dominions. If the late lord-lieutenant gave countenance to any measure repugnant to that service, and in defiance to that authority, and positive instructions given by his majesty's ministers here, it seems a matter of constitutional discussion in this house. Upon that point earl Fitzwilliam has alleged that he is ready to put himself upon the judgment of this house; for he contends that the motion for leave to bring in such a bill (which he admits to have been made at his express desire), did not afford cause of alarm or apprehension in any manner whatever. He contends that the principle of such a bill was highly conformable to other former proceedings known to be countenanced by his majesty's ministers; nor does it appear by any thing alleged in the debate, that the countenance understood to be given by the late lord-lieutenant of Ireland for a farther relief, could be a just ground for his removal; when a recom-

mendation from the throne itself, by his predecessor the earl of Westmorland, in the year 1793, for advantages of infinitely greater extent, that is to say, a general capacity for all offices and franchises (about thirty offices and seats in parliament only excepted), has been made matter of merit.

13thly, Because it appears for several years past to have been the policy of his majesty's British councils with regard to Ireland, and of the parliament of that kingdom, to remove the several civil restraints which had been made in consequence of religious differences; for all offices had been opened to protestant dissenters, without any limitation whatever, by the repeal of the test in that kingdom, in the year 1779, 19th and 20th of his majesty, chap. vi. From those dissenters no test whatever was exacted, in lieu of that from which they were exonerated. But for the catholics, by an act of the 13th or 14th of his present majesty, chap. xxxiv. a test oath was proposed for ascertaining the allegiance and fidelity of catholics, as such. About four years after, that is, in the year 1777-8, 17th and 18th of Geo. III. chap. xlix. in consequence of this oath, a strong legislative declaration was made, in which the principle, which had been gradually followed up by subsequent acts, is strongly and decidedly affirmed; for the preamble of that act, after stating certain penalties and incapacities under which the catholics did then labour, thus proceeds: "Whereas, from their uniform peaceable behaviour for a long series of years, it appears reasonable and expedient to relax the same; and it must tend not only to the cultivation

cultivation and improvement of this kingdom, but to the prosperity and strength of all his majesty's dominions, that his subjects of all denominations should enjoy the benefits of our free constitution, and should be bound to each other by mutual interest and mutual affection." Soon after, that is, in the 21st and 22d of his present majesty, chap. xxiv. it was again declared that catholics, on taking the test oath aforesaid, "ought to be considered as good and loyal subjects to his majesty, his crown, and government; and that the continuance of the laws formerly enacted, and then in force against persons of the popish religion, are therefore unnecessary, in respect to those who have taken, or shall take, the said oath, and is injurious to the real welfare and prosperity of the kingdom of Ireland." Nothing can be more clearly laid down than the principle upon which the several acts of relief from the first year of relaxation, virtually beginning so early as the year 1773, twenty years before the passing the large capacitating act of the year 1793 was grounded, namely, the recognized allegiance, and reciprocal right to protection, held out upon taking this and other test oaths. It was plain that the policy of the legislature was to affirm the principle as largely as possible, and to make the capacities follow (as they have practically followed) gradually, according as favourable occasions should offer. These acts have always been understood to have emanated originally from his majesty's gracious disposition, and to have proceeded to the government of Ireland, through the British cabinet. If

these tests could not be deemed a security in the reserved cases, it is impossible to assign a reason why they were deemed a security in the hundreds of others, to which a capacity was opened by the act of 1793. The incapacitating reserves in the act of 1793, like those of the former acts, proceeding (though more slowly) upon the same declared policy, evidently were not made upon their own declared principle. They were made in the regular progress of a system of enlargement, in order to compromise with the spirit of monopoly. But it is asserted by earl Fitzwilliam, and nothing without inquiry can effectually contradict the assertion, that whilst in reality the restrictions gave satisfaction to none, they caused discontent in many. The protestants regarded these exceptions with total indifference. The catholics looked on them as signs of suspicion and degradation: they considered them as marks (contrary to the declared policy of the acts) contrived to be set upon them by their enemies, to distinguish them as bad subjects and bad citizens. The proceedings of their enemies leave in their minds no doubt that these tokens of reprobation are kept as pretexts for affronts, contumelies, and injuries of all kinds: and for practically depriving them of most of the benefits of those capacities which the law seemed to hold out to them.

14th, Because it is alleged that a bill for farther relief was publicly known, as likely to be in agitation before the departure of the lord-lieutenant from England; that he had no instruction whatever directly to oppose it; though an opinion was expressed that it had bet-

ter be delayed for a time of greater tranquillity; but the expediency of giving support to it was a matter left to his discretion, as, in the nature of things, it necessarily would be, on any subject, the principle of which was admitted, the fitness of the time being the only point of doubt, and which could only be decided by existing circumstances.

15th, Because it is offered in proof, that the late lord-lieutenant was diligent in the search, and prompt in the communication to ministers, of every information on the subject. That he soon found, that all hopes of putting off the question was impracticable; that he had reason to think the present time for carrying the principles of the acts of 1792 and 1793 to their full object, to be, of all others, most favourable; that he found the relief to be ardently desired by the catholics; to be asked for by very many protestants, and to be cheerfully acquiesced in by almost all; that this circumstance removed the difficulties, on which the postponing the question could alone be desired; that he found the delays had created much suspicion and uneasiness amongst the catholic petitioners, who were numerous almost beyond all example; that he found a bill on those petitions would infallibly and speedily be brought into parliament, and that many members were desirous to introduce it; and if this were the case, the measure might come into hands with which neither he nor the king's ministers had any connexion, which would leave with government only the disagreeable part of altering or of modifying, if any alteration or modification had been thought necessary by the

British government, depriving his majesty thereby of the whole grace and effect of what was done: that in this unpleasant situation he sent for Mr. Grattan, and desired him as a person in his confidence, and who would act on the occasion according to what he and the ministers, in their prudence, might suggest. That Mr. Grattan did consent, and did, at his desire, move for leave to bring in a bill for the further relief of the Roman catholics. That the motion for leave was received with little discussion, and without any division. That no bill on the subject was in fact brought in—and that ministry were informed, that none would be brought in without their knowledge; nor until of late, and after lord Fitzwilliam's departure, was such a thing attempted. That the then lord lieutenant communicated largely all his ideas on the subject. That whilst the proposed bill was not yet introduced into the house of commons, and whilst he was obeying their instructions with regard to informations and opinions, he was suddenly removed, with the strongest marks of displeasure and disgrace. That on this state of things, no sufficient reason appears to exist in this measure, any more than in the business of arrangements, for the unusual and alarming step of disgracing a lord-lieutenant in the middle of a session of parliament, in which the business of his majesty, and of the whole empire (as far as that kingdom could operate in it), was carried on with unusual unanimity and success, and with a very great concurrence without doors of all orders and descriptions of men. It is a step for which, on the debate, nothing was

said to make it appear justifiable, and to render an injury concerning it unnecessary.

PONSONBY,

WENTWORTH FITZWILLIAM.

And the said earl Fitzwilliam, moreover protesting for himself, and on his own part, declares that this house refusing such necessary investigation, he doth conceive and feel himself injured and oppressed, as a British subject, as a peer of Great Britain, and as a person who has exercised an high and very responsible trust under his majesty. That he is not content merely to prove his innocence; that he was, and is ready to make it appear to the house, and to his country, that in that trust he has acted faithfully, zealously, affectionately, dutifully, and diligently towards his sovereign; that he has acted with attention and practicability towards his colleagues in office; that he has acted with an enlightened regard to the true interests of the nation, which, under his majesty's authority, he was appointed to govern. That he stands upon the merit of his measures, and the prudence of his arrangements; that by them confidence was recovered to government. That he stands, for the justice and the policy of removing the few feeble, miserable, inefficacious, but invidious restrictions, that remain on the catholics of Ireland, as wholly useless for any good purpose, but powerful in causing discontent, both with regard to government and to parliament, as furnishing handles of oppression to the malevolent, and as supplying pretexts for disorders to the turbulent and seditious. That he should have shewn a degree of incapacity wholly to unfit him for his arduous

trust, if he had acted on an idea that the politics of this time, or that the present or probable future interests of states, do at all depend upon questions, whether of doctrine or discipline, either as agitated between catholics and protestants, or as agitated by protestants amongst their several subdivisions. The church and state have enemies very different, and infinitely more formidable than any which have their origin in any religious parties. He has for some time been persuaded, but most clearly so since he went to Ireland, that by good management the dangerous principles and tempers of the times, which have another and more recent origin, may be kept from taking root, either in the church of Ireland, there happily established, or in the presbyterian church, in communion with that of Scotland; or in the church of the old natives of Ireland, communicating with that of Rome; or in any other religious sect whatever; but that through intemperate, vexatious, corrupt, or oppressive conduct, every one of these descriptions may be infected with this evil, in greater or lesser degree and extent or malignity, according to the degree of oppression or indiscretion with which they are severally treated. He was, and is convinced, that the best mode of resisting this reigning danger, either from within or from without, is not to be found in a plan for reviving, by art or influence, prejudices and heart-burnings expired, or ready to expire, or of sowing the seeds of eternal discord and division between the people. During his government he had nothing to complain of the disposition of any religious

religious description as such; and his principles of government led him to cultivate the union which he plainly saw of itself commencing between them. It was his constant endeavour, by every means, to combine the minds of every sort of men, churchmen, presbyterians, and catholics, of every the least proportion of education, talent, influence, or property, in affection to their common sovereign; to combine them in one bond of common interest, and in one common effort against our common enemies, the known enemies of all religion, all law, all order, and all property. He has had the happiness of seeing all this completely accomplished. An unexampled concord amongst the people, an unexampled zeal for the support of the crown had taken place; but he is not responsible for the effects of a system which proceeds in a contrary direction to that which he pursued; he is not responsible for the effects of a system which supports men in whom the public has little confidence, contumeliously rejects the service of those who have obtained the good opinion of their country; a system which endeavours to supply a comparative defect of ability by an unmeasured increase of influence; a system which rejects the opinion and information of persons in high and responsible situations, and listens to the interested representations of subordinate office; a system which, inverting the whole order of things, introduces anarchy into the very seat of government, by publicly and avowedly supporting the instruments against the agent; a system which, finding the body of the people disposed to look to the crown as their security

against oppression from domestic factions, employs all its influence, power, and authority to support those very factions against the people, who fly for refuge to the crown. For the opposite system he has suffered the unparalleled mark of displeasure which has been shewn to him. He is willing to suffer more, rather than abandon it. He will remember with a warm and lasting gratitude, and a cordial attachment, the weighty persons in parliament, and all the respectable bodies and individuals by whom he was generously encouraged and honourably supported in a different plan of government from that which derives its support from the corruption of one part of the people, and the depression of the other.

FITZWILLIAM.

Protest against the Act for transferring the Militia, May 28th.

1st, Because the honourable footing upon which the militia was established, and has hitherto subsisted, is, as far as relates to the augmenting the artillery, undermined by this bill, inasmuch as it makes the militia a fund for the supply, and a drill for the accommodation of another corps, inasmuch as it reduces the constitutional force below the numbers covenanted by the country to be always kept complete, and inasmuch as it supplies the deficiencies it creates, not in the regular and creditable manner by which the militia is constitutionally to be supplied, and supplied to a certainty; but by the means, uncertain in their operation, by which it is constitutionally

provided in express terms that it shall not be supplied.

2dly, Because upon the allegation of the *present conjuncture*, it establishes this measure without any express period to its duration, and without any clause against the precedent.

3dly, Because at a moment when the temper of the times, and our personal knowledge of late events in some corps, seem particularly to recommend a vigilance in the preservation of discipline and subordination, this bill in a most extraordinary and unprecedented manner, relaxes the authority of the commanding officers over the objects of it, by suggesting to the latter a method which at any time, &c. on any motive, "entitles them to their discharge."

4thly, Because the several circumstances of disappointment as to the strength of their regiments, and of degradation by the involuntary removal of their selected and most instructed men, by the replacing of them in a less certain and less creditable manner, and by converting the regiments into a recruiting fund for another corps, from an impolitic and undeserved return to such militia officers (and it has been admitted in the debates on this bill that there are many such) as have merit with the public.—And

I conceive it the more necessary to mark my disapprobation, and express my apprehensions of the consequences of this innovation, as I know the militia contains a fund for recruiting not only the artillery, but every other corps in his majesty's service, much too good not to be ardently coveted, and (however the intention be disclaimed at present) I fear resorted to (as I

am sure it may be upon the same reasoning), when parliament shall have once notified the principle of making the militia subservient to the efficiency of other corps.

RADNOR.

*Protest against the passing of the New
Treason Bill.*

1st, Because we conceive this bill is founded on a false pretence: it recites a daring outrage on his majesty's person (which we feel with the utmost horror), and purports to provide farther remedies against such practices, whilst, in reality, it affords no additional security whatever to his majesty's person, and leaves us to regret a deep and irreparable injury to the laws and constitution of our country, by making the compassing, imagining, inventing and devising the levying war a substantive treason; thereby departing in a most dangerous and unjustifiable manner from the statute of the twenty-fifth of Edward the Third: the salutary provisions of which we cannot be tempted to abandon, by the example of temporary statutes, whose doubtful policy stands in opposition to a law, in which the wisdom of our ancestors has been so repeatedly recognized by the legislature, and so strongly confirmed by the permanent experience of its benefits.

2dly, Because the free discussion of the administration of government in all its branches, by writing, speaking, and meeting for the purpose of representing grievances to any of the three branches of the legislature, has afforded the best protection to the liberties of the people, and is the undoubted inheritance

rent right of Englishmen. Yet this bill erects into a high misdemeanor the exercise of this most valuable privilege, and inflicts, in certain cases, the pains and penalties of transportation for the offences which it creates, a punishment in the case of misdemeanors, thus generally constituted, as unprecedented in the history of our laws, as it is unnecessary and unconstitutional.

3dly, Because the extension of the treason laws, and the creating new misdemeanors, is an alarming encroachment on the security of the subject, and affords no additional protection to his majesty's person and government; for the state of every king, ruler, and governor of any realm, dominion, or commonalty, standeth and consisteth more assured by the love and favour of the subjects towards their sovereign, ruler, and governor, than in the dread and fear of those laws with rigorous pains and extreme punishments, which have at all times disgraced our code. History, however, shews us, that by succeeding legislatures, our statute book has, with every mark of generous indignation, been uniformly cleared of these temporary and unconstitutional excrescences, a circumstance which we now regard as a solemn warning against creating new and unheard of misdemeanors, or altering the treason laws of our country.

BEDFORD, DERBY, LAUDERDALE.

Protest against the Sedition Bill.

BECAUSE, to present petitions to the throne and the two houses of parliament, has at all times been the undoubted right of the subjects

of this realm; the free and unlimited enjoyment of which was one of the many blessings restored by the revolution, and invariably continued in its fullest extent, as well during time of internal commotion as of external danger; we therefore cannot consent to a bill which thus fetters the rights of the people, and imposes restraints on that freedom of speech, to the existence of which the preservation of all our liberties may be ascribed, and from the full, free and continued exercise of which is derived the manly character that distinguishes a free people.

NORFOLK, E. M. PONSONBY,
DERBY, LANSDOWNE,
LAUDERDALE, ALBEMARLE,
SUFFOLK, BEDFORD.
CHEDWORTH,

1st, Because, though we cordially agree in the above ground of protest, yet we think it farther necessary to state that, although the bill industriously displays the acknowledged right of Englishmen, a right essential to a free constitution, of deliberating on grievances, in church or state, and of preferring to the king and each house of parliament, petitions, complaints, remonstrances, and declarations thereupon, yet it proceeds to lay the whole exercise of that important and sacred privilege under a restraint and discountenance, which directly and absolutely annihilates the right.

The very proposition of any matter which shall tend to incite or stir up the people to hatred or contempt of the government and constitution of this realm, as by law established, makes the assembly liable to be dispersed by any one justice of peace, under the pain of felony,

felony, without benefit of clergy, if any twelve remain together an hour after proclamation, even though they should not proceed on prohibited business. Nay, if any one justice should think fit to arrest any person holding any discourse to the above effect, to be dealt with according to law, and shall meet with obstruction, whether the orator and obstructor be suborned or not, the whole assembly is liable to be treated in this harsh and unprecedented manner.

Now the case to which these terrible consequences are attached, is unavoidable, being a necessary incident to the exercise of the right; for no grievance can be made the subject of deliberation, much less of complaint and remonstrance, without drawing down upon it that odium, which its injurious tendency, or that contempt which its absurd incongruity may seem to merit; that is, without representing it as a grievance. So that an occasion, even without straining, can never be wanting to suppress the exercise of this franchise.

2dly, Because the severe provisions of this bill not only apply to all assemblies convened by the exertions of private subjects, in the manner expressly claimed for Englishmen by the bill of rights, but to all the other assemblies mentioned in the act, as appears from a consideration of the following words—"Such meeting or assembly, as is herein-before mentioned, to which every justice of the peace is authorized and empowered to resort with any number of constables, or other officers of the peace, and to do, or order to be done, all such acts, matters, and things, as the case may require." Now although it

be not expressly provided, that deliberating on any grievance in church or state shall be deemed a crime, except in assemblies convened by private subjects, yet the above-mentioned authority, to arrest men holding discourse to such effect, to be dealt with according to law, do so flagrantly imply it, that the zeal of any justice of the peace, who should so understand the phrase, may regard this as affording ample countenance to his efforts. Happily, in the class of magistrates in this country, are men whose worth and honour render them respectable; but we cannot forget that many are not only appointed by the minister during his pleasure, but are in a state of apparent subjection to his caprice, and some even paid by him for the exercise of their office, have their dependence on that caprice for their daily bread. It is therefore but too easy to foresee how such an occasion will be applied.

3dly, Because the provisions in the conclusion of this bill form a worthy sequel to the foregoing measures, differing not in principle, but only in extent and application. The prohibition of unlicensed discoursing upon law, constitution, government, and policy, at meetings not sanctioned by the sacred occasions of a free people applying to their legislature, interrupts private instruction, and the freedom of private discourse. The perusal of books; recommended by universal esteem, and the authority of names the most venerable, is an indulgence, however, that still remains. We are only forbidden to talk of what they contain.

We therefore think it our bounden duty, thus solemnly to mark the ignominious difference between

this impaired state of English liberty, and that which was so nobly demanded and so honourably conceded, at the auspicious æra of our happy and glorious revolution. It is in vain that, by the rapidity with which this bill has proceeded, the petitions, complaints, remonstrances, and other addresses of an irritated people, have been evaded. It is in vain to hope, that the length of time for which it is to endure will lay the public anxiety to sleep. The people cannot cease to regard this invasion of their rights with grief and dismay. They feel with us, that even indifference would extinguish this fundamental franchise, this safeguard of all our liberties, for ever.

BEDFORD, LAUDERDALE,
ALBEMARLE, DERBY.

Speech of His Excellency the Viceroy of Corsica, delivered to the Chamber of Parliament at the opening of the Session, the 9th Day of Feb. 1795.

Gentlemen,

IT is with unfeigned pleasure that I meet you this day in parliament, both because your constitution, on which the future happiness of Corsica depends, is hereby consummated, and because the full energy of your wisdom and authority is required at a period rendered doubly interesting by the establishment of a new government, and by the continuance of the war.

You are charged not only with important, but arduous duties, since you must on the one hand secure your freedom as an independent nation, by a vigorous and courageous exertion in the war, and on the other, you must make provision for internal happiness and

liberty, by deliberations which are better suited to times of tranquillity and peace.

For the discharge of this great trust, I rely with perfect confidence on the wisdom and public spirit of parliament, supported by the zealous and hearty union of all good Corsicans, whether in public or private stations; for you will, no doubt, participate with me in the pleasing reflection, that the present period affords the happy opportunity of composing past animosities, and obliterating divisions no longer supported by any subsisting motive; and which, being always at variance with the general good, are peculiarly prejudicial to it in moments like the present.

His majesty, on his part, ever just and ever firm to his engagements, has already taken those steps which the constitution pointed out, for completing the new system of your government. He has been pleased to ratify in person the constitutional act which he had previously authorized me to accept in his name.

I have ordered the gracious answer made by his majesty to the address of the late general council, presented to him by deputies from that assembly, to be laid before you. I have also ordered to be laid before you a copy of the commission by which his majesty has been pleased to confer on me the exalted honour of representing him in this kingdom under the title of viceroy, agreeable to the provisions of the constitutional act. By the choice of a person whose best qualification for that distinguished station is a warm and steady affection for Corsica, you will perceive that the same sentiment prevailed on that occasion on his majesty's mind.

I am

I am enabled with equal satisfaction to acquaint you, that his majesty is not less attentive to your protection against the hostile designs of the enemy: and you may depend on his powerful and vigorous support during the war. He confides at the same time in the zeal and courage of his Corsican subjects for repelling the enemy, and defending, in the independence of their country, and the security of their lives, fortunes, and honour, all that can be dear to men. In these views a considerable body of Corsican infantry has been raised, and an immediate augmentation to that national corps is intended.

Measures have been taken for enabling his majesty to assemble the militia, and employ them against the common enemy in case of need. It will be for the parliament in its wisdom to frame adequate regulations for the perfection of such a system as may give to Corsica, in moments of danger, the full benefit of the courage and patriotism of all her subjects: for it must not be forgotten, that the independence and liberty of your country must not depend on the protection of regular troops alone, however formidable the force employed may be; but, under the providence of God, must still rest principally on the hearts and arms of a people who love their country and their freedom.

Many important objects will require your immediate attention. The most urgent of these, is to provide sufficient funds for the public service.

In the present circumstances of Corsica, his majesty is pleased to take upon himself the whole charges of the military establishment; you

have also the benefit of a great naval force, without any expence; you have no public debt, and consequently no interest to pay on that account.

Reflecting on these peculiar advantages, enjoyed, perhaps, exclusively by this nation, I am persuaded that you will cheerfully furnish the remaining and unavoidable expences of the public service; and it is with much comfort that I consider the impossibility of an ample and adequate provision for the civil charges of government being burthensome to the people of Corsica, even in the present state of her resources.

A settlement of your religious establishment has been reserved for the chamber of parliament, in concert with his holiness the pope.

To this important point you will naturally direct your early and serious attention; and I have no doubt, that the wisdom and piety which will preside in your councils, will lead you to the means of reconciling the civil interests and temporal prosperity of your constituents, with the holy duties of religion, the reverence due to its ministers, and the sacred rights of property.

The definition and limits of the several powers and jurisdictions to be exercised by the different tribunals in the administration of justice, as well as a declaration of the law itself, are other points of serious and urgent importance. A faithful and judicious administration of the national property, particularly of the woods and forests, the improvement of agriculture, manufactures and commerce, the encouragement of industry in all its branches, the government and discipline of the military, the en-

couragement.

couragement and navigation, and regulations which may bring forth the naval resources of the island, whether in mariners or stores, in its own defence, and in the general service of the empire; the repair of highways, and improvement of internal communication; institutions for public instruction; establishments of health, both for the security of the inhabitants, and the convenience of their commerce; all these are objects worthy of your early deliberations, and for which your wisdom and diligence will not fail to provide.

I have the greatest satisfaction in announcing to you the conclusion of a treaty for the marriage of his royal highness the prince of Wales with the princess Caroline, daughter of the duke of Brunswick. I am persuaded that your affection for the person and family of his majesty will make you participate in the general joy diffused through every part of his dominions, by an event so interesting to the happiness of his majesty and that illustrious prince.

Gentlemen,

Impressed with the momentous nature of the present period, and of the duties which it imposes on us, I am nevertheless confident in your patriotism, talents, and application; and I pray God so to bless and enlighten our councils, and so to endue us with wisdom and virtue, as to render this first parliament of Corsica an example to all succeeding ones, as well as to your constituents of the present day, of disinterested, zealous, and, above all, united exertion for the public good.

It is by these means, and by the blessing of God, that I trust your

country will triumph over its foreign and domestic enemies, and attain under the mild and equitable government of his majesty, the summit of national prosperity and happiness.

Earl Fitzwilliam's Speech to both Houses of the Irish Parliament, on opening the Session 22d Jan. 1795.

My lords and gentlemen,

IN obedience to his majesty's command, I resort to your councils, at a period which, in a peculiar manner, calls for the wisdom and energy of parliament.

His majesty's determination is fixed; as long as he is supported by his faithful subjects, he never will be wanting to them or to himself; his majesty has no interest but that of his people; no views but for their happiness; no object but their general safety.

The uniform tenor of your conduct has demonstrated, that you will not only be desirous, but zealous, to second and emulate the magnanimity of a sovereign, formed to lead a nation that has ever been as firm to assert its liberties, as affectionately devoted to a government which maintains its own authority, for the sole purpose of supporting those liberties. As you are thus cordially attached to that sovereign, and to the constitution which it is his glory to protect, I have to announce to you, with true satisfaction, that you will hear with equal pleasure, the intended marriage of his royal highness the prince of Wales with the princess Caroline Amelia Elizabeth, daughter of his most illustrious highness the duke of Brunswick and Lunenburg; a princess of that illustrious

trious house, to whose mild and constitutional sway these kingdoms are highly indebted for the blessings they enjoy; this marriage promises the perpetuation of the same blessings under the same house.

I have it also in command to inform you, that his majesty has concluded a treaty of amity, commerce, and navigation, with the United States of America, in which it has been his majesty's object to remove, as far as possible, all grounds of jealousy and misunderstanding, and to improve an intercourse beneficial to both states. As soon as the ratification of this treaty shall have been exchanged, and I shall have received a copy of it, I will direct it to be laid before you, in order that you may consider if it will be necessary to make any provisions for carrying into effect a treaty, in which the commerce of this kingdom is so materially and extensively interested.

Gentlemen of the house of commons,

I have directed the estimates for the public service, and the state of the public accounts, to be laid before you.

His majesty has that assured confidence, grounded on a long and uniform experience of your loyalty, and your zeal for his service, and the good of your country, that I think it unnecessary to press you, in any particular manner, to make a provision adequate to the present awful situation of affairs.

It is with pleasure I acquaint you, that the provision will, in some degree, be facilitated by the circumstance, that, during the existence of such a war as the present, the public revenue, together with the commerce of the king-

dom, has kept up, and has even been augmented: advantages which are due to the care and vigilance of our sovereign, in the general protection provided by him for all his subjects.

My lords and gentlemen,

I earnestly recommend to you a continuance of the laudable pains you have constantly taken to cultivate all your domestic advantages in commerce, in manufacture, and in such public works, as have appeared directed to promote those important objects. These are the true foundations of all public revenue and public strength. Your endeavours have had their fruit. The great staple manufacture of this kingdom has increased beyond the most sanguine expectation—an advantage principally owing to the constant superintendence and wise provisions of the parliament of Ireland; and next to those, to the assured, liberal, and most merited encouragement, which it receives in the rich and extensive market of Great Britain—a circumstance tending to cement the union, and to perfect the harmony, which happily subsists, and I trust will subsist for ever, between the two kingdom.

Attached as you are to the general cause of religion, learning, and civilization, I have to recommend to your consideration the state of education in this kingdom, which in some parts will admit of improvement, in others may require some new arrangement. Considerable advantages have been already derived under the wise regulations of parliament, from the protestant charter-schools, and these will, as usual, claim your attention; but as these advantages have been

been but partial, and as circumstances have made other considerations, connected with this important subject, highly necessary, it is hoped that your wisdom will order every thing relating to it, in the manner most beneficial, and the best adapted to the occasions of the several descriptions of men, which compose his majesty's faithful subjects of Ireland.

We are engaged in an arduous contest. The time calls not only for great fortitude, and an unusual share of public spirit, but for much constancy and perseverance. You are engaged with a power which, under the ancient forms of its internal arrangement, was always highly formidable to the neighbouring nations. Lately this power has assumed a new shape; but with the same ambition, with much more extensive and systematic designs, far more effective, and without comparison, more dreadful in the certain consequences of its eventual success, it threatens nothing less than the entire subversion of the liberty and independence of every state in Europe. An enemy to them all, it is actuated with a peculiar animosity against these kingdoms, not only as the natural protection of the balance of power in Europe, but also, because, by the profession of a legal, humane, and rational freedom, we seem to reproach that false and spurious liberty, which, in reality, is an ignominious servitude, tending to extinguish all good arts, to generate nothing but impiety, crime, disorder, and ferocious manners, and to end in wretchedness, and general desolation.

To guard his people from the enterprises of this dangerous and malignant power, and for the protection of all civilized society against the inroad of anarchy, his majesty has availed himself of every rational aid foreign and domestic: he has called upon the skill, courage, and experience of all his subjects, wheresoever dispersed, and you must be duly sensible in such a crisis as the present, which rarely occurs in the course of human affairs, of the advantage of his majesty's thus endeavouring to profit of the united strength and zeal of every description of his subjects.

I have to assure you of his majesty's most cheerful concurrence in every measure, which your wisdom and comprehensive patriotism shall point out for this salutary purpose.

On my part, you shall find me, from principle and from inclination, thoroughly disposed to concur with his majesty's paternal wishes, and with the wise measures of his parliament. On a cordial affection to the whole of Ireland, and on a conduct suitable to that sentiment, I wish to found my own personal estimation, and my reputation in the execution of the great trust committed, by the most beneficent of sovereigns, to my care.

Earl Camden's Speech on proroguing the Irish Parliament, 5th June.

My lords and gentlemen,

I AM directed by his majesty to convey to you his full approbation of your services in the present session, and to relieve you from further

ther attendance in parliament. It has afforded me infinite satisfaction to observe, since my arrival in this kingdom, the temper and wisdom with which your proceedings have been uniformly conducted,

Gentlemen of the house of commons,

I am particularly to express his majesty's acknowledgments for the liberal supplies which you have contributed for the service of the empire and the defence of the kingdom, with such unanimity and cheerfulness. The extent of your grants is a convincing proof how warmly you feel yourselves interested in the vigorous prosecution of a war rendered necessary by the wanton and unprovoked attack of France, and involving in it the general cause of social order, morality, and religion, in all civilized countries. On my part, you may be assured they shall be faithfully applied to the great purposes for which they were granted.

My lords and gentlemen,

His majesty observes with the highest satisfaction, that during the present crisis you have not failed to cherish and to maintain the various sources of your internal prosperity. You have also completed the intention so benevolently entertained, of entirely relieving the poorer classes from the tax of hearth-money. A wise foundation has been laid for educating at home the Roman Catholic clergy. A satisfactory arrangement of the treasury has been confirmed by law; and an alteration of duties has been introduced, with a view to prevent the immoderate use of spirituous liquors, and in the hope of introducing a more general habit of sobriety

amongst the lower orders of the people. In the execution of these measures, you may depend upon my sincere and earnest endeavours to pursue that wise and prudent policy by which they were dictated.

On repairing to your respective counties, which I cannot too strongly and too earnestly recommend, it is specially incumbent upon you to make those exertions which the times demand, and to inculcate the necessity of an exact submission to the laws.—By contrasting the blessings which result from a well-regulated liberty and peaceable subordination, with the mischiefs which necessarily spring from licentiousness and anarchy, you will increase the attachment of the people to our free and happy constitution. To preserve the constitution inviolate is the great object of his majesty in the present contest, and he cannot but look to its fortunate issue when he reflects on the loyalty, spirit, and power of his people, and on their just sense of the invaluable inheritance for which they contend.

It will be the constant object of my administration, in which his majesty's commands and my own personal wishes are most intimately combined, to forward, with unremitting vigilance, the welfare and the happiness of this country. These objects I cannot so effectually promote, as by attending to, and acting upon, those established principles which form the connexion between Great Britain and Ireland, on which the security, the freedom, and the prosperity of both kingdoms most essentially depend.

Convention

Convention between his Britannic Majesty and the Emperor of Germany, signed at Vienna 4th May, 1795.

THE emperor and the king of Great Britain, being equally convinced of the necessity of acting with vigour and energy against the common enemy, in order to procure to their respective dominions a safe and honourable peace, and to preserve Europe from the danger with which it is threatened, their Imperial and Britannic majesties have thought proper to concert together upon the measures to be adopted for the next campaign, and to agree, for this purpose, on such stipulations as may best conduce to the salutary object of their intentions already mentioned. With this view, their majesties have appointed their respective plenipotentiaries; that is to say, his Imperial majesty, his privy counsellor actual, and minister for foreign affairs, baron de Thugut, commander of the order of St. Stephen; and his Britannic majesty, sir Morton Eden, knight of the bath, one of his majesty's most honourable privy council, and his envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary at the court of Vienna; who, after having communicated to each other their respective full powers, have agreed upon the following articles:

Art. 1. In order to assist the efforts which his Imperial majesty is desirous of making, and to facilitate to him the means of bringing forward the resources of his dominions, in the defence of the common cause, his Britannic majesty engages to propose to his parliament to guarantee the regular payment of the half-yearly dividends,

on the sum of four millions six hundred thousand pounds sterling, which is, or is to be raised, on account of his Imperial majesty, on the terms and in the manner specified in the two engagements or octrois, the tenor of which is annexed to this convention; his Imperial majesty solemnly engaging to his Britannic majesty, that he will make due provision for the regular discharge of the payments which shall become due in consequence of the said loans, so as that those payments shall never fall as a burthen on the finances of Great Britain.

2. In return for the stipulation contained in the preceding article, and by the means of the said loan of four millions six hundred thousand pounds sterling, assured by the guarantee of Great Britain, his Imperial majesty shall employ in his different armies, in the ensuing campaign, a number of troops, which shall not only amount at least to two hundred thousand effective men, but which his Imperial majesty will exert himself, as much as possible, to augment even above that number; which troops shall act against the common enemy, according to the dispositions agreed upon by a secret article, forming a part of this convention.

3. The emperor will see with pleasure, the appointment of general officers, or other persons of confidence, to be present with his armies on the part of his Britannic majesty, to whom all the necessary communication and information will be furnished, with respect to the state and strength of the armies, and the number of troops of which they may consist; and if, in order to facilitate and promote

the correspondence and communication between the armies of the two courts, his Imperial majesty shall think proper to send an officer, or other person, on his part, to the English armies, they shall, in like manner, receive from the generals of his Britannic majesty, all such marks of confidence as are most analogous to the intimate union so happily subsisting between the two courts.

4. It is expressly agreed, that the said loan is to rest on the security of all the revenues of all the different hereditary dominions of his Imperial majesty. All the necessary measures shall be taken on the part of his Imperial majesty, in each of the said dominions respectively, to give full and legal effect and validity to the said loan, and to the engagements for the regular payment of the half-yearly dividends which shall fall due in consequence thereof; so that if at any time there should happen, from whatever cause, to be any delay in any of the payments, after the period of their falling due, the holders of the securities granted, or to be granted, on the part of his Imperial majesty, for the said loan, may sue the receivers or treasurers of his Imperial majesty's revenues, in any of the said dominions respectively, at the option of such holders, and may recover from them, or any of them, by due course of law, the full amount of such payments having so fallen due, in the same manner as any private individuals are admitted in the said dominions respectively to prosecute and recover their just rights against other private persons.

5. If it should ever happen that, contrary to all expectation, any

part of the dividends due on the said loans should, in consequence of the failure of the payments stipulated to be made by his Imperial majesty, be paid by the British government, it is agreed that such payments shall be made at the Bank of England; and only on the delivery of the tallies or certificates of the dividends so respectively paid; and every such tally or certificate so delivered up shall be a valid and legal security, so as to enable the holder thereof to sue any of the receivers or treasurers of his Imperial majesty's revenues, in any of his dominions aforesaid, at the option of such holder, and to recover from them, or any of them, the full amount of the sum expressed in such tally or certificate, with interest thereon, at the rate of five per cent. per annum, to be reckoned from the date of the payment made by the British government. And whereas it is provided, in the terms agreed upon for raising the said loans, that, as a collateral security for the said loans, there shall be deposited in the Bank of England mortgage actions of the Bank of Vienna, for a sum, in the proportion of four to three of the loan to be so raised; it is further agreed, that the governor and company of the said Bank shall, in case of any such payment as aforesaid being made by the British government, be authorized to withdraw from the said deposit such a quantity of the said actions, as shall be required to make up at least the proportion of four pounds for every three which shall be so paid by the British government, to be by the said government either used as a security or claim upon the Bank of Vienna, until re-payment

of the said sum, and of the interest due thereon, or negotiated at the time to such extent as may be necessary in order to effect such reimbursement, according as to the said government may seem most eligible; and that the quantity of actions so withdrawn shall be deducted from or set off against any quantity, which, according to the terms of the said loan, might thereafter be to be withdrawn from the said deposit, in proportion to the gradual redemption of the bonds, and the payment of the annuities, as is specified in the conditions of the said loan.

6. And whereas certain advances have been made by the British government to his Imperial majesty, on account and by way of loan; it is agreed that the same shall be repaid at London, in the course of the present year, in exchange for the receipts given by the generals commanding in chief the Imperial army, and conformably to the sums contained in the said receipts. The said advances shall be reimbursed, at latest, in two equal parts, in the months of November and December, so that the total shall be reimbursed before the expiration of the present year.

7. The present convention shall be ratified on each side without any delay, and the exchange of the ratifications, expedited in due form, shall be made within the space of one month at latest.

In witness whereof, we the undersigned, being furnished with the full powers of their Imperial and British majesties, have, in their

names, signed the present act, and have thereto set the seal of our arms.

Done at Vienna, the 4th day of May, 1795.

(L.S.) LE BN. DE THUGUT,
MORTON EDEN.

*Articles of Agreement for raising
French Corps for the service of
Great Britain, 9th March, 1795.*

Art. 1. THE French corps shall be raised under the authority with which his majesty is invested by an act of the present session of parliament, intituled, "An act to enable subjects of France to enlist as soldiers in regiments to serve on the continent of Europe, and in certain other places; and to enable his majesty to grant commissions to subjects of France, to serve and receive pay as officers in such regiments, or as engineers, under certain restrictions."

2. Each regiment shall consist of two battalions, comprising the number of officers, soldiers, &c. stated in the plan, No. II*.

3. The recruits shall be taken from among the peasants, deserters, and soldiers, of the troops of the line. No man shall be enlisted who is not five feet five inches, or who has not been examined by a surgeon, who will vouch that he has no infirmity which can prevent him from serving.

4. For each man delivered at the depôts or places of rendezvous that shall have been fixed upon, the colonel shall be paid ~~levy~~ mo-

* The numbers referred to were long lists and accounts laid on the table of the house of commons, but which we have not room to insert.

ney, at the rate of 3*l.* 10*s.* which sum of 3*l.* 10*s.* is to be in lieu of all charges respecting the said recruits, for enlisting, for travelling, and all other expences whatsoever, until delivered at the place of rendezvous general assigned for each corps by the colonel, and approved by government.

5. Besides the fixed bounty of 3*l.* 10*s.* a man, the government shall furnish for each recruit, the articles specified in the list No. V.

6. The funds necessary for the levy of 1551 men, of which each regiment shall consist, the staff officers being deducted, shall be furnished at the rate of 3*l.* 10*s.* a man, as fixed by the 5th article of these regulations, and shall be paid into the hands of the colonels; that is to say, one third, or 180*g*l. 10*s.* immediately after the delivery of the letters of service, and the two other thirds, on the demand of the colonels, who shall provisionally give proofs of the progress of their exertions for completing their corps.

7. The colonels shall nominate their officers, subject to the approbation of his majesty; but no officer shall be named to any rank who does not possess at this moment, in the service of France, the rank immediately superior, or at least equal to it; thus the lieutenant-colonels shall be chosen among the colonels, the captains among the officers superior to captains, the lieutenants among the captains or lieutenants, the sub-lieutenants among the lieutenants or sub-lieutenants, or non-commissioned officers.

8. The officers, at the forming of the regiments, shall take rank in the degree to which they shall

have been named in their respective corps, according to the superiority of the commissions which they held in France on the 1st of July, 1789; and, in case of equal degree at that period, according to the date of the commissions of the rank which they held before. Such officers as shall subsequently obtain promotion, shall take rank from the dates of their new commissions in the British service. When two or more officers of the same degree, and of different regiments of emigrants, either raised, raising, or to be hereafter raised, in the service of Great Britain, shall do duty together, either on courts-martial, detachments, or any other military service, they shall take precedence, according to the superiority of the commissions which they held in France on the 1st of July, 1789; and in case of equal degree at that period, according to the dates of the commissions which they held before. When officers of the emigrant regiments shall do duty with British officers, they shall take rank according to the dates of their commissions in the service of Great Britain; but in cases where two or more French officers of equal rank shall be on detachment with a British officer, if the British officer is senior to the French officer, who, in conformity to what has been above stated, would have the command over his countrymen, the British officer shall take the command of the whole, even although any of the said French officers should be senior to him in the British service.

9. The rank of the officers, being once settled, shall never vary. Their promotion shall take place

place according to seniority.—

The first lieutenant shall advance to the first vacant company; the first sub-lieutenant to the first lieutenancy; but the nomination of the staff officers, and the selection of officers for the grenadiers, shall always be left to the colonel; subject, however, to the approbation or non-approbation of his majesty.

10. The commissioned officers shall enjoy the pay allotted to their rank, to commence from the dates of their letters of service, and the non-commissioned officers and privates, &c. to commence from the days of their arrival at the dépôt. The amount of subsistence for the respective appointments shall be remitted to the colonel every two months, and in advance.

11. The pay of the officers shall be as stated in the table, No. III. that of the non-commissioned officers, privates, &c. as in the statement, No. IV.

12. The surplus of the full pay above the subsistence, shall always be paid for the complete establishment, agreeably to the statement, No. IV. annexed to these regulations; consequently, there shall be remitted every two months, into the chest of each regiment, in advance, the sum of 21,705 livres, 6 sols, 8 deniers, being the sixth part of the sum of 130,232 livres, destined to defray all expences not at the charge of the soldier.

13. By means of the deduction from the full pay, which is in lieu of what is called in France "*masse generale, masse de campement, and masse d'hôpital,*" the commanders of regiments shall be obliged to defray all expences relative to the maintenance of all parts of the dress, arms, and equipment, of all

the men of their regiments, and to provide for repairs of every kind.

14. At the end of every year an account shall be given in of all disbursements out of the monies arising from the said deduction, in order that the saving, if there should be any, may be accounted for, and remitted into the pay-office, at the end of every year. All expences shall be properly supported by vouchers, without which they must remain at the charge of the commandant of the corps who shall have ordered them.

15. Subsistence shall be paid only for the effectives, and according to the numbers at the inspection of the commissary, who shall verify the strength of the regiment, and what is due for subsistence. The subsistence for such recruits as shall join the corps in the interval between inspections, shall be ascertained at the first inspection of the commissary, and a separate statement of the amount thereof shall be made up, in order that the same may be reimbursed to the regiment, immediately after the said inspection.

16. Out of the subsistence which shall be paid to each man, as stated in the paper, No. IV. he shall be obliged to defray all personal expences, and to provide for his nourishment, washing and all charges of maintenance, repairs of linen and shoes, and all expences which were supplied in France, by what were called, "*les masses de linge et chaussure de compagnie et de bûlangerie.*" The same deductions shall be made from his pay as from that of the troops of his Britannic majesty, for articles furnished to him in kind, whether bread, meat, &c.

17. The sums valued in French money, in the different statements and articles of the regulations, shall always be paid to the regiment at the rate of one pound sterling, for twenty-four livres French money.

18. The colonels shall engage to complete their regiments in the space of four months from the date of the day on which they shall receive their letters of service; and to deliver the number of men fixed at the dépôts, or places of rendezvous, which shall be appointed for each regiment.

19. His Britannic majesty will appoint commissaries, or other officers, who shall be stationed at the dépôts, to receive the recruits of each regiment as they arrive, and to make the final arrangement of the different corps, as soon as they shall have been completed.

20. The colonels shall be responsible for the men who shall desert from the depot before the final inspection, which shall take place as soon as their regiments shall be complete.

21. In case that any regiment should not have been completed at the expiration of the period limited by the 18th article, the colonel, and all the officers of the said regiment, shall be deprived of their appointments, and the non-commissioned officers, soldiers, &c. shall be incorporated into such other regiments as government shall think proper to assign, and which may be more advanced in their recruitings.

22. The uniform shall be red, lined with white, white waistcoat and breeches, with no other ornament than the distinguishing

marks of rank. The cockade shall be white, the colours white, with three gold fleur de lis; the eight regiments to be raised at present shall be distinguished by the following colours:

D'Autichamp's light blue,
De Viosmenil's white,
De Bethisy's bright yellow,
De Mortemart's black,
De Castric's bright green,
Du Dresnay's deep green,
D'Hervilly's buff.

23. The English government will endeavour to obtain every necessary facility, that the recruiting parties of the different corps may enlist such deserters from the troops of the line, or peasants, who are willing to serve in the different regiments, whether in Brabant, the Palatinate, the electorate of Treves, or in the whole extent of the French frontiers; and should any difficulty arise, the English commissary shall institute an inquiry to ascertain whether the recruiting parties were in fault, or whether they were impeded by obstacles not depending upon themselves.

24. Quarters shall be provided at the expence of government, by the commissaries established by his Britannic majesty, at the places of rendezvous or dépôts fixed upon assembling the regiments, and every charge which respects the conveying of the said regiments, and of the articles to be furnished to them in kind, shall be defrayed by government.

25. The corps, as soon as they shall be formed, shall be subject to the military regulations and articles of war established by his majesty, in virtue of the powers with

with which he is invested by the 24th article of the act of parliament mentioned above.

26. The corps are to serve during the continuance of the war, and a year after the cessation of hostilities, unless his majesty should think proper to dispense sooner with the service to which they are bound by the present capitulation.

27. The articles of dress and arms of the men lost on service shall be replaced at the expence of government; as well as the men killed in action, or who may die of their wounds, or of disorders, in the hospitals, or at the regiment; which shall be ascertained by the English commissary, by a certificate of their deaths, signed by himself, and the staff of the regiment. But the colonels shall be bound to replace such men as are lost through desertion, as well as the effects which they may carry with them.

28. In unforeseen cases, and in whatever may not be particularly specified by the present regulations, the corps on British pay shall conform to the orders or regulations of his Britannic majesty respecting his troops, and shall be upon the same footing with them.

Approved, LE DUC DE HARCOURT,
GRENVILLE,
W. WINDHAM.

Proclamation respecting Dutch Bills of Exchange, February 6th, 1795.

WHEREAS it has been represented to his majesty, at this board, that, in consequence of the progress of the French arms in the United Provinces, the payment of bills of exchange, drawn or nego-

tiated in the said provinces, may be deemed unlawful, by virtue of the provisions contained in an act, passed in the last session of parliament, intituled, "An act for preventing money or effects, in the hands of his majesty's subjects, belonging to or disposable by persons resident in France, being applied to the use of the persons exercising the powers of government in France, and for preserving the property thereof for the benefit of the individual owners thereof;" and in an act passed in the same session, intituled, "An act for more effectually preserving money or effects, in the hands of his majesty's subjects, belonging to or disposable by persons resident in France, for the benefit of the individual owners thereof," unless his majesty shall license the payment of such bills, in pursuance of the powers given by the said several acts: his majesty, taking the same into his royal consideration, is pleased, by and with the advice of his privy council, to order, and it is hereby ordered, that it shall be lawful for any person, residing or being in Great Britain, to pay any bill, drawn or indorsed in any part of the said United Provinces, and sent from the said provinces on or before the 16th day of January last; provided such bill shall have been made payable at no greater distance of time than three months from the date thereof, or three months from sight thereof; provided also, that all and every person and persons, who shall take the benefit of such licence hereby granted, shall so take the same, upon condition, that in case of any proceedings, criminal or civil, under the provisions of the said act of parliament,

ment, or either of them for any thing alleged to have been done contrary thereto, any question shall arise, whether the thing so done was authorized by the licence hereby given; the proof of such thing was done, under the particular circumstances, and according to the special terms and conditions required by this order, shall lie on the persons claiming the benefit of such licence.

W. FAWKENER.

Additional Instruction to the Commanders of our Ships of War and Privateers, that have or may have Letters of Marque against France, given at our Court of St. James's, the 9th Day of February, 1795, in the Thirty-fifth Year of our Reign.

George R.

1. THAT they shall bring into the ports of this kingdom all Dutch vessels, bound to or from any ports of Holland, in order that they, together with their cargoes, being Dutch property, may be detained provisionally; and that speedy restitution shall be made of all such cargoes, or parts of cargoes (or the value thereof) found on board the same, as shall appear to belong to proprietors, being the subjects of allied or neutral powers.

2. That they shall bring into the ports of this kingdom all ships, to whatever country they may belong, which shall be found laden with naval or military stores, and bound to any port in Holland, in order that the said cargoes may be detained provisionally; a full indemnification being given by our government to the owners and masters of all such vessels belonging to the

subjects of the allied or neutral powers, as may be brought in, in consequence hereof, and likewise to the proprietors of such cargoes, being subjects of allied or neutral powers.

By his majesty's command,

PORTLAND.

PROCLAMATION.

(L.S.)

By his Excellency James Seaton, Esq. Captain-General and Governor in Chief in and over his Britannic Majesty's Island of St. Vincent, Sequia, and such others of the Islands, commonly called the Grenadines, as lie to the northward of Curiacon; Chancellor, Ordinary, and Vice-admiral of the same, &c.

IN order that the measures which the present critical situation of affairs obliges me to adopt may be understood by the peaceable French inhabitants of the island, by the society at large, by our country, and by our open and avowed enemy, I have thought fit, by and with the advice of his majesty's privy council, to make the following declaration:

That a most cruel and unprovoked attack has been made upon the country, aggravated by every circumstance of savage barbarity, by a numerous body of armed Charaibs, aided and assisted by a considerable number of the inhabitants of the island, of French extraction, who had taken the oaths of allegiance and fidelity to his majesty, acting under the direction of Chatoye, a Charaib chief, acknowledged by them as general and commander of the whole, at the very moment when they were professing

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an affectionate attachment to the society by whom they have been fostered, and to the laws under which they have been protected.

That this attack is therefore considered as the aggression of the Charaibs, aided by the lawless banditti of French inhabitants, traitors to their king and country, actuated by motives of rapine and murder, whose proceedings must be disavowed by all civilised nations, for the following substantial reasons:

Because no armed force has been landed in the island by any persons acting under the authority of our open enemy.

Because the Charaib chief, Chatoye, has been acknowledged as the general and commander of all the forces who have made this unnatural war against us.

Because the proceedings of the armed forces were conducted with every species of cruelty, by fire, murder, and unnecessary devastation through every part of the windward country, for the succession of many days, when no resistance was made in that quarter.

Because many unarmed and unresisting slaves, without any apparent provocation, were murdered along the different roads through the island.

Because the unfortunate English prisoners, taken at Chateau-Bellair, about Monday the 9th of this month, were massacred on the Saturday morning following, upon Dorsetshire-hill, in the most barbarous and cruel manner.

Actuated by these motives, I am bound to consider the present attack as a treasonable plot, not conducted for the fair and avowed object of conquest, but for the purpose of exterminating the English inhabitants in the country.

To such an enemy I cannot apply the laws of war. They have begun the violation of them, and profess to hold them in contempt.

To those who may come against us as an open and avowed enemy, and who may by the fortune of war fall into our hands, I propose the same treatment which our countrymen, who are prisoners, receive from them.

To those subjects of French extraction, who are faithful to the oaths which they have taken, I promise protection, and hereby require all his majesty's subjects to use their utmost endeavours that no insult or injury may be offered them.

As I am still ready and anxious to make allowances for those who have been seduced from their duty, or who may have been reluctantly compelled to join a desperate and cruel enemy, I promise mercy to such as may surrender themselves on or before the twenty-fifth day of the present month, provided they have not been concerned in any of the murders committed, or have not been principals in the present unnatural rebellion.

Given under my hand and seal of arms, at Fort Charlotte, this twentieth day of March, in the thirty-fifth year of his majesty's reign, and in the year of our lord one thousand seven hundred and ninety-five.

JAMES SEATON.

By his excellency's command,

GEORGE SEATON.

God save the king.

Orders by General the Duke of Richmond.

Brighton, April 20, 1795.

THE king having been pleased

in consequence of the present high price of bread, to direct that his forces, as well in quarters as in barracks, shall, from the 18th day of April, 1795, receive their bread at the same rate as it will be furnished to them in camp, the usual camp stoppage of five-pence per loaf is to be made from each non-commissioned officer and private soldier; for which a loaf of six pounds weight, and as nearly as possible of the same quality as those delivered in camp, is to be furnished every four days, and the difference between five-pence and whatever the market price of bread may be for six pounds of bread of the above-mentioned quality, is to be paid to the bakers by the paymaster of the corps, and charged in his public accounts.

In places where it is not usual, or it may not be convenient to bake loaves of six pounds weight, the commanding officer may order loaves of other sizes to be purchased, taking care to observe the proportion above-mentioned, and that each non-commissioned officer and private soldier receives in kind one pound and a half of bread per day, and pays no more for it than at the rate of five-pence for six pounds.

The commanding officer will also, if not already done, divide all his men, except those who are married, into regular messes, from six to ten or twelve, as may be convenient, and see that so much of the pay as is directed by his majesty's regulations to be laid out in food for the soldiers, be strictly so applied.

The officers are frequently to visit the messes, to see that they are properly conducted.

His majesty has also been further pleased to signify his pleasure, that

in consequence of the present high price of provisions, contracts should be immediately entered into by the commanding officers of regiments, for the supply of meat for their corps; under certain regulations to be transmitted from the secretary at war, so as that the expence of meat to the soldier shall not exceed four-pence halfpenny per pound. The commanding officers will therefore proceed to enter into contracts accordingly, and the regulations from the secretary at war will be transmitted to them as soon as received.

The duke of Richmond trusts the soldiers will see, that, while every attempt at disorderly proceedings will be resisted with vigour, and punished with severity, every attention is paid to their real wants, when properly and regularly represented through their officers; and he is confident that these repeated proofs of his majesty's gracious attention to their situation will animate them with fresh zeal for the cause of their king and country, in which they are engaged; and that each militia corps in particular, jealous of its own honour, and lamenting the disgrace which one has brought on itself, will see the necessity of maintaining the most strict discipline, on which the efficacy and credit of any army must so much depend.

J. HADDIN,
Brigade Major-General,
Southern District.

*Copy of a Letter and Instructions from
Sir William Scott and Dr. John
Nicholl, of the Commons, prepared
at the instance of Mr. Jay, the
American Minister.*

To his Excellency Jⁿ. JAY, Esq. &c.

SIR,

I HAVE the honour of sending the paper drawn up by Mr. Nicholl and myself; it is longer and more particular than perhaps you meant; but it appeared to be an error on the better side, rather to be too minute, than to be too reserved in the information we had to give; and it will be in your excellency's power either to apply the whole or such parts as may appear more immediately pertinent to the objects of your inquiry.

I take the liberty of adding, that I shall, at all times, think myself much honoured by any communications from you, either during your stay here or after your return, on any subject in which you may suppose that my situation can give me the power of being at all useful to the joint interests of both countries: if they should ever turn upon points in which the duties of my official station appear to me to impose upon me an obligation of reserve, I shall have no hesitation in saying, that I feel them to be such: on any other points, on which you may wish to have an opinion of mine, you may depend on receiving one that is formed with as much care as I can use, and delivered with all possible frankness and sincerity.

I have the honour to be,

With great respect, &c. &c.

WM. SCOTT.

Doctors Commons, London,

10th Sept. 1794.

[*Paper inclosed in the foregoing letter.*]

SIR,

WE have the honour of transmitting, agreeably to your excellency's request, a statement of the general principles of proceedings in

prize causes, in British courts of admiralty, and of the measures proper to be taken when a ship and cargo are brought in as prize within their jurisdictions.

The general principles of proceeding cannot, in our judgment, be stated more correctly, than we find them laid down in the following extract from a report made to his late majesty in the year 1753, by Sir George Lee, then judge of the prerogative court, Dr. Paul, his majesty's advocate general, Sir Dudley Rider, his majesty's attorney general, and Mr. Murray (afterwards Lord Mansfield) his majesty's solicitor general.

"When two powers are at war, they have a right to make prizes of the ships, goods, and effects of each other, upon the high seas:—whatever is the property of the enemy, may be acquired by capture at sea; but the property of a friend cannot be taken, provided he observes his neutrality.

"Hence the law of nations has established,

"That the goods of an enemy, on board the ship of a friend, may be taken.

"That the lawful goods of a friend, on board the ship of an enemy, ought to be restored.

"That contraband goods, going to the enemy, though the property of a friend, may be taken as prizes; because supplying the enemy with what enables him better to carry on the war, is a departure from neutrality.

"By the maritime law of nations, universally and immemorially received, there is an established method of determination, whether the capture be, or be not, lawful prize.

"Before the ship, or goods, can be

be disposed of by the captor, there must be a regular judicial proceeding, wherein both parties may be heard; and condemnation thereupon as prize, in a court of admiralty, judging by the law of nations and treaties.

“The proper and regular court, for these condemnations, is the court of that state to whom the captor belongs.

“The evidence to acquit or condemn, with or without costs or damages, must, in the first instance, come merely from the ship taken, viz. the papers on board, and the examination on oath of the master, and other principal officers; for which purpose there are officers of admiralty in all the considerable sea-ports of every maritime power at war, to examine the captains, and other principal officers of every ship brought in as a prize, upon general and impartial interrogatories: if there does not appear from thence ground to condemn, as enemy's property, or contraband goods going to the enemy, there must be an acquittal, unless from the aforesaid evidence the property shall appear so doubtful, that it is reasonable to go into further proof thereof.

“A claim of ship, or goods, must be supported by the oath of somebody, at least as to belief.

“The law of nations requires good faith: therefore every ship must be provided with complete and genuine papers; and the master, at least, should be privy to the truth of the transaction.

“To enforce these rules, if there be false or colourable papers; if any papers be thrown overboard; if the master and officers examined in preparation grossly prevaricate;

if proper ships papers are not on board: or if the master and crew cannot say, whether the ship or cargo be the property of a friend or enemy, the law of nations allows, according to the different degrees of misbehaviour, or suspicion, arising from the fault of the ship taken, and other circumstances of the case, costs to be paid, or not to be received by the claimant, in case of acquittal and restitution: on the other hand, if a seizure is made without probable cause, the captor is adjudged to pay costs and damages; for which purpose all privateers are obliged to give security for their good behaviour; and this is referred to, and expressly stipulated by many treaties.

“Though from the ship's papers, and the preparatory examinations, the property does not sufficiently appear to be neutral, the claimant is often indulged with time to send over affidavits, to supply that defect; if he will not shew the property by sufficient affidavits, to be neutral, it is presumed to belong to the enemy.—Where the property appears from evidence not on board the ship, the captor is justified in bringing her in, and excused paying costs, because he is not in fault: or, according to the circumstances of the case, may be justly entitled to receive his costs.

“If the sentence of the court of admiralty is thought to be erroneous, there is in every maritime country a superior court of review, consisting of the most considerable persons, to which the parties who think themselves aggrieved may appeal; and this superior court judges by the same rule which governs the court of admiralty, viz.

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the law of nations, and the treaties subsisting with that neutral power, whose subject is a party before them.

"If no appeal is offered, it is an acknowledgment of the justice of the sentence by the parties themselves, and conclusive.

"This manner of trial and adjudication is supported, alluded to, and enforced, by many treaties.

"In this method, all captures at sea were tried, during the last war, by Great Britain, France, and Spain, and submitted to by the neutral powers. In this method, by courts of admiralty acting according to the law of nations and particular treaties, all captures at sea have immemorially been judged of, in every country of Europe. Any other method of trial would be manifestly unjust, absurd and impracticable."

Such are the principles which govern the proceedings of the prize courts.

The following are the measures which ought to be taken by the captor, and by the neutral claimant, upon a ship and cargo being brought in as a prize:

The captor immediately, upon bringing his prize into port, sends up, or delivers upon oath, to the registry of the court of admiralty, all papers found on board the captured ship. In the course of a few days the preparatory examinations of the captain and some of the crew of the captured ship are taken, upon a set of standing interrogatories, before the commissioners of the port to which the prize is brought, and which are also forwarded to the registry of the admiralty as soon as taken. A monition is extracted by the captor

from the registry, and served upon the Royal Exchange, notifying the capture, and calling upon all persons interested to appear and shew cause, why the ship and goods should not be condemned. At the expiration of twenty days, the monition is returned into the registry, with a certificate of its service, and if any claim has been given, the cause is then ready for hearing, upon the evidence arising out of the ship's papers, and preparatory examinations.

The measures taken on the part of the neutral master or proprietor of the cargo, are as follows:

Upon being brought into port, the master usually makes a protest, which he forwards to London, as instructions (or with such further directions, as he thinks proper) either to the correspondent of his owners, or to the consul of his nation, in order to claim the ship, and such parts of the cargo as belong to his owners, or with which he was particularly entrusted: or the master himself, as soon as he has undergone his examination, goes to London to take the necessary steps.

The master, correspondent, or consul, applies to a proctor, who prepares a claim supported by an affidavit of the claimant, stating briefly to whom, as he believes, the ship and goods claimed belong, and that no enemy has any right or interest in them; security must be given to the amount of sixty pounds to answer costs, if the case should appear so grossly fraudulent on the part of the claimant as to subject him to be condemned therein. If the captor has neglected in the mean time to take the usual steps (but which seldom hap-

pens,

pens, as he is strictly enjoined both by his instructions, and by the prize act, to proceed immediately to adjudication) a process issues against him on the application of the claimant's proctor, to bring in the ship's papers and preparatory examinations, and to proceed in the usual way.

As soon as the claim is given, copies of the ship's papers and examinations are procured from the registry, and upon the return of the monition the cause may be heard. It however seldom happens (owing to the great pressure of business, especially at the commencement of a war) that causes can possibly be prepared for hearing immediately upon the expiration of the time for the return of the monition; in that case, each cause must necessarily take its regular turn: correspondent measures must be taken by the neutral master, if carried within the jurisdiction of a vice-admiralty court, by giving a claim supported by his affidavit, and offering a security for costs, if the claim should be pronounced grossly fraudulent.

If the claimant be dissatisfied with the sentence, his proctor enters an appeal in the registry of the court where the sentence was given, or before a notary public (which regularly should be entered within fourteen days after the sentence) and he afterwards applies at the registry of the lords of appeal in prize causes, which is held at the same place as the registry of the high court of admiralty, for an instrument called an inhibition, and which should be taken out within three months, if the sentence be in the high court of admiralty, and within nine months, if within a

vice-admiralty court; but may be taken out at later periods, if a reasonable cause can be alleged for the delay that has intervened. This instrument directs the judge whose sentence is appealed from to proceed no further in the cause; it directs the register to transmit a copy of all the proceedings of the inferior courts; and it directs the party who has obtained the sentence to appear before the superior tribunal to answer to the appeal. On applying for this inhibition, security is given on the part of the appellant to the amount of two hundred pounds to answer costs, in case it should appear to the court of appeals, that the appeal is merely vexatious. The inhibition is to be served upon the judge, the register, and the adverse party and his proctor, by shewing the instrument under seal, and delivering a note of copy of the contents. If the party cannot be found, and the proctor will not accept the service, the instrument is to be served *vis et modis*, that is, by affixing it to the door of the last place of residence, or by hanging it on the pillars of the Royal Exchange.

That part of the process above described, which is to be executed abroad, may be performed by any person to whom it is committed, and the formal part at home, is executed by the officer of the court. A certificate of the service is indorsed upon the back of the instrument, sworn before a surrogate of the superior court, or before a notary public, if the service is abroad.

If the cause be adjudged in the vice-admiralty court, it is usual, upon entering an appeal there, to procure a copy of the proceedings, which

which the appellant sends over to his correspondent, in England, who carries it to a proctor, and the same steps are taken to procure and serve the inhibition as where the cause has been adjudged in the high court of admiralty. But if a copy of the proceedings cannot be procured in due time, an inhibition may be obtained by sending over a copy of the instrument of appeal, or by writing to the correspondent an account only of the time and substance of the sentence.

Upon an appeal, fresh evidence may be introduced; if upon hearing the cause the lords of appeal shall be of opinion, that the case is of such doubt, as that further proof ought to have been ordered by the court below.

Further proof usually consists of affidavits made by the asserted proprietors of the goods, in which they are sometimes joined by their clerks and others acquainted with the transaction, and with the real property of the goods claimed. In corroboration of these, affidavits may be annexed, original correspondence, duplicates of bills of lading, invoices, extracts from books, &c. These papers must be proved by the affidavits of persons who can speak of their authenticity; and if copies or extracts, they should be collated and certified by public notaries. The affidavits are sworn before the magistrates, or others competent to administer oaths in the country where they are made, and authenticated by a certificate from the British consul.

The degree of proof to be required depends upon the degree of suspicion and doubt that belongs to the case. In cases of heavy suspicion and great importance, the

court may order what is called "plea and proof," that is, instead of admitting affidavits and documents introduced by the claimant only, each party is at liberty to allege in regular pleadings, such circumstances as may tend to acquit or to condemn the capture, and to examine witnesses in support of the allegations, to whom the adverse party may administer interrogatories. The depositions of the witnesses are taken in writing; if the witnesses are to be examined abroad, a commission issues for that purpose; but in no case is it necessary for them to come to England. These solemn proceedings are not often resorted to.

Standing commissions may be sent to America, for the general purpose of receiving examinations of witnesses in all cases where the court may find it necessary, for the purposes of justice, to decree an inquiry to be conducted in that manner.

With respect to captures and condemnations at Martinico, which are the subjects of another inquiry contained in your note, we can only answer in general, that we are not informed of the particulars of such captures and condemnations; but as we know of no legal court of admiralty established at Martinico, we are clearly of opinion that the legality of any prizes taken there must be tried in the high court of admiralty of England, upon claims given in the manner above described, by such persons as may think themselves aggrieved by the said capture.

We have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) WM. SCOTT.

JOHN NICHOLL.

Commons, Sept. 10, 1794.

Depart.

*Department of States, America,
Nov. 22, 1794.*

I hereby certify, that the foregoing are true copies of an original communication from Mr. Jay, to the secretary of state.

GEO. TAYLOR, jun. chief clerk.

Proclamation issued by his Majesty, relative to Seditious Assemblies.

George R.

WHEREAS it hath been represented to us, that, immediately before the opening of the present session of parliament, a great number of persons were collected in fields in the neighbourhood of the metropolis, by advertisements and hand-bills; and that divers inflammatory discourses were delivered to the persons so collected, and divers proceedings were had, tending to create groundless jealousy and discontent, and to endanger the public peace, and the quiet and safety of our faithful subjects: and whereas it hath been also represented to us, that divers seditious and treasonable papers have been lately distributed, tending to excite evil disposed persons to acts endangering our royal person: and whereas such proceedings have been followed, on the day on which the present session of parliament commenced, by acts of tumult and violence, and by daring and highly criminal outrages, in direct violation of the public peace, to the immediate danger of our royal person, and to the interruption of our passage to and from our parliament: and whereas great uneasiness and anxiety hath been produced in the minds of our faithful subjects, by rumours and apprehensions

that seditious and unlawful assemblies are intended to be held by evil disposed persons, and that such other criminal practices as aforesaid are intended to be repeated: we therefore have thought fit, by and with the advice of our privy council, to enjoin and require, and we do hereby enjoin and require, all justices of the peace, sheriffs, mayors, bailiffs, constables, and all other our loving subjects throughout our kingdom, to use the utmost diligence to discourage, prevent, and suppress, all seditious and unlawful assemblies: and we do specially enjoin and command all our loving subjects, who shall have cause to suspect that any such assemblies are intended to be held in any part of our kingdom, to give the earliest information thereof to the magistrates of the several districts within which it shall be suspected that the same are intended to be held; and if such assemblies shall, nevertheless, in any case, be actually held, to be aiding and assisting, on being required thereto by the civil magistrate, in causing persons delivering inflammatory discourses in such assemblies, and other principal actors therein, to be forthwith apprehended, in order that they may be dealt with according to law. And we have also thought fit, by and with the advice aforesaid, to enjoin and require, and we do hereby enjoin and require all justices of the peace, sheriffs, mayors, bailiffs, constables, and all other our loving subjects throughout our kingdom, to be in like manner aiding and assisting in bringing to justice all persons distributing such seditious and treasonable papers as aforesaid.

Given at our court at St. James's, one the fourth day of November, one

one thousand seven hundred and ninety-five, in the thirty-sixth year of our reign.

God save the king.

Treaty of Peace signed by Charette, on the part of the insurgent Inhabitants of La Vendee; and the Commissioners of the Convention, on the part of the French Republic, March 7, 1795.

Art. 1. THE representatives of the people promise, in the name of the convention, that the sum of eighty millions shall be granted to the inhabitants of La Vendee, to indemnify them for the losses, burnings, and devastations they have suffered.

2. Forty millions, on account of that sum shall be immediately paid, to be distributed.

3. All the contracts by the generals of the inhabitants of La Vendee shall be discharged by the French republic.

4. The sum of ten millions shall be deposited for that purpose.

5. The inhabitants of La Vendee acknowledge the French republic.

6. General Charette shall have the command of a body of 2000 men, in the pay of the republic.

7. That force shall consist of three battalions; the one to be stationed at Machecoul, the second at Chalons, and the third at another place, to be determined afterwards.

8. A list shall be made of such persons as are to be banished from La Vendee; that list to be drawn and presented by general Charette.

9. The free exercise of the catholic worship shall be permitted.

A place may be purchased for the building of a church, but there shall be no bells, nor any exterior ceremonies.

10. The banished nonjuring priests may return to La Vendee, but can only be restored to their patrimonial estates.

11. There shall be in La Vendee no districts nor municipalities, but only a national agent in every province.

12. There shall be no requisitions in La Vendee for the space of five years.

Treaty of Peace between the Chiefs of that part of the Insurgents in Brittany, known by the Name of Chouans, and the French Convention.

Art. 1. THE representatives of the people charge the constituted authorities and commanders of the armed force immediately to execute the laws which give the freedom of religious worship.

2. The Chouans, who have neither profession nor estate, shall be received into the armies of the republic.

3. The inhabitants of the insurgent departments shall have the power of organizing and keeping on foot a body of chasseurs, which shall not exceed 2400 men; 250 of these shall be stationed in each insurgent department, and shall not be employed elsewhere.

4. The youths of the first requisition shall remain at home in their communes, for the purpose of restoring agriculture and commerce.

5. The contracts entered into by the chiefs of the Chouans, for the purpose of defraying the ex-

pences of the war, shall be paid by the convention, to the amount of 1,500,000 livres.

6. The past conduct of the Chouans is buried in oblivion.

7. Succours shall be given to those among the Chouans who have lost all their property by the war.

8. The leases of farms, situated in Anjou and Upper Poitou, granted to insurgent Vendéans, are annulled.

9. The crops of these farms shall be divided, one half to the proprietor, and the other to the farmer.

10. The farmers shall be indemnified for the losses they have suffered by the war.

11. The Chouans shall be restored to all their property, moveable and immoveable, on submitting to the laws of the republic: the sequestration put upon their estates shall be taken off, even though they may have been enrolled in the list of emigrants; and the sequestration shall also be taken off from the estates of the widows and children of those who may have been condemned.

Treaty of Peace between France and Prussia.

THE French republic and his majesty the king of Prussia, equally animated with the desire of putting an end to the war which divides them, by a solid peace between the two nations, have nominated for their plenipotentiaries, viz. the French republic, the citizen François Barthelemy, its ambassador in Switzerland; and the king of Prussia, his minister of state, of war, and the cabinet, Charles-Au-

guste, baron de Hardenberg, knight of the order of the red eagle, of the white eagle, and of St. Stanislaus; who, after exchanging their full powers, agreed upon the following articles:

1. There shall be peace, amity, and good understanding, between the French republic and the king of Prussia, considered both as such, and as elector of Brandenburg, and co-estate of the German empire.

2. In consequence, all hostilities between the two contracting powers shall cease, from the day of the ratification of the present treaty, and neither of them, from the same period, shall furnish against the other, in any quality, or under any title whatsoever, any succours or contingent, in men, horses, provisions, money, warlike stores, or otherwise.

3. Neither of the contracting powers shall grant a passage through its territory to the troops of the enemies of the other.

4. The troops of the French republic shall evacuate, within fifteen days after the ratification of the present treaty, the parts of the Prussian states they may occupy on the right bank of the Rhine. The contributions, deliveries, supplies, and services of war, shall cease entirely within fifteen days after the signature of this treaty. All arrears due at that period, as well as billets and promises given or made in that respect, shall be null. Whatever shall be taken or received after the period aforesaid, shall be restored gratuitously, or paid for in ready money.

5. The troops of the French republic shall continue to occupy the parts of the states of the king of Prussia, situated on the left bank of the

the Rhine. All definitive arrangement with respect to these provinces, shall be deferred till the general pacification with the German empire.

6. Until a treaty of commerce between the two contracting powers shall be made, all the commercial communications and relations between France and the Prussian states, shall be re-established on the footing upon which they were before the present war.

7. As the dispositions of article 6, cannot have their full effect, but in proportion as liberty of commerce shall be re-established for all the north of Germany, the two contracting powers shall take measures for removing from it the theatre of war.

8. To individuals of the two nations respectively shall be granted the restoration of all effects, revenues, or property of what kind soever, detained, seized, or confiscated on account of the war between France and Prussia, as well as prompt justice with respect to all debts due in the states of either of the two contracting powers to the subjects of the other.

9. All prisoners taken respectively since the commencement of the war, without regard to the difference of number or rank, including Prussian marines and sailors, taken either in Prussian ships or ships of other nations, as well as in general all those detained on either side on account of the war, shall be restored within the space of two months at the latest after the exchange of the ratification of the present treaty; on paying the private debts they may have contracted during their captivity. The same shall be done with respect to

the sick and wounded immediately after their getting well. Commissioners shall be immediately appointed on both sides for executing this article.

10. The prisonets of the Saxon, Mentz, Palatine and Hessian corps, with those of Hesse Cassel and Darmstadt, who have served in the army of the king of Prussia, shall be included in the exchange above-mentioned.

11. The French republic will accept of the good offices of his majesty the king of Prussia in favour of the princes and states of the German empire who shall desire to enter directly into negotiation with it, and who to that end have already requested, or shall request, the interposition of the king.

The French republic, to give to the king of Prussia a first proof of its desire to concur in the re-establishment of the ancient bonds of amity which have subsisted between the two nations, consents not to treat as an enemy's country, during the space of three months after the ratification of the present treaty, the territories of those princes and states of the empire aforesaid, situated on the left bank of the Rhine, in whose favour the king shall interest himself.

12. The present treaty shall have no effect till after being ratified by the contracting parties; and the ratifications shall be exchanged in this city of Basle within one month from this date, or sooner if possible.

In testimony of which we the undersigned ministers plenipotentiary of the French republic, and his majesty the king of Prussia, by virtue of our full powers, have signed the present treaty of peace

and amity, and have affixed to it our respective seals.

Done at Basle the 16th Germinal, the third year of the French republic, April 5, 1795.

(Signed) FRANCOIS BARTHE-
LEMY,
CHARLES-AUGUSTE,
Baron de HARDEN-
BERG.

Second Treaty between the Republic of France and the King of Prussia.

THE republic of France and his majesty the king of Prussia having stipulated in the treaty of peace and amity concluded between them the 16th of last Germinal (5th of April, 1795), respecting some secret clauses alluded to in the 7th article of the said treaty, which establish a line of demarcation and neutrality for the purpose of removing the theatre of war from the North of Germany, have thought proper to explain and definitively decree the conditions by an express convention. For this purpose the respective plenipotentiaries of the two high contracting powers, viz. on the part of the French republic, citizen Francis Barthélemy, its ambassador in Switzerland, and on the part of the king of Prussia his minister of state, of war, and of the cabinet, Charles Augustus, baron de Hardenberg, knight of the order of the red eagle, of the white eagle, and of St. Stanislaus, &c. have agreed to the following articles:

Art. 1. In order to remove the theatre of war from the frontiers of the states of his majesty the king of Prussia, to preserve the tranquillity of the North of Germany, and to re-

establish the entire freedom of commerce between that part of the empire and France, in the same manner as before the war, the French republic consents not to push the operations of war, nor to send troops either by land or sea into the states situated beyond the following line of demarcation.

This line shall comprehend East Friesland, and descend along the Ems, and the Aa, or Alpha, to Munster, taking afterwards its direction towards Coesfeld, Borken, Bockholt, to the frontier of the duchy of Cleves, near Issenbourgh, following this line of frontier to Magerporst, upon the new Issel, and ascending the Rhine to Duysbourgh; from thence extending along the frontier of the county of Marck, to Werden, Gemarke, and along the Wipper to Hombourgh, Altenkirchen, Limbourg upon the Lahn; along that river, and from that which stretches from Idstein to that city, Epstein, and Höchst upon the Mien; from thence to Rauenheim, along the Langraben to Dornheim, thence following the brook which crosses that district to the frontiers of the Palatinate; thence along the frontiers of the country of Darmstadt and the circle of Franconia, which the line will entirely enclose, to Ebersbach upon the Necker, continuing the course of that river to Wimpfen, a free town of the empire, and taking thence a course to Læwenstein, Murhard, Hoenstadt, Noerdlingen, a free town of the empire, and Holzkirch upon the Wernitz; inclosing the county of Pappenheim and the whole circle of Franconia and Upper Saxony, along Bavaria, the Upper Palatinate, and Bohemia, to the frontiers of Silesia.

2. The

2. The French republic considers as neutral country, and as neutral states, all those which are situated behind this line, on condition that they observe on their part the most strict neutrality, the first point to which shall be to recall their contingents, and not make any new contract, which can authorize them to furnish troops to the powers at war with France.

Those who shall not comply with these conditions, shall be excluded from the benefit of the neutrality.

3. His majesty the king of Prussia engages to cause the most strict observance of this neutrality by all the states situated upon the right bank of the Mien, and comprised in the line of demarcation above-mentioned.

The king charges himself with guaranteeing, that no troops the enemies of France, shall pass that part of the line, or go out of the countries therein comprised, in order to oppose the French arms; and to this effect the two contracting parties are bound to keep, upon the most essential points afterwards to be agreed upon between them, corps of observation sufficient to make this neutrality respected.

5. The passage for troops, whether those of the French republic, those of the empire, or those of Austria, shall remain entirely free through the roads leading to the right bank of the Mien, by Frankfort.

1st, From Konigstein and Limbourg, to Cologne.

2d, From Friedberg, Wetzlar, and Siegen, to Cologne.

3d, From Hadersheim, Wisbaden, and Nassau, to Coblenz.

4th and lastly, From Hadersheim, to Mayence, and *vice versa*; as well

as through all the countries situated on the left bank of this river, and throughout the whole circle of Franconia, without doing the least prejudice to the neutrality of all the states and countries included in the line of demarcation.

5. The country of Sayn Alten Kirchen on the Westerwald, comprising therein the little district of Bendorf below Coblenz, being in the possession of his majesty the king of Prussia, shall enjoy the same benefits and advantages of the other states, situated on the left bank of the Rhine.

6. The present convention shall be ratified by the two contracting parties, and the ratifications shall be exchanged in this city of Basle, within the term of one month, or sooner, if possible, reckoning from this day. In testimony of which, we, the undersigned plenipotentiaries of the French republic and his majesty the king of Prussia, have by virtue of our full powers, signed the present convention, and have affixed thereto our respective seals.

Done at Basle, the 28th Floreal, the third year of the French republic, (17th May, 1795.)

(Signed) FRANCIS BARTHELEMY,

CHARLES-AUGUSTUS,
Baron de HARDENBERG.

Substance of a Treaty, dated Brussels, March 26th, and Heidelberg, April 7th, 1795, made between the Imperial and Royal Commission of Ransom, and that of France, relative to the Individuals not taken in Arms.

1. THE individuals not taken
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in arms shall not be considered as prisoners of war, and shall be returned without being exchanged.

2. According to this principle, the respective armies shall reciprocally deliver to the first advanced posts all the persons not taken in arms, and made prisoners previous to hostilities.

3. This principle shall, in future, be scrupulously observed, in such a manner, that the persons so taken shall be delivered as soon as possible to the advanced posts, when it shall be proved by their dress, or other testimony, that they were not in the number of combatants.

4. A copy of the present agreement shall be sent to the chiefs of the respective armies, that they may give orders for its strict and speedy execution.

5. This agreement shall be published in all places where there are prisoners, in order that those who have not been taken in arms may make the necessary declaration.

To these five articles is subjoined an exact description of the persons to whom they refer.

Signed on the part of his Imperial majesty, by

WACKENBOURG, *Lieut. Col.*

And on that of the French republic, by

ALEX. LATOUR, *Adjutant General and Chief of Brigade.*

Treaty of Alliance, Offensive and Defensive, concluded between the Republic of France and the Republic of the Seven United Provinces.

Art. 1. THE republic of France acknowledges and guarantees the

independence of the republic of the United Provinces, and the abolition of the stadtholdership.

2. There shall be a lasting peace, amity, and good understanding, between the two republics.

3. There shall also be an alliance, offensive and defensive, against all the enemies of the respective republics, during the present war.

4. There shall be an alliance, offensive and defensive, against Great Britain, for ever.

5. No treaty shall be entered into with Great Britain without the consent of the two republics.

6. The French republic shall make no peace with any power whatever, without comprising in it the republic of the United Provinces.

7. The republic of the United Provinces shall furnish for the present campaign, twelve ships of the line, and eighteen frigates, for the North Sea and the Baltic.

8. The republic of the United Provinces shall furnish for the present campaign half the number of the troops which the republic shall have on foot.

2. All the forces employed in actual service shall be under the command of French generals. The arrangements for the campaign shall be made in concert: the States General may send a deputy, who shall sit and have a deliberative voice in the committee of public safety at Paris.

10. All arsenals and ammunition belonging to the republic of the United Provinces shall be restored.

11. From the ratification of the present treaty, restitution shall be made of all the countries and places

places belonging to the United Provinces, with the exceptions contained in the following article:

12. Dutch Flanders, and the right side of the Hondt, Maestricht, Venlo, and their dependencies, shall be reserved by the French republic as indemnities.

13. A French garrison shall be admitted, in peace and war, into the town of Flushing, until other arrangements shall have been decided.

14. The port of Flushing shall be open to the two republics, conformably to the rules laid down in the separate articles attached to this treaty.

15. In case of hostilities on the side of the Rhine, or of Zealand, French garrisons shall be admitted into Breda, Bois-le-Duc, and Bergen-op-Zoom.

16. At the epoch of a general peace, cession shall be made to the United Provinces of portions of territory, equivalent in extent to the cession contained in the 12th article, and in a position most convenient to the republic of the United Provinces.

17. Until the general peace, such a number of troops shall be stationed in the necessary places as shall be deemed adequate to the defence of them.

18. The navigation of the Scheldt and the Hondt shall be open to the two republics; French and Dutch vessels shall be indiscriminately admitted under the same conditions.

19. The French republic gives up to the republic of the United Provinces, all the immoveable effects belonging to the house of Orange, and all the moveable property not already disposed of.

20. As an indemnification for the expences of the war, the republic of the United Provinces shall pay to the republic of France, one hundred millions of livres, either in specie or in bills upon foreign powers, as shall be agreed upon.

21. The French republic shall use their good offices with foreign powers, in favour of the United Provinces, in order that they may obtain the payment of the sums due to them before the war.

22. No asylum shall be given by the republic of the United Provinces to the French emigrants, and no asylum shall be given by the republic of France to the Orange emigrants.

23. The present treaty shall be ratified within two decades, or sooner, if possible.

Separate Articles, relative to the Port of Flushing.

Art. 1. The two nations shall indiscriminately make use of the port and the docks.

2. Each nation shall have timber, yards, &c.

3. From the ratification of the present treaty, the republic of the United Provinces shall relinquish the building for the West India Company, and the ground adjacent to it, and also one of the docks.

4. All new acquisitions for the construction of fresh arsenals and all acquisitions of ground, shall be made at the expence of the French republic.

5. The expences of the repairs of the bason and the quay, shall be defrayed by the two republics, but the direction of the remainder shall belong to the republic of the United Provinces.

Provinces. The French republic, however, shall be informed of every operation, and the *proces verbaux* shall be sent to the French government, who will defray half the expence.

6. No admiral's ship, nor guard-ship belonging to either of the two republics, shall be in the port of Flushing.

7. If any dispute should arise relative to the foreign regulations, which shall not be amicably adjusted, they shall be decided by five arbitrators, two of whom shall be French, and two Dutch; and for the fifth, each republic shall choose one, and it shall be decided by lot.

8. These regulations shall be carried into execution, as part of the treaty of alliance, offensive and defensive, between the republic of France and the republic of the United Provinces.

Concluded at the Hague, on the 15th of May, at noon, 1795, and afterwards ratified by both of the contracting parties.

Proclamation of Victor Hugues at Guadaloupe.

LIBERTY, LAW, EQUALITY.

VICTOR HUGUES, delegated commissary of the national convention to the Windward Islands.

Whereas the crimes committed by the British officers, as well in the capture as in the defence of the conquered islands, exhibited a character of so consummate and odious a villany, as not to be paralleled in history.

And whereas, the rights of humanity, of war, and of nations,

have been violated by Charles Grey, general; John Jarvis, admiral; Thomas Dundas, major-general and governor of Guadaloupe; Charles Gordon, a general officer; and other subaltern officers who imitated them.

And whereas also the robberies, murders, assassinations, and other crimes committed by them, ought to be transmitted to posterity; it is resolved, that the body of Thomas Dundas, interred in Guadaloupe, 3d June, (slave style) shall be taken up, and given a prey to the birds of the air; that upon the same spot there shall be erected, at the expence of the republic, a monument, bearing on one side this decree, and on the other, the following inscription; "This ground, restored to liberty by the bravery of republicans, was polluted by the body of Thomas Dupdas, major-general and governor of Guadaloupe, for the * * George the Third. In recollecting his crimes, the public indignation caused him to be taken up, and has ordered this monument to be erected to hand them down to posterity."

Given at the port of Liberty, (20th Frimaire) December 11, 1794. in the third year of the French republic, one and indivisible.

VICTOR HUGUES,
VIEL, Secretary.

Proclamation of General Vaughan.

Martinico, Jan, 20, 1795.

HIS excellency sir Charles Grey, having found it necessary to order all the inhabitants of this colony, living in the towns as well as the country,

country, to take up arms in defence of their property, against the common enemy, and some individuals belonging to the parish of Mouillage having presented to us a petition, praying to be relieved from all military service, contrary to the obligations imposed on them by the oath of allegiance they had taken, sentiments of compassion led us to look with indulgence on their prayer, and, in the place of military service, to substitute a contribution of 5000*l.* current money of the islands, to be applied to the discharging of the rent of such houses as are occupied by his Britannic majesty's troops.

But the said individuals, little sensible of the value of so particular indulgence, having since convinced us, as well by the terms of a deliberation which indicates nothing less than an open revolt, as by sundry other proceedings, tending to disorganise the militia established in the other parts of the island, and to excite rebellion and commotions, that the motives assigned in their petition were nothing else than a specious pretence to decline all concurrence and co-operation for the public welfare and safety of the colony, and to spurn at the authority of government; informed also of the indecent expressions of joy which several of them have dared to make use of, on learning the arrival of a reinforcement at Guadaloupe, we are in justice and in duty bound to declare them by these presents, unworthy to enjoy the mild and beneficial dispositions contained in our proclamation of the 11th instant. We therefore do hereby ordain as follows:

Article 1. All those who have

signed the aforesaid petition and deliberation, as well as other individuals belonging to the above parish, able to carry arms, who, conformably to the orders of sir Charles Grey, did not present themselves to be enlisted in the militia, cannot any more be admitted to take the oath, and carry arms in defence of the colony; but shall be obliged to quit this island before the first day of February next.

2. None of them shall, however, be allowed to withdraw, without having given sufficient security for the fulfilment of all their lawful engagements, which security is to be received by the procurator of the king.

3. All such individuals, as in pursuance of this proclamation quit the island, shall be allowed to empower any person they choose to administer their property and transact their business in the colony.

4. Whoever does not quit this island within the terms prescribed by these presents, shall be taken into custody, and transported at his own expence.

5. All those individuals, whom for the safety of the colony it shall be necessary to remove from the island, cannot remain there, under pain of being prosecuted and dealt with as spies, unless his majesty shall be pleased to dispense otherwise in their favour.

Declaration of the Commissioners delegated by the National Convention of France, to the Windward Islands, to all the Neutral Nations trading with the said Islands.

EIGHT hundred republicans and two French frigates have conquered

quered the island of Guadaloupe. Eight thousand chosen troops, six line of battle ships, and twelve frigates, must yield to that courage, virtue, and love of liberty, that animate a republican breast.

With so inconsiderable a force, but entirely devoted to the triumph of liberty and equality, we have overcome all obstacles, and finally driven from this fertile and now free country, the remainder of the English pilfering horde. The vile satellites of George, those infamous promoters and supporters of all kinds of robbery, ashamed of their defeats, and unable to resist a generous enemy, endeavour to satisfy their insatiate avidity by plundering, under frivolous pretexts, neutral vessels. Nay, they exhaust all the resources of craft and perfidy in order to rob them with impunity, and they are treading in the footsteps of Charles Gordon, commander of St. Lucie. John Vaughan, of glorious memory, in St. Eustatia, and Benjamin Caldwell, pretend to colour this their plunder by an insignificant proclamation, which declares the island of Guadaloupe to be in a state of blockade, as if it was possible to block up such an extensive coast.

What a moment do they choose for such an extravagant proclamation! Have not our sloop of war and other armed vessels, within these few months, taken, sunk, and burnt eighty-eight of their vessels?—which may be easily proved by the sentences passed in the court of commerce of this island, and the registers and other papers belonging to the said vessels. Are we not ready to attack their

own colonies, and there convince them of the impossibility of such a blockade?

But rob they must; that is the great principle of the English military service. In such a corrupt government no preferment can be obtained but for money, and money must be had, no matter by what means; if they cannot get it from their enemies, they are base enough to turn pirates and ransack neutral vessels, which are not able to defend themselves.

From this sketch of the sordid intentions of the English, the dignity and independence of neutral powers require that they should be upon their guard, and provide against the perfidious vexation which this pretended blockade prepares to their trade.

We do, therefore, on our sides declare, that we shall never deviate from the principles of equity and benevolence, which have directed all our operations during and after the retaking of this island, and that all neutral vessels shall here be well received and protected, as far as lies in our power. We assure them, that the English rhodomontades inspire us only with perfect contempt, and that our enemies shall soon have reason to repent of their rashness and insolence.

This our present declaration shall be officially sent to the respective governments of the islands of St. Bartholemew, St. Croix, and St. Thomas; and further, to the congress and legislatures of the different States of America, through the means of the French minister at Philadelphia.

Port of Liberty, the 3d day of Ventose (21st February, style of slaves) in the 3d year of the

the French Republic, one and indivisible.

(Signed) VICTOR HUGUES,
GOYRAUD, LEBAS.

Declaration of the Commissioners delegated by the National Convention of France, to the Commanders in Chief of the British Forces, Vaughan, Caldwell, Thomson, Stewart, and Lindsay.

TIME, and the defeat of the English forces at Guadaloupe, had weakened the remembrance of the heinous crimes by which the vile satellites of George had sullied the Windward Islands.

It might reasonably have been expected, that the sudden recall of the infamous Grey and Jervis, should have put their successors upon their guard against such cruelties, and induced them to observe a conduct entirely the reverse—but we have been mistaken.

They prove to be as barbarous as those above-mentioned cannibals: they have lately ordered to be put to death some soldiers of the republic, their prisoners in St. Lucia. Cruelties like these call forcibly upon us to avenge our brothers, and make use of reprisals. In consequence of which, we do hereby give solemn notice to the commanders in chief of the British forces in the Windward Islands, that from and after the date of this our official declaration, the assassination of such and every individual republican, of whatever colour he is, and in whatever island it may happen, shall be expiated by the death of two English officers, our prisoners. The guillotine shall at the first notice thereof perform this act of justice.

We do further declare, that any Frenchman, who at the moment of the landing of an army of the republic commanded by one of us or by any of our substitutes, shall not join against our common enemy, is outlawed, and his property forfeited to the republic.

All those Frenchmen are declared traitors to their country, who have accepted of any employment under the English government, the law having declared against them: those who emigrated before the capture of the colonies, as well as against the wretches who delivered them up, and who are in the same predicament with those who sold Toulon and the island of Corsica, where the punie faith of the English shone in its full lustre; and this law, which inflicts the pain of death, shall here continue in full force.

We do further signify to all commanders and agents of the British government, that citizen Marinier, commander at St. Lucia, is an officer in the French service; and that citizens Massades, lieutenant in the navy, and Lombard, are our delegates in that island, and invested with our power.

We have ordered this our present declaration to be sent by a flag of truce to the above-mentioned commissioners of the British forces, and to be translated into English, and distributed in all the colonies.

Port of Liberty, 3d day of Ventose, (the 21st of February, style of slaves) in the third year of the French republic, one and indivisible.

(Signed) VICTOR HUGUES,
GOYRAUD, LEBAS.
Address

Address to the Army of the North, on the Anniversary of the Death of the King of France, 21st of Jan. 1795.

Soldiers of the French Republic!

TO-DAY is the festival of republicans; it was on this day, that for the example of all people, and the terror of kings, Capet expiated his crimes on the scaffold: in taking this vigorous resolution, the convention were not ignorant of the danger: Holland, England, Spain, disposed themselves to join the coalition of Prussia, armed against France, and seconded by counter revolutionists in the interior; but strong in its own energy, and in the confidence of the French people, the convention was certain of punishing them for their audacity: they counted also, soldiers, upon your courage, your hatred of tyranny, your hope of liberty: they conceived great hopes—you have realized them all: strong places have been no obstacle to your burning ardour; the conquered hordes of the enemy have been annihilated; their ammunition, their artillery, have fallen into your power: you have turned to the profits of liberty the rigour of the season consecrated by nature to repose. It is with the most lively satisfaction, that the representatives of the people bear solemn witness this day to your constancy; they rejoice to felicitate you on the theatre of your glory. May your victory be heard from this point in all parts of the globe, to make known to all people their rights: these ports, these ships, have been conquered at the expence of your sweat, and of your blood: hear the grateful accents of the acknowledgment of your bro-

thers delivered from their oppressors! Soldiers, complete your triumphs, by giving an example of respect for property, and of submission to the laws; you have broken down your enemies in arms, confounded also their calumnies, by continuing to shew yourselves worthy of the cause you defend—nations will proclaim you as their deliverers—to punish tyrants is your glory! your recompense shall be the blessings of your contemporaries and of posterity.

In conformity to the decree of the national assembly, there will be a festival in the armies for the anniversary of the death of the tyrant.

(Signed) GILLET, LA COSTE,
JOUBERT,
BELLEGARDE,
PORTIER (de l'Oise).

Speech of Brissly d'Anglas, on the policy of the French Republic, with respect to Foreign Nations, adopted by the Convention, as a Declaration of the Principles of the French People, January 30, 1795.

IN a former discourse I recapitulated the principles of justice and candour upon which the government of France now rests. I shewed in what manner that government, at once republican and revolutionary, had laid among us the foundation of a real public credit, and created in the face of all Europe a power in some sort new.

I shewed in what manner the French people, starting from the sleep of slavery, had resumed their place among nations, from the number of which it was attempted to blot them out; had begun to repair

repair their immense losses, and had prepared all the seeds of their future prosperity.

I am now going to take a view of the external situation of this vast empire—of the relations of France with other nations, and of their interests with respect to her. I will tell you how the happiness of the world must necessarily result from the establishment of the liberty of France, and the peace of the universe, from the peace you are going to negotiate with your neighbours.

I will advertise the greater part of those who make war upon us, of the dangers to which they expose themselves by declaring against us; which dangers are of such a nature, that success itself, if success were possible, would serve only to render them more imminent. I will repel the atrocious calumnies of those orators in the pay of tyrants, who, having no longer any hope of enslaving us by arms, would still excite against us as many enemies as there are governments in Europe, and deprive us of that national credit which accrues to a great nation, from its respect for other nations and its public morality.

It is time that the formulas of an ancient and ill-advised policy give place to the frank and sincere expressions of freemen; it is time that truth, in the tribune of the legislator, resume that influence which she ought never to have lost. The language I shall hold, will form a remarkable contrast to the insidious words with which the sittings of another *sé-disant* representative assembly resound at this moment; an assembly which, in its counterfeit debates, its quixotic

rhodomontades, and fawning addresses, denies your successes, dissembles your victories, outrages your principles, and dares still to threaten a liberty which three years of fruitless attack ought at length to compel the world to respect.

When the most exasperate passions are every where forging arms to divide us, to destroy or enslave us, animated by the most noble passions, inflamed by the love of liberty and our country, we must oppose imperturbable justice to their violent fury, and republican constancy to their rash impetuosity.

Almost all the thrones of the earth have put themselves in motion to fall upon us; their ministers have leagued together; their armies have conglomerated; their thunders have flashed to destroy our infant liberty. But their ravaging cohorts, overthrown by our patriot battalions, have been dissipated like those thick clouds which seem to announce a tempest, and which a salutary wind disperses and annihilates.

While we had to combat only the hatred of coalesced kings, and the fury of their soldiers, the burning valour of the French, their inexhaustible courage, the constant sacrifices of all the citizens, sufficed to prove to the universe, how worthy we are of liberty, and how chimerical the hope of those who would wrest it from us. But now, citizens, that our triumphs have carried dismay into the bosom of the countries which pretended to give chains to France, we have another kind of attack to sustain, and other efforts of repulse. They cannot conquer the French—they endeavour to calumniate them.

All the nations of the world admire our courage; they all lament seeing their blood and their treasures exhausted to tear from us our liberty. Attempts are made to destroy us in their opinion, and to impute to us alone the innumerable calamities which this long and terrible war has poured out upon them.—Neither the fury of the coalesced kings, nor the efforts of their soldiers have we any cause to dread, but we will always respect the opinion of the people of other states, whatever may be their government, their force, their weakness, their good or ill-fortune.

We will not seek, as we have been often charged with doing, to trouble their internal organization, and to make them adopt our laws; but we will not suffer our principles to be poisoned in their eyes, their esteem to be taken from us; and the ambitious authors of a ruinous war to charge us with the melancholy fruits of their own vanity, crimes, and ambition.

For three years, humanity has groaned and suffered,—for three years, Europe has been inundated with blood, and the people weighed down with taxes. This insensate desire to partition or enslave France is evidently the cause or the pretext of all these evils; and when a part of our enemies, discouraged by our success, or enlightened by experience, seem willing to let the earth respire—when the people, indignant at the calamities with which they are overwhelmed, seem every where commanding their governments to put an end to the horrors of war, some cruel and crafty politicians would persuade them, that we alone are insensible to these cries of suffering huma-

nity, that we alone thirst for their blood; that no peace with us can be safe or honourable; that the continuation of the war is advantageous to them; and, finally, this absurd contradiction, that on the one hand, our pride and our ambition are too formidable for us to be treated with, and on the other, that our efforts have too much exhausted us not to afford hopes of certain success, by continuing the contest.

We ought, citizens, out of respect to humanity, to expose these contradictions, reply to these calumnies, hold up the light to every eye, and unmask those Machiavelian governments which, sporting with the blood of men and the fortune of the people, aim at rearing a colossal greatness on the ruin of the principal powers in Europe.

We ought to convince all virtuous men that we detest war without fearing it, that we are always ready to put a stop to its horrors, when a peace shall be offered to us consistent with our dignity, and capable of guaranteeing our safety. We ought at the same time, to advertise the people of all nations that, ready to negotiate with frankness, we will not suffer our arms to be paralyzed, or our triumphs to be suspended by negotiations, false or futile.

Our armies, who brave the seasons, master the elements, and turn to their advantage all the obstacles which nature and art seem to oppose to them; our armies who, rushing over the frozen inundations of Holland, have completed the conquest of it in less time than was formerly necessary to make the tour, will charge themselves with demonstrating to our enemies that, far

far from being exhausted by three years of war, we have only augmented our resources, and added to the experience of our generals, to the discipline of our soldiers, to that republican ardour which has never ceased to inflame their souls. But we ought, above all, to prove to the universe that the ambition of the English government, the interested policy of the house of Austria, and the pride of Russia, are the sole causes of the misfortunes of the world.

Powers of Europe! open your eyes, contemplate your true dangers; distinguish at last your true enemies; consider with affright the abyss into which they are dragging you, by sometimes making France a bugbear to terrify, and sometimes representing it as a prey easy to be divided. Suffering people, deluded monarchs, envied republics, follow with me the courts of Vienna, of Petersburg, and, above all, of London, through the dark labyrinth of their crafty policy! the torch of evidence will conduct you, and you will then see what are the projects you ought to fear, the enemies you ought to combat, the friends you ought to embrace.

The politics of the cabinet of Vienna have been long unveiled. Constant in their ambitious projects, princes have succeeded one another on that throne for several ages, preserving always the same spirit, pursuing incessantly the same system. The object is always invariable; but the means of accomplishing it continually changing. The house of Austria, for its aggrandizement, has, by turns, employed treaties, ruptures, marriages, intrigues, and arms. Before Russia had civilized herself,

and Prussia had become a power, France, Turkey, and Sweden, formed alone the rampart to protect the empire against the emperors. Since the rivals of the court of Vienna increased in number and in force, that court has negotiated so dexterously, that it has been very near destroying, by artifice, the counterpoise which balanced its power. It weakened the Turks by sacrificing them to the Russians; it seduced France to such a degree, that Prussia once saw itself on the brink of complete destruction, in spite of the genius of Frederic and the discipline of his soldiers.

Twice since that period it has been on the point of possessing Bavaria; first by force of arms, and next by an exchange: finally, seeing that, notwithstanding its connexions with France, the French did not second its views, it wished perfidiously to destroy its ally; and profiting of the shocks of our revolution, it favoured our internal enemies, formed plots in the very bosom of our government and leagued all Europe against us, under the haughty pretext of maintaining the cause of kings, but with the real design of taking from us Alsace, Lorraine, and a part of Flanders; and of ridding itself forever of the observation of a people whose glory always excited its envy, and whose force always repressed its audacity. The event has deceived its expectation. It has already lost the Pays Bas, its fortresses, its cannon, its treasures; its armies have disappeared before our's, the reputation of its generals is vanished, and every thing announces that upon the cabinet of Vienna the day of justice

justice is arrived. It now exhibits nothing but the spectacle of disappointed ambition and impotent wrath. It fears peace, but it cannot continue the war; and there is not a power of Europe which does not see that its policy is to engage other powers to ruin themselves to fight for its interests, and to recover for it what it has lost.

Prussia must now know on what side was artifice, and on what side sincerity. Every thing must make Frederic William regret having listened to the councils of his natural enemy, in preference to the pacific envoys of a free nation, which shewed him the truth, and offered him a useful amity; he must regret having been the dupe of some crowned intriguers, of some dexterous negotiators, who led him into the only course that could ruin him. Spain, the Empire, Sardinia, must experience the same regret. These powers must shudder at seeing the abyss into which it has been attempted to plunge them. They have only the melancholy prospect of sharing the fate of Holland, or of being annihilated under the yoke of the two courts that have seduced them. Ah! what we ought above all to shew to these deluded powers, for the interest of Europe, is the danger which they are menaced by with two Colossuses they support, which will conclude by subjugating them, if our sacrifices and our courage do not stop them in their progress. England and Russia, these are the two enemies we ought to denounce to the universe; these are the tyrants we ought to denounce to the world; these are the wide-wasting torrents whose irruption we must stop. More dex-

terous, better situated, less unfortunate than Austria, they alone have hitherto profited of the general calamities and errors of the coalition.

Rouse from your sleep, states of the empire, king of Prussia, and all ye maritime powers!—your fleets, your forces, your cultivators, your finances, your blood; all you have been made to sacrifice, to give to Russia the empire of the land, and that of the seas to proud Albion. Do you forget that the inhabitants of the north destroyed the Roman empire, more united, more formidable than you? Must you be reminded of those irruptions of the Goths and Vandals, inundating all Europe, to destroy all the empires of it? Must you be reminded that for 60 years Russia, introducing a gross civilization among her barbarous people, preserving a savage force, even while enriching herself with arts and modern tactics, has already humbled the Chinese, and planted colonies on the coast of America; that she has passed the Caucasus, subjected Georgia, imposed laws upon a part of Persia, subjugated the Cossacks, destroyed the Tartars, conquered the Crimea, partitioned Poland, dismayed the Ottoman empire, raised insurrection in Greece, and menaced Constantinople?

Must we open wounds not yet entirely healed, and mention the numerous battalions entering Berlin itself, which, but for the unforeseen caprice of Peter III. would have annihilated the very name of the Prussian power? Do you not see that the ambitious Catharine, by holding out vain promises to the emigrants, by inflaming the rage of the German princes against French

French liberty, has contrived to entangle her rivals in a war which exhausts them, in order to make herself mistress of Poland, and so open to her the gates of Germany? I know it may be said, with some foundation, that the Russian empire is a Colossus with feet of clay; that in it corruption has preceded maturity; that the slavery which exists in it deprives its force of all solidity, and its resources of all energy; that its extent is immense, but partly desert; that it is proud but poor; that it is already too vast to be governed; that by extending itself it accelerates its own dissolution; and that every conquest it makes is a step toward its ruin. I admit these truths; but this giant, before he perishes, will crush you; it is upon your ruins that he must fall; he will not dismember himself till after you are ravaged, dispersed, and annihilated. Danes, Swedes, Germans, Prussians, Ottomans, think of this! time flies, the thunder rattles; Vienna betrays you; the Muscovite torrent is augmenting; Attila is once more advancing, and if you do not unite in time to arrest this destructive scourge, you are undone.

You are taught to fear France. What a strange error: if your government be wise, and founded on true principles, why envy us? if from its nature it be as disastrous, as you are told, why dread a people that carries in its own bosom a source of weakness or of agitation, that must prevent it from meddling with you?—the constancy of our efforts, the duration of our sacrifices, the permanence of our victories, do they not demonstrate beforehand the stability

of treaties that may be made with us?—Are not changes of system, by a great nation, necessarily more rare than the changes and caprices of ministers, of mistresses, and of favourites? ah! our interests are common. What signifies it, that we have outstript you in the career of liberty! what signify our constitution and our laws, our principles and our opinions! policy commands you to unite with us, and to march with equal pace against the enemies that threaten us. When it is dinned in your ears, that it is neither safe nor honourable to treat with us, translate this language into its true meaning, and learn that Austria says—"fight, that I may regain my provinces;" and now that England does not urge you to fight, but in the hope you will prevent us from opposing her maritime conquests; finally listen to Russia, mark her very words: "fight, exhaust yourselves, lavish all your blood, and all your treasures, that I may, without obstacle, quit my deserts, and spread my warlike population over your fertile territories."

Oh, ye politicians of Europe, who boast of wisdom so exalted, of penetration so profound, how is it possible, that you have not yet lifted up the veil which hides from your eyes the Machiavelian politics of the English government!—How is it ye do not see to what degree it abuses you, and what a game it makes of all it professes to respect! That government accuses us of immorality; and when, by an armed neutrality, the robbery of neutral commerce was to be repressed, it was the only civilized government which unblushingly, opposed the

measure. It accuses us of having broken the peace, and violated the right of nations, and it insulted our ambassador. It professes to hate intolerant papacy, and it takes up arms to defend the superstitions of Rome. It pretends to cherish liberty, and it is in alliance with the oppressors of Poland. It reproaches us with cruelties of which we execrate and punish the authors; and it has filled Asia with pillage and dead bodies, has hired savages to enslave the Americans, and purchased men of a German prince, fixing beforehand the price of each wound, of each mutilation; in a word, settling the tariff of every drop of blood of those miserable slaves. It charges us with ambition, and foolishly strives to render itself master of all the colonies. It has the audacity to say, that we make war without humanity; and it has attempted to avenge its disasters, by exposing twenty-four millions of men to a famine from which chance and our valour have protected us. It clamours every where that we want to attack the independence of other states; and it attempted to compel Genoa, Venice, Sweden and Denmark, to renounce the most respectable and the most sacred of all rights, that of remaining neuter amid the horrors of war. Finally, it has the assurance to declare, that it is not safe to treat with us; that government does so, which, when in alliance with Russia, excited the Turks to make war upon her, and afterwards abandoned them; that government, which encouraged the Poles in their revolution, and left them without support; that government, which armed Sweden against the Russians, and betrayed it; that go-

vernment, which forced Holland to fight against us, and after lending it a feeble aid, confined its efforts to diminishing the account of its losses; that government, in fine, which, after having seduced the unfortunate inhabitants of La Vendée and Toulon, tranquilly enjoyed the spectacle of their ruin.

Irresolute Spaniards, what do you expect? if chance should disappoint our courage, if, persisting in your unaccountable coalition, you should paralyze our efforts against your implacable enemy, and if that enemy, establishing herself in our colonies, should destroy the aliment of our marine? do you not see her already laying hold of your galleons, digging your mines, wresting from you the empire of Mexico, that of Peru, Porto-Rico, Cuba; driving you from all the seas, and from the heights of Gibraltar, insulting your misfortunes, and enjoying your misery? In 1790, had she not already drawn the sword against you, because she thought you in no condition to defend yourselves? Did not we turn it aside at the moment when, reckoning on our troubles, she hoped to strike you with impunity? Do not her attempt upon Corsica announce that she wishes to expel you from the Mediterranean, as she aspires at chasing you from the ocean?

Awake, then, at the call of truth; appreciate at their just value the calumnies spread against us; see in the speeches with which the parliament of London resounds, nothing but the fear of peace, but the language of ambition unmasked, and let us take upon ourselves the care of our vengeance and of our safety. It is not only safe, it

is honourable, to treat with us: but the measure is become indispensable to your safety; we have made known to you the necessity of it, learn the means; we are too grand, too powerful, to have any thing to disguise.

Our past dangers, the necessity of rendering the return of them impossible, the example of the menacing league which wanted to over-run us, and at one time carried desolation into the heart of France; the sincere desire of rendering peace solid and durable, obliges us to extend our frontiers, to take for our limits great rivers, mountains, and the ocean, and thus, beforehand, and for a long series of ages, to secure ourselves from all invasion and from all attack. At this price the powers of Europe may depend upon an inviolable peace, and upon courageous allies, capable of disengaging them from the weight of the two rash Colossuses that, in their guilty delirium, want to arrogate at once the empire of the land and of the seas.

Such, citizens, are the grand truths which every thing now commands us to develop before the eyes of Europe.

In vain is it attempted to mislead the people of other nations, by telling them that our government being only provisional, no tie, no treaty, can have any guarantee. Our government is the plenipotentary nominated by the totality of the French people to terminate in their name the revolution and the war; and I doubt if ever ambassador was seen invested with power more ample, or a character more august.

What signify the combinations of which governments are formed, when treaties are formed with the people to whom those governments belong! the peace which you will soon solicit, will be much more solid from being given to you by the assent of the whole people. Our government is the will of the nation; our forms are justice; our principles are humanity; your guarantee is the sincerity and the courage of a nation which has willed to be free.

Appreciate our actual government by the spectacle which it offers to the world; it has repressed intestine troubles; annihilated rebel factions; broken down the scaffolds; opened the prisons; avenged innocent blood; devoted to death and infamy the ministers of terror; it has restored liberty to commerce; tranquillity to agriculture: in the interior it has made justice the order of the day, and victory on the frontiers.

Ah! all enlightened nations will listen with the smile of contempt and of pity, to the absurd or perfidious politicians who call in question, whether a nation that can conquer has the power of negotiating; who dare still to maintain that peace is impossible, at the moment when every thing demonstrates that obstinacy is insensate and resistance vain?

Adopt, citizens, the ideas I have traced; speak with that noble frankness which befits the majesty of the French people, and you will soon see the diplomatic subtleties of your enemies confounded by the wisdom of your councils, as you have seen their temerity punished by the courage of your warriors.

Proclamation of the Royalists of Anjou and Upper Poitou, in Answer to the pacificatory Proclamation of the Representatives of the People.

IN THE NAME OF THE KING.

The Military Council of Anjou and Upper Poitou to the Republicans.

Deluded Frenchmen,

YOU announce to us words of peace—this is the wish of our hearts; but by what right do you offer us a pardon which it is only your lot to beg? Stained with the blood of our kings, stained by the murder of a million of victims, by the conflagration and devastation of our property, what are your titles to inspire us with confidence and security? Is it the punishment of Robespierre and Carrier? but indignant nature was raised against those bloody monsters! The cries of public vengeance devoted them to death—In proscribing you did nothing more than yield to necessity. Amongst you, one faction supersedes another, and soon perhaps, the same fate awaits that which at present reigns. Is it your pretended victories? But we are not ignorant that falsehood was always presiding over your public press, and that, in experiencing the most severe defeats, you arrogantly assumed the haughty language of the conquerors of Europe, to impose on the credulity of your slaves! Is it the release of our brethren who were prisoners? Was not that liberty due to them which tyranny only could have taken from them? And when you detain them amongst you, unarmed and defenceless, have not we cause to fear that this temporary release is an ambush craftily prepared to blend us all in the same misfor-

tures? Alas! were we to believe them, our murdered relations and friends would rise from their graves to tell us, "Take care of the poison concealed under those appearances: it was in proclaiming to us life and safety, we were immolated—the same fate undoubtedly awaits you—the faction that was then domineering is still reigning; its spirit is the same; it aims at the same end; means and agents only are changed."

If, however, your wishes are sincere—if your hearts, softened and changed, are bent towards peace, we must tell you, Restore the heir of your king his sceptre and crown; to religion its worship and ministers; to the nobility its rights and estates; to the whole kingdom its ancient and respectable constitution, free from the abuses introduced in it by unfortunate events—then, forgetting all your wrongs and enormities, we may fly into your arms, and mingle with yours, our hearts, feelings, and wishes. But, without the previous adoption of these measures, we despise an amnesty that crime should never have dared to offer to virtue—we despise your efforts and threats; supported by our brave and generous warriors, we will fight till death, and you shall reign but on the tomb of the last of us.

Resolved unanimously at Maullevriere, the 28th January, the year of grace 1795, and the third of the reign of Louis XVII.

(Signed) STOFFLET, general in chief,
TROTTEVIN,
MOUNIER,
MARTIN,
CORDE, and
GUIBERT, secretary-general.

We

We require the above proclamation to be printed, read, and published, though all the parishes composing the districts of Anjou and Upper Poitou.

(Signed) BERNIER, Curé de St. Lo d'Angers, commissary-general.

Printed at the royal printing-office at Maulevriere, by Chambon, printer.

The Declaration of the Chiefs of La Vendee in the Armies of the Centre and Pay Bas.

UNPRECEDENTED attempts against our liberty, the most cruel intolerance, despotism, injustice, and horrid vexations which we have experienced, have assembled us with arms in our hands. We have seen with horror our unfortunate country delivered over to the ambitious, who, under the appearances of the purest patriotism, and the seductive mask of popularity, aspired to a perpetual dictatorship. Discerning their projects through the veil in which they enveloped themselves—could we do otherwise than try our last efforts to replace the authority in hands which our principles made legitimate?

Whilst an oppressive government deprived our fellow-citizens of their most precious rights, we have defended our's with constancy and firmness. We have had recourse in our misfortunes to new powers. Despair even lent us its frightful succour, and rendering us insensible to those considerations which soften the most ferocious hearts, engraved on our's the resolution

rather to die than to live under such tyranny.

But now the government of blood has disappeared. The leaders of that impious faction which covered France with cypress and mourning, have paid with their heads the forfeit of their criminal designs. The representative Ruelle, the friend of the laws and of humanity, is come to bear among us the words of peace. That confidence which had been so lowered by the acts of barbarity, which have preceded his mission, begins now to revive. On his appearance we feel no disinclination to such approaches as may tend to remove the calamitous effects of the divisions that afflict us. New representatives, worthy of our esteem and our praise, have been joined to the first; we have informed them of our intentions, and our desire of a sincere pacification, guaranteed by honour. In our conferences we have made them understand what interested the happiness of our country, and what it belonged to their prudence and wisdom to grant, for the purpose of obtaining the desirable end of peace. United in the same tent with the representatives of the people, we felt more strongly, if possible, that we were still Frenchmen, and should be animated only by the general good of our country.

It is with these sentiments that we declare to the national convention and to France, our submission to the French republic, one and indivisible, and our acknowledgment of its laws; and that we make a formal engagement not to make any attempt against them. We promise to surrender, as soon as possible, all the artillery and

houses in our possession, and we make a solemn promise never to bear arms against the republic.

Done under the tent, the 29th Pluviose (new style) the 3d year of the republic.

(Signed) CHARETTE, FLEURIOT,
COUETRES, SAPINAUD,
COMARTIN, DEBRUE,
GUERIN AINE, CAILLAUD,
DESAIGNARD, GOGUET,
LEPINOY, SAUVAGET,
BAUDRY, GUERIU JEUNE,
SOLILLHAC, BEJARRY,
DEBRUE JEUNE, PRUDHOMME,
REJEAU, DELABORIE,
ROUSSEAU,
BOSSARD LE JEUNE,
AUVINET FILS AINE.

A similar declaration was made by the officers; composing the military council of the army of Anjou.

(Signed) NOTOUIN, DELAVILLE,
DEBAUGE, RONOU, MARTIN AINE, MARTIN LE JEUNE, HIRTAN, MARTIN, ET GILBERT.

A third declaration, on the part of the Chouans, was made on the 28th Ventose.

(Signed) COMARTIN, SOLILLHAC;
DE SCEPEAUX, DIENSIE,
COURLET, ET MENARD.

Address of CHARETTE, and the other Leaders, to the Inhabitants of La Vendee, laid before the Convention on the 14th March, 1795.

BRAVE inhabitants! Vile seducers, infamous intriguers, ambitious and perverse men, who build their happiness and their enjoyments on the ruins of the public fortune, and who sacrifice, without remorse, to the success of their guilty designs, the lives and property of

their fellow men, seek now to mislead you. They impute to our measures dishonourable motives; they pervert our benevolent intentions; and they give to the treaty which we have concluded, false and perfidious colours; with unparalleled impudence they circulate reports calculated to infuse into every bosom mistrust, terror, and discord.

To watch over your interests, to forget our own, to labour for your good, without any personal considerations—such is the glorious task which we proposed to ourselves; we think that we have not wandered from this honourable line of conduct.

Since, however, the malevolent dare yet to raise doubts, and injurious suspicions respecting our conduct, it is our duty to dissipate them, and to undeceive and instruct you; we shall now fulfil that duty.

We are not ignorant, brave inhabitants, of the powerful reasons which provoked you to insurrection, and which put arms in your hands.

The most deadly blows were aimed at the freedom of your religious opinions. New pontiffs and a new worship had been established upon the ruins of your own. Intolerance hunted every where for the guilty, and delighted in seizing victims. The insolent despotism of the authorities established for your protection—the *corvées* of all kinds, and vexation of every species aggravated the afflicting picture. When the principle of a dangerous evil is entirely destroyed, the disagreeable consequences that flow from it ought to exist no longer. The necessity of putting an end to the melancholy consequences,

quencés, at the same time with the source of them, is one of your most urgent necessities, and one of your most sacred duties.

The peaceful exercise of your religion is granted to you. You may securely make use of this inprescriptible right, which could not be taken from you without a total disregard of your rights. From this moment you are free to offer to the Supreme Being your homage and your gratitude, according to your ancient usages.

Your unhappy country has been laid waste; fire has consumed your habitations, and unbridled soldiery has exercised on your persons and property the most horrible robberies. But the national convention has solemnly promised to indemnify you for your losses, and to repair, as far as possible, all the evils occasioned by a system of proscription and injustice.

Succours are granted to you to rebuild your cottages. Cattle will be given you to revive agriculture and to procure you the comforts of life. You will not long regret the want of your instruments of labour. You will not hear of taxes, till the period arrives in which your recovered happiness shall afford you the means of contributing to the wants of the state.

Let not the disconsolate widow and the infirm father tremble for the fate of their children whom the laws may call to the defence of the republic. No; misfortune and old age will not be deprived of their support.—What, could the republic resolve to deprive misfortune of its support, and respectable old age of its prop? no; the nation dispenses with your going to protect the frontiers, and only

imposes upon you the easy task of labouring in your fields to assist in the nourishing her defenders.

You have furnished, for the subsistence of armies, the fruit of the sweat of your brow, and your economy. We have given you receipts for it; the national convention will pay the amount.

What remains for you to desire? what disquiets can still agitate hearts so long torn, it is true, by resentment and misfortune? will you fear being oppressed anew by authorities unworthy of your confidence?

Dismiss your fears, brave inhabitants; let security re-enter your minds, and drive thence horrible despair. The men whose odious yoke you dread with reason; the men who are as much the enemies of their country as your enemies, will no more be the depositories of power which they abused so cruelly.

The representatives of the people will consult us on the choice of men to replace them; we will point out to them persons known to you; persons who have acquired your esteem and our's; persons who, to sweeten your existence, are ready to sacrifice their pleasures, their fortunes.

Could you then think, brave inhabitants, that we are capable of basely betraying your interests? after having supported them with so much ardour, ought you to fear for a moment that we are capable of giving the lie to the conduct we have constantly held?

Ah, if these injurious sentiments proceed from your hearts; if we were to impute them to jealousy and malevolence, how must our hearts be for ever afflicted! how should we support the shocking

idea, that in wishing to make men happy, we had only made them ungrateful.

But what, are not your interests our interests? are not our friends, our wives, our children among you? do not our possessions join your fields? yes, undoubtedly; and however precious may be these connexions, think not that they have furnished the motives which have determined our conduct. We have thought only of you, we have sacrificed every thing for your happiness; and in establishing it on a sure and durable foundation, we have reserved only to ourselves the inestimable advantage of being the witnesses of it.

(Signed) CHARETTE,
FLEURIOT, SAPIAUD,
COUETUS, DEBRUC.

*Extract from the Register of the States
General of the United Provinces,
Jan. 18th.*

WE have heard the report of Messrs. de Grottenray, and other deputies for military affairs; we have also examined a letter from his highness, dated from the Hague this day, and stating, "that, as from the situation of the republic, his highness foresees the fate that awaits the country, in case the enemy penetrate further, and as he is unwilling to be an obstacle to the making of peace, he has taken the resolution to retire for a time out of the country; he hopes that their high mightinesses will not disapprove of this step, and he prays that the Supreme Being will bestow his blessings upon the provinces, and restore them to their former prosperity,

"His highness protests that he has done every thing in his power for the good of his country. He expresses his regret that he has not been able to do more for the general good; and he asserts, that if circumstances permit him to be again useful to his country, their high mightinesses shall always find him ready to exert his utmost endeavours. He concludes by informing the States General, that his two sons, who have received permission to resign their military commands, will leave the country with him."

The States General having taken the above circumstances into their consideration, and having considered that the existing circumstances require immediate measures, and that the ordinary forms of discussion and deliberation cannot be followed, decree previously, that what shall be done and resolved upon, in the present posture of affairs, is not to be considered as a precedent; without any prejudice, therefore, to any ulterior deliberation, it is determined, that information shall be communicated to the commanders of regiments and corps in the service, as well as to all governors and commanders of towns and places occupied by the troops of the state, that the prince of Orange and Nassau has absented himself for some time, and that the princes of Orange, his sons, have been discharged from the command of the army. All colonels, or commanding officers, as well as governors and commanders, are therefore to address themselves provisionally to the council of state of the United Low Countries, on the subjects of those orders which they have hitherto received from the said princes.

It is also decreed, that the private secretary of his highness, Larrey, shall be written to, to send immediately to the council all letters addressed to his highness on military affairs.

Extract from the Records of the Deliberations of the States General of Monday, Jan. 19, 1795.

THE counsellor pensionary Vanden Spiegel has communicated to their high mightinesses a letter which he received from the stadtholder, written on board the pink Johanna Hogenraat, off the road of Schevelling, dated January the 18th, with the note annexed thereto, worded as follows:

“ Sir,

“ I was informed, by Mr. D’Eughuyza, of the answer received from Paris. Since his departure, I discoursed with the officers of the marine, and the pilot of the pink: I subjoin you their replies; by which you will see that it is impossible to land any where else but in England; and, as there exists no armistice, it cannot be required of me, that I should be wandering on the seas, in expectation of the success of the deputies of the assembly of the States of Holland, sent to the French general, who, in my opinion, will not prevent the arrival of the French at the Hague: I will make then one of the ports of England; and as soon as I can possibly do it, I will go on board of one or other ship of the States, which I suppose are at Plymouth.

“ I hope, sir, to write to you from thence, in order to inform you of the place I landed at, and the pro-

vince I shall withdraw to. Excuse my bad writing, for I write this lying in the cabin.

I am, with esteem, sir,

Your devoted servant,

(Signed) W. PRINCE OF ORANGE.”

“ P. S. I hope, if circumstances will permit, to return to one or other of the provinces, or even to the Hague, and to receive some intelligence concerning the success of the deputies sent this day.”

Questions put by the Prince of Orange, William the 5th, Stadtholder, Captain and Hereditary Admiral General of the United Provinces, to the under-written, on the 18th of January, 1795, in the evening.

Quest. 1. WILL it be possible at this moment to make one of the ports of the republic?

Ans. There is not the least possibility; the wind is east, the passages are obstructed by the ice, and the pink not strong enough to be exposed in the icicles.

Quest. 2. Is there any possibility of landing any where else, but in England?

Ans. No; the same impossibility exists for all other ports, on account of the ice; the Elbe, the Weser, as well as the Eastern and Western Ems, are so much encumbered with ice, that none of their ports can be entered.

Quest. 3. Will it be prudent to remain here at anchor? and by taking this resolution, is there no danger to be foreseen?

Ans. The weather is now favourable, but if the wind should shift about to the west, which is often the case at the turn of the tide,

tide, and if the weather grows tempestuous, there would most probably be some danger if it was resolved to go ashore again; besides, we should be exposed to the attacks of the enemy, if they should come from the road side with armed vessels.

(Signed) J. O. VAILLANT, ship's captain.

G. VAN HEIDEN, lieutenant of the navy.

(Lower) The mark of JAN Roos, pilot of the pink called Johanna Hogenraat.

Gen. Daendels' Proclamation to the Dutch, inviting them to surrender.

Head Quarters at Leerdam, the
28th Nivose (17th Jan. 1795),
Third Year of the Republic.

THE representatives of the French people require of the Dutch nation that it shall set itself free: they do not wish it to submit to the conquerors; they do not wish to compel the acceptance of assignments, but only to ally themselves with it as a free people: that Dordrecht, Haerlem, Leyden, and Amsterdam; that all the province of Holland make in this manner the revolution, and inform the representatives of it by their deputies at Bois le Duc.

The General of Division.

(Signed) DAENDELS.

Proclamation of the Revolutionary Committee of Amsterdam.

Brave citizens,

WE G. Pruys, S. Wiseleus, J. J. A. Goges, J. Thoen, D. Von

Laer, J. Ondoup, E. Vandensluis, P. Duereult, J. Van Hassen, P. J. B. P. Vander Aa, forming your revolutionary committee, hail you with vows of health and fraternity.

By the mighty aid of the French republic, and by your own energy, you have cast off the tyranny which oppressed you. You are once more in possession of your rights.

YOU ARE FREE, YOU ARE EQUAL!

Your tyrants have fled from their posts.

Fellow-citizens, you may follow with confidence and security your usual avocations. Your persons, your properties, shall be protected.

We propose to you to name as your provisional representatives the following burghers. Be assured that they will watch over and protect your rights, interests, and your liberties.

The citizens whom we propose are—N. Van Staphoerst, J. Van Bieterse, A. P. Leyden, G. Titsing, J. Van Eys, W. Vander Vuurst, J. Teusset Junia, J. W. J. Van Dam, S. Bos, G. H. de Wilde, H. T. Kate, Karel d'Amoer, H. Van Castrop, R. I. Schimmelpenninck, N. Breukelaar, G. Vander Zoo, D. Vanaken, J. L. Hendras, M. Van Maurick, J. Galdberg, J. Van Lang.

Chuse, fellow-citizens, these patriots as your representatives, that in the name of the people of Amsterdam, they may forthwith enter upon the administration of your affairs.

We once more hail you, worthy fellow-citizens. By your own patriotism, with the aid and under the guidance of such representatives, order, tranquillity, and happiness, will reign in this city. The

French.

Frenchmen who are among us conduct themselves, indeed, like brethren. Every idea of plunder, of rapine, or of injustice of any kind, is unknown to them. Fraternity with them, as with us, is the sole order of the day.

In the name of the revolutionary committee,

P. J. B. C. VANDER AA.
Amsterdam, Jan. 19, 1795, and
the 1st day of Dutch freedom.

Proclamation of the Representatives of the French Nation to the People of Batavia. Amsterdam, 1st of Pluviose (Jan. 20, 1795) in the third Year of the French Republic, one and indivisible.

The Representatives of the French Nation with the Armies of the North, the Sambre, and the Meuse, to the People of Batavia.

THE tyrants who have combined against the freedom of nations declared war against us, and threatened to conquer and subjugate us.

The treacherous stadtholder, having reduced your government under his power, entered into the base confederacy formed by the tyrants, to force a great people to submit to the yoke of slavery.

Your blood, your treasures, were lavished for this vile purpose; but the success of our arms has made manifest the justice of our cause, and our all-conquering armies have entered into your country.

Batavians! we knew you too well to imagine you could be accomplices of so abominable a conspiracy. Our enemies are also yours. The blood of the founders of the republic of

the United Netherlands still flows in your veins; and in the midst of the confusion of war we consider you as our friends and allies. It is under this name that we enter your country. We seek not to terrify, but to inspire you with confidence. It is but a few years since a tyrannic conqueror prescribed you laws; we have abolished them, and restore you to freedom.

We come not to make you slaves; the French nation shall preserve to you your independence.

The armies of the republic shall observe the strictest military discipline.

All crimes, and civil offences of citizens against citizens, shall be punished with the most rigid justice.

Personal safety shall be secured, and property protected.

The freedom of religious worship shall suffer no restraint.

The laws and customs of the country shall be, provisionally, maintained.

The people of Batavia, exercising that sovereignty which is their right, shall, alone, possess the power to alter or modify the form of their government.

GILLET, BELLEGARDE, J. B.
LACOSTE, JOUBERT, POR-
TIEZ DE L'OISE.

Proclamation of the Provisional Representatives of the People of Amsterdam.

LIBERTY, EQUALITY, FRATERNITY.

THE provisional representatives of the people of Amsterdam, for avoiding all confusion, and on purpose to preserve to the burghers as much as possible their affairs in full security, having judged it necessary

cessary, that no members of the old police or the judicial administration, their agents, or officers, whether they yet possess functions, or are forbidden to exercise them any more, shall hereafter leave the city, or continue to live out of it, without the previous knowledge and consent of the general committee of superintendence; think proper to decree and ordain, and it is decreed and ordained by these presents, that no one of them shall hereafter leave the city without having first addressed the committee of superintendence, and obtained a card of permission, on shewing which, the passports at present in use shall be delivered by the committee appointed to issue them; on pain of being deemed suspected persons, and having their goods sequestered. It is further ordained, that all the said persons already residing without the city, shall return within a month from the date hereof, on pain of being deemed as above, leaving notwithstanding, to these last, the power (if they think themselves absent on any lawful cause) to inform the committee of superintendence thereof, which is enabled to dispense with their return, if it thinks the exigence of the case requires it. It is further declared, that every person, of whatever description, convicted of having fraudulently required passports under false names, will be punished according to the nature of the offence: the committee of general superintendence will sit from ten o'clock in the morning till one, to deliver the aforesaid cards of permission.

Decreed and published the 30th of January, 1795, first year of Batavian liberty.

By order of the said representatives,

(Signed) G. BRENDER,
A. BRANDIS, *Secretary*.

Second Proclamation.

LIBERTY, EQUALITY, FRATERNITY.

THE provisional representatives of the people of Amsterdam having taken into their consideration, that the commissions of many colleges and officers are on the point of expiring, and informed that several officers and persons employed in this city are embarrassed by their continuance in their places and employments, authorize and require by these presents, that all citizens, who have been established, or who have been engaged in any public employment or office in this city, such as all commissioners, as well those of the different chambers as others, all colleges, corporations, and in general, all officers and persons employed in this city, without distinction, who have not been expressly discharged from their posts, shall remain in their offices, employments, and functions, till it shall be otherwise ordered, and thus provisionally shall continue respectively to discharge the duties thereof, in the most advantageous manner for the citizens, without being permitted to excuse themselves, on any pretext, or for any reason whatever, to withdraw themselves from the commissions, offices, or employments with which they have been charged, under pain of being considered and treated as disaffected and evil-minded persons. The aforesaid representatives expect and exhort each of them to use his utmost efforts for

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discharging the duties of his station with all possible zeal and diligence, and to contribute all in his power to endeavour to promote good order in the administration of the affairs of this city.

Decreed, &c. 30th Jan. 1795.

(Signed) G. BRENDER,

A. BRANDIS, *Secretary.*

Public Instrument of the new Order of Things solemnly published at the Hague.

Declaration of the Rights of Man and of a Citizen.

LIBERTY, EQUALITY, FRATERNITY.

THE provisional representatives of the people of Holland, believing that they owe to their fellow-citizens a solemn declaration of the principles upon which their proceedings and actions depend, to all those to whom these presents shall come, or who shall hear them read, health, they make known,

That we are perfectly convinced the power, which has been confided to us, reposes only on the free choice of our fellow-citizens, and that it is from this choice alone we have received it; that no supreme power resides in us; but that the proper sovereignty rests in the people, and this in such a manner, that the people can confer the exercise of it on their representatives, but can never alienate it from themselves; that we are assured the evils which this day bear so heavily on this country, and the other provinces, owe their origin principally to the perverse ideas which have been distilled into the people by artifice and violence: and therefore it is the duty of the representatives of the people, who

desire to be faithful to their duty, to lay down certain and evident principles, and to fix them as the rule of their conduct; for though we thought the final settlement of these rights ought to be the first work of a national convocation of the representatives of the people named to decree and fix a form of government, we nevertheless owe to the confidence which our fellow-citizens have placed in us, to make a public and solemn recognition of the rights of man, and of a citizen, in declaring, as we recognize and declare by these presents,

That all men are born with equal rights, and that these natural rights cannot be taken from them.

That these rights are equality, liberty, safety, property, and resistance to oppression.

That liberty is the faculty which belongs to every man, to be able to do that which does not affect the rights of other men; therefore its natural limitation is found in this principle, "Do not to another that which thou would not wish him to do unto thee."

That therefore it is permitted to all and to each to make known to others his thoughts and sentiments, be it by the way of the press, or by any other means.

That each man has the right to serve God in such manner as he pleases, without being in this respect any way restrained.

That safety consists in the certainty of not being troubled by another in the exercise of his rights, nor in the peaceable possession of property legally acquired.

That each man has the right of suffrage in the legislative assembly, of the entire society, either personally

sionally or by representation, in the choice of which he has concurred.

That the end of all civil societies ought to be to assure to men the peaceable enjoyment of their natural rights.

That therefore the natural liberty of being able to do every thing, which does not hurt the rights of others, ought never to suffer any infringement, except when the end of civil society requires it.

That such bounds to natural liberty cannot be imposed, but by the people or their representatives.

That consequently no person can be obliged to cede, or sacrifice any part of his particular property to the general commonwealth, unless this shall be expressly regulated by the will of the people, or their representatives, and according to a previous indemnity.

That the law is the free and solemn expression of the general will; that it is equal for all, either to punish or to reward.

That no person can be accused, arrested, or put in prison, but in such case and according to such formalities as shall be previously fixed by the law itself.

That in case it shall be judged necessary to hold any person prisoner, no one ought to be treated more rigorously than is absolutely necessary for confining his person.

That all men being equal, all are eligible to all posts or employments, without any other motives of preference than those of virtue and of capacity.

That every one has the right to concur in requiring, from each functionary of public administra-

tion, an account and justification of his conduct.

That there never can be laid the smallest restriction on the right of each citizen, to represent, that which is his interest, to those in whom the public authority is entrusted.

That the sovereignty resides in the entire people, and that therefore no portion of the people can arrogate it to themselves.

That the people have at all times a right to change their form of government, to correct it, or to choose another.

That such are the principles upon which we have believed it to be our duty to found our actions and our proceedings; and being desirous of applying them to the order of things, which had heretofore taken place, we forthwith discovered that the form of government, which was confirmed in 1787 by means of the invasion of the Prussian army, and consequently by force only, was in every respect contrary thereto.

That the persons who heretofore composed the assembly of the self-named States of Holland and West Friesland, were never elected by their fellow-citizens to be representatives, and that therefore this government could not exist, as being absolutely contrary to the rights of man and of a citizen: that we also presently perceived that all hereditary dignities, such as that of hereditary stadtholder, captain general and admiral of this province, and of the equestrian order, as well as all hereditary nobility, are repugnant to the rights of man; and that they ought to be held and declared abolished, as they are declared

declared to be abolished by these presents.

That we assure ourselves, by this declaration, all the extorted and illegitimate oaths on the soi-disant ancient constitution, prescribed in 1787 and 1788, become in fact of no value, inasmuch as such an oath ought to have been previously binding; but to tranquillise all and each, we declare besides, in the name of the people of Holland, as it is well and expressly declared by these presents, that all citizens who may have taken the above oath are hereby discharged therefrom.

That in the same manner the college (as the ci-devant deputy counsellors of the Southern and Northern Quarter were called), the division of the economical administration in regard to finances, &c. and the chamber of accounts, are entirely incompatible with these principles, as they all resulted from the old defective form of government, in which there was no real representation whatever, and consequently we have judged it to be our duty to suppress and abolish them all; and we now suppress and abolish them accordingly by these presents, and establish and appoint a committee of public safety, a military committee, a committee of finance, and a committee of accounts, the whole provisionally, and only until definitive arrangements shall be made on these subjects by an assembly of representatives, chosen by all the people, who shall be convoked for that purpose as speedily as possible; that besides, we have not thought it fit to attach any other title to our present assembly than that of provisional representatives of the people of Holland, without adding

to it the name of West Friesland, having judged that it would be better to comprehend the entire province of Holland under that denomination.

We will and ordain expressly the courts of justice in this province, as well as the regency of the cities and blessed places situated in it, that our present publication shall be made known to all the citizens of this province by the sounding of trumpets and ringing of bells, and such other solemn manner as shall be judged the most convenient in each city or place, and that it shall be posted up according to custom, and that each one shall conform himself to it precisely.

Done at the Hague under the small seal of the country, the 31st of January, 1795, the first year of Batavian liberty.

(Signed) P. PAULUS, Vt.
D. J. DE LANGE VAN WINGAERDE.

Proclamation of the French Commissioners at the Hague, issued on the 27th of January, 1795.

EGALITE,

UNITE, LIBERTE,
INDIVISIBILITE,
FRATERNITE,

Hague, the 7th Pluviose, the 3d year of the French Republic, one and indivisible.

THE representatives of the people belonging to the armies of the North, of the Sambre, and of the Meuse, taking into their consideration, the wants of the army of the republic, and the necessity of supplying

plying it with the objects of subsistence, supplies of provision and clothing, of which it has occasion in the countries where it is established; wishing to avoid the means of particular requisitions, and the intervention of subaltern agents, they think it most agreeable to address themselves to the States General, and formally invite them to supply them in the space of one month with the following quantities, viz.

200,000 quintals of wheat avoirdupoise weight.

5 millions of rations of hay.

200,000 rations of straw.

5 millions bushels of corn.

150,000 pairs of shoes.

20,000 pairs of boots.

20,000 coats and waistcoats.

40,000 pairs of breeches.

150,000 pairs of pantaloons.

200,000 shirts.

50,000 hats.

To be delivered further, within two months, 12,000 oxen.

These different objects are to be delivered at Thiel, Nimeguen, and Bois le Duc, at three different times.

The representatives of the people anxiously expect, that the States General will comply with the above request, and do every thing in their power to prevent their fellow-citizens from being troubled with the forms of a requisition, always perplexing to the inhabitants; and that they will use every exertion to complete their contingent. They hope that the slow form of ordinary administration, and the doubts of the competence of their authority, which may put some stoppage to this operation, will be carefully set aside. They have a right to

flatter themselves, that all the citizens of the United States, and all the constituted authorities, will use the same zeal to second their views and amicable intentions. Every necessary measure shall be taken to settle for the payment of the above articles.

(Signed) N. HAUSSMAN,
JOBER, ALGUIER,
GILLET, ROBERSOR,
J. B. LACOSTE.

*Proclamation, signed at the Hague,
27th Jan. 1795.*

THE States General of the United Provinces, to all who shall see or hear these presents greeting, give to know, that the representatives of the French nation now in this country have intimated to us, that it is necessary that speedy provision should be made of several articles appertaining to the subsistence and clothing of the French troops, namely, the following :

200,000 quintals of corn.

5 millions of rations of hay, at 15lb. each.

5 millions measure of oats, at 10lb. each, heavy weight.

200,000 rations of straw, at 10lb. each.

150,000 pairs of shoes.

20,000 pairs of boots.

20,000 cloth coats and waistcoats.

40,000 pairs of stocking breeches.

150,000 pairs of trowsers, of coarse linen.

200,000 shirts.

50,000 hats.

All which are to be delivered at Nimeguen, Thiel, and Bois le Duc, within

within the space of a month, in three instalments—and besides,

12,000 oxen within two months.

The above-mentioned representatives have also added, that instead of following the practice introduced in other countries which their troops have entered, namely, that the requisitions of similar articles have been made, published, and carried into execution by themselves, they have chosen to treat this republic in another manner, and thereby prove the inclination of the French nation, to consider it in the light of an approaching ally; and, of consequence, have begged of us to effectuate the delivery of the above-mentioned necessaries in the specified quantities, and at the appointed times and places, adding, at the same time, that the payment shall be regulated according to arrangements which shall afterwards be made with the government.

Convinced of the necessity of taking the most effectual measures for complying with the said requisitions we have judged that the best and least burthensome method of accomplishing this object, will be for the government to contract for the articles in question, and for the respective provinces to furnish the necessary funds.

We doubt not that the inhabitants will be convinced of the absolute necessity of enabling their provincial sovereigns to furnish these necessary funds without the smallest delay; but we think it nevertheless necessary to hold up to all, conjunctly and severally, the listress to which they must expose themselves, if they manifest the least unwillingness or even procrastination; for we are intimately persuaded of the serious intention

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of the above-mentioned representatives of the French nation, that these requisitions shall be complied with, at the appointed time, and must therefore warn all in the most impressive manner, that they will have themselves to blame if measures of force and violence must be employed to obtain what we wish to see accomplished with the greatest possible order and regularity.

With this view, it will be necessary that those persons who have any provision of the required articles, should not refuse to allow the same to be judicially valued at a reasonable price, to sell and deliver them to the persons entrusted with the execution of this work, and manifest every possible readiness to co-operate for the proper conveyance of the goods to the appointed places: and that in order not only to prevent the consequences with which non-compliance with the requisition of the above-mentioned representatives will necessarily be attended, but also on pain of being rigorously punished for disobedience or unwillingness, according to the exigency of the case.

And that no person may pretend ignorance, we call upon and desire the lords, the states, their deputies in the respective provinces, and all justiciaries and officers of the same, to publish immediately, affix, and make known this our proclamation in all places where it may be necessary, and is usual to post up such publications.

Resolved and concluded in the assembly of their high mightinesses the States General of the United Provinces, at the Hague, the 27th of January, 1795.

P

(Signed)

(Signed) G. L. ROUSE,
B. P. VAN LELYVELD.
Undersigned, by reason of the
absence of the greffier.

*Proclamation at the Hague, 11th
Pluviose, 30 January, 1795, the
third Year of the French Republic,
one and indivisible.*

THE representatives of the
French people, with the armies of
the North, the Sambre, and the
Meuse, decree as follows:—

Art. 1. All goods, both move-
able and immoveable, ships, mer-
chandize, claims, and property of
any kind whatever, belonging to
governments at war with the French
republic, or of French emigrants;
likewise those of priests, monks,
members of churches, or spiritual
corporations, having emigrated
from the conquered provinces be-
tween the Rhine and the sea; also
all goods whatever given in trust by
members of churches and corpora-
tions, are seized and confiscated
for the benefit of the French repub-
lic.

2. All such persons as are
debtors, concealers, or detainers of
what is mentioned in the above
article, are to give inventories of
the same to the magistrates of their
circuits, within eight days after
the publication of these presents.

All such as neglect to conform
themselves to it, are to pay a fine of
double the value of the article of
which they have not given in any
account as above stated.

The fourth part of the fine, and
likewise one-fourth of the value of
the goods not declared, shall belong
to the discoverers and informers.

3. An agent-general shall be ap-

pointed for all the United Provinces,
who is to collect all the above in-
ventories, and dispose of the things
mentioned therein, according to
the instructions he shall receive
from the representatives of the peo-
ple.

The magistrates are to deliver to
him all the declarations made to
them.

4. It is forbidden to accept of
any notes or bills of exchange, or
to make any negotiations or loans
for or on account of governments
at war with the French republic,
upon pain of confiscation of the
whole value of such objects.

The transgressors of this shall be
considered and dealt with as ene-
mies of the French republic.

5. It is forbidden to all civil and
military agents of the French re-
public, to seize upon any treasure
belonging to towns, communes, or
to the government of the United
Netherlands, upon pain of arrest.

6. What has been decreed by
these presents shall be addressed to
the States General, desiring them to
send it to the respective states of
the United Provinces, in order to be
printed in both languages, and to be
sent to, and posted up, without
delay, in all the towns, communes,
and ports of the United Provinces.

Signed upon the original,

NS. HAUSSMANN,

JOUBERT, and ROBERJOT.

Conformable to the original,

(Signed) NS. HAUSSMANN.

*Proclamation of the Provisional Repre-
sentatives of the People of Am-
sterdam.*

LIBERTY, EQUALITY, FRATERNITY.
Citizens,

WHEN, on the 19th of January
last,

last, you established us your provisional representatives, at the instance of the revolutionary committee, and when you called us to the town-house to take on us the provisional government of this city, we resolved that no difficulty whatever should deter us from accepting that awful trust in a moment so important.

The apprehension of the terrible consequences which might be drawn on by anarchy were of but short duration: for of the lively sense we entertained of the disorder, confusion, and despair, which would infallibly result from it, we drew so strong and melancholy a picture, that all opposition, even the most well founded, vanished before it. The just fear of our faculties being perhaps unequal to a task so difficult; the sacrifice of our occupations, of our repose, and of our domestic enjoyments; all these gave way to this single decisive consideration, that your interests, and your security, required an immediate administration: and that if we desired to withdraw from that with which you charged us provisionally, we really would render ourselves responsible for all the horrors that anarchy might bring upon us.

Citizens, such have been our motives, such have been our views. It is in them we confide, in the purity of our intentions, in a cause the most sacred, the most just, the most sublime of all causes, that of liberty; it is in these we trust, and above all, in the assistance of the Almighty, whom we adore without superstition, and in the respectful hope of his approbation, we have courageously undertaken the arduous task which you have imposed on us.

Our first work, citizens, has been to declare solemnly, and with a lively emotion, that the sacred principles of justice and of equity should be the sole guide of our actions: that no base motive of vengeance, that no consideration different from those principles should influence our conduct; and that the preservation of order in a city so populous, that the security of persons and of property against all attack, under whatever pretext or colour, should be with us the order of the day during our provisional administration.

How flattering and consolatory must it be to us, dear citizens! to have been able to accomplish this great object of our appointment! How happy is it for you, and all of us, that the sublime cause of liberty has not been sullied by any irregularity! How honourable for humanity, that at the dawn of liberty this town has been the theatre of the most pure sentiments of joy and fraternity, and not of those of animosity, of hatred, and of vengeance! What sweet emotions does not the true patriot and the friend of humanity feel in being able to say, that in a city so populous as Amsterdam, we have, in the moment of the restoration of liberty, seen tears of joy flow, but not one drop of the blood of our fellow citizens! What an admirable example for our Batavian brethren in the other cities of the republic! The Batavians shew themselves generous in the midst of their victories: they forget, they despise the injuries that have been done to them; they cordially hold out the hand of fraternity to all those who have erred: they seek not vengeance nor pillage,

but liberty: they are generous in respect to the past, but they will punish the more severely the future offences against the cause of freedom.

Such, citizens, are our principles: you have shewn by your steady and tranquil conduct that they are also your's: it is to them that you owe the quiet of this city; and the great end of our provisional administration is fulfilled.

It is time then, citizens, as we think, to terminate our administration; and cordially thanking you all for the confidence you have testified in us, we return into the class of our fellow-citizens, and remit into their hands the powers you have given us: let ambitious tyrants, let cowards in posts, into which they have intruded themselves, endeavour to support their usurped authority by a thousand secret plots; the true patriot knows no post more noble, nor no place more elevated, than the state of a citizen, and he remits with satisfaction his powers into the bosom of those from whom he received them.

But though every thing goes on with order at present, previous to resigning our administration there must be made, in a regular manner, and in a proper place for that object, an appeal to all the citizens and inhabitants of this city, on purpose that they may choose for their supreme administration a proper number of representatives who may be able to replace us, under the name of a municipality, or under any other name whatever; and who chosen by your voice, freely given, to be the representatives of the people of

Amsterdam, may take care of your interests, and constitute all the subdivisions of the administrations of this city, and its different branches, in such manner as the nature of things shall require. In the mean time, the different committees shall remain in their functions till the assembly which will replace us shall have made in that respect the proper arrangements.

For these reasons, and to the end that the appeal to the citizens, and the manner of voting for the election of new representatives may be conducted in a manner, the least subject to corruption, to confusion, or to illicit influence, we have thought it our duty, as your provisional representatives, and for accomplishing this desirable end, to make use of the understanding of all the patriots, and to summon them by the love they have for their country to send us, in the space of fifteen days after this publication, detailed plans on the manner of calling the citizens together, and of taking their suffrages; subjoining to them that which relates to the age and the other qualifications required for exercising the right of voting; the number of members, of which the assembly of the representatives of this city ought to be composed, and the name most becoming for it to bear, on purpose that the provisional representatives, after mature deliberation, and after taking the advice of the different committees on the plan best calculated for attaining the end we have proposed to you, and after having agreed on one, may put it in execution.

Proclaimed and published at Amsterdam, February, 3, 1795.
the

the first year of Batavian liberty.

By order of the provisional representatives of Amsterdam,
R. W. TADAMA, Sec.

Second Proclamation by the same.

LIBERTY, EQUALITY, FRATERNITY.

Citizens,

THE assembly of provisional representatives of the commune of Amsterdam having received, from time to time, and on the part of different citizens, demands, tending to the embracing of measures which would put into a state of arrest in general the former members of the now-abolished government, and other suspected persons; the assembly has not only been constantly of opinion that it ought not to embrace such measures, but it also thinks itself obliged to explain to all its compatriots in general, and to the inhabitants of Amsterdam in particular, whom it represents, what is its manner of thinking on a subject of this importance, and what are the principles on which its opinion is founded.

We shall set out, citizens, with declaring, that we neither could nor would, for a single moment, suppose that the repeated instances of a part of our fellow-citizens to make us take rigorous measures, could proceed from any motive of hatred or revenge. The Dutch, from the very moment when they first broke their chains; gave to astonished Europe too grand an example of generosity and humanity, to let us believe that they would sully that glory in the moments of tranquillity, by avenging themselves on a set of humbled

despots, deprived of all strength. He deserves not to triumph who basely abuses his victory. He alone can promise himself the constant and agreeable fruits of victory, who makes his vanquished foes blush by his justice and generosity, and convinces them that they are the persons who have chosen the worst side of the cause to defend. Citizens, generosity and justice carry with them irresistible force. Nothing can save the cause of our country but a constant adherence to these virtues. The exercise of revenge may afford a transitory pleasure in the moments of passion and delirium, but its consequences are commonly sad and fatal, while the exercise of equity and of generosity leaves nothing but agreeable sensations.

Such, citizens, are our sentiments; such ought to be yours. Real guardians of freedom and equality, you are capable of perceiving their value and their force; and woe betide the country if this doctrine shall not become the universal doctrine of the nation.

Since then, citizens, we cannot differ on these principles, it will be easy to convince the virtuous patriot, that the system which we have adopted in our assembly, is in effect the only one that agrees with the real interests of the country.

Let us begin by presenting to your view the great end that every honest man, and above all, every citizen entrusted with any public authority, ought to propose to himself. This end ought to be, to settle this revolution upon the most immoveable foundations, to the end that all the inhabitants of the land may feel the permanent bene-

sits of the social life under the administration founded on the principles of freedom and equality.— See here, citizens, the great end that a good man ought perpetually to have before his eyes; and he, who has other views, whether he be placed in the senate, whether he labour in another sphere, or whether he be in a private situation (the most enviable, doubtless, of all situations) plays, under the mask of patriotism, the part of an hypocrite, and a deceiver of the people.

But how to attain this end! No method more likely than to shew on the one hand, grandeur and generosity with respect to the past; on the other, to be severe and inexorable to all attempts against freedom and the supremacy of the people. Citizens, philosophers of all nations and ages have invariably judged, that when civil dissensions are over, the conquering party has always been guilty of injustice, when it has thought worthy of punishment actions which the chiefs of the conquered party have done to maintain their cause, and has, in consequence of these principles, set on foot a general persecution.— Actions, which are at all times criminal; actions, which are morally bad, independently of all political relations, and consequently always punishable, are then the only ones that can, according to the principles of justice, be taken into consideration. These are also the only actions which a righteous judge, whose judgment ought not to be directed by any influence of political passions, will esteem criminal and worthy of punishment; and not those actions which we at present most justly consider as highly pernicious, but which have been

committed under the eyes, and with the plenary approbation of the preceding government.

If we reject these principles, there is no longer security for any human action; and let it not be dissembled, that he who preaches a contrary doctrine, proclaims in effect the right of the strongest, and consequently the favourite right of tyrants.

Let none imagine, citizens, that the true interest of the nation can, either in this point of view, or in any other, differ from the rules of justice. Never do the true interests of a nation exact the slightest deviation from the rules of justice and good faith, under whatsoever pretext. Our country will support itself or be crushed, as it shall adopt or reject these truths. The system of terror, already quite banished from the French republic, cannot be tolerated a single instant in that spot of the earth where we live; it would sink us in ruin forever. Our political constitution, our local situation, our commercial relations, are all circumstances too delicate to support repeated scenes of violence and political shocks.

Cast your eyes, citizens, upon the state of the finances of your country, of your city. Will it not require all the zeal, all the elasticity of a commercial nation, to fill your exhausted coffers? But are this zeal and this elasticity compatible with a system of terror? Doubtless not: in bringing to perfection this revolution, one sort of terror only ought to be tolerated: terror to those who have the hardiness and malice to undertake any thing against the revolution. The most severe penalties against such men will be so much the more equitable, as our conduct

conduct with respect to the past shall be noble and generous.

It is a great mistake, citizens, to compare the circumstances of France in the course of her revolution, with our's. It was not in France a spirit of revenge for the crimes committed under the old government which occasioned these repeated scenes of terror; but the violent opposition to the revolution itself which occasioned the necessity of a proportionable vigilance to crush all conspiracies. But what opposition, citizens, have we to expect? if a wise and just administration completes this revolution, is not the doctrine of freedom and equality so amiable in itself, so deeply graven in our nature, that it will soon penetrate all hearts with irresistible energy? Will not all who have been misled by court artifices return from their error? Let us shew by facts, that a democratical government, well ordered, is not only possible, but that it is the sole form of government that accords with the dignity of man; and soon will this order of things be established by universal consent upon the surest foundations. Let us prove the falsehood of all the rumours that have been spread among the multitude, whether they proceed (O shame!) from the chair, or from the bosom of the councils, and soon will the multitude itself despise its seducers. Slander painted the doctrine of freedom and equality, as the immediate source of confusion, and the grave of religion. But, citizens, where will slander now hide her head, when every citizen is protected in his person, in his property; and when the gates of the temples are open to every one, that he may adore our common

father in the manner to which he is prompted by the feelings of his heart?

These are the lively effects of a wise and philosophic policy, which can and ought happily to accomplish this revolution. All the political dissensions, all the revolutions that have taken place in this state since its origin, vanish before so interesting a revolution as the present. They were only disputes between party and party; trials of skill for the most part between knaves and knaves; in which the people had no part to play but the part of the dupe. To-day it is the cause of the people itself in which we labour, in which you all ought to labour. To-day it is not a faction, but the nation herself, who is victorious. We must direct our views, not to the welfare of a few despots, but to the happiness of the whole nation.

Let us then always, citizens, consider our revolution under this important regard. Let us endeavour to give it such a direction that it shall be in vain to seek to foment new political dissensions; let the example of our deposed despots be to us a lesson to avoid the base as well as the impolitic faults they have committed. Have their senseless persecutions made the prisons of this country cry for vengeance, and the complaints of the Dutch become fugitives in all parts of the world, call forth curses upon their administration? Let us make it our glory to convince Europe, that it is the Dutch nation, and not a faction, that now triumphs; that it is the cause of freedom and equality, not the spirit of revenge and destruction; in short, that sound policy now reigns on one side to

make a cordial offer of the right hand of fellowship to her stray brethren, and not to drive them to despair; on the other, to hold high the sword of punishment, in order to strike the first traitor that henceforth shall presume to oppose the freedom and supremacy of the people. For though the first part of this alternative be the true end of the real friend of humanity, the other ought no less to fix the attention of the severe republican, that those who lie in ambush against freedom, may see even from afar, that their actions are carefully watched, and that the nation which so generously pardons, is ready to inflict exemplary punishment on criminals the moment her freedom is attacked.

Such, citizens, are the motives of the conduct we have pursued; such is the rule of our actions. We believe that a firm adherence to this system is the only method of completing the revolution, and of fixing the universal national happiness on the soil of Batavia.

Decreed the 11th of February, 1795, the first year of Dutch liberty.

Published the 13th of February following.

By order of the above-mentioned representatives,

G. BRENDER.

A. BRANDIS, *Secretary*.

Proclamation of the Council of State in the Regency of Neuchâtel, a Prussian Principality in Switzerland.

THE council of state having lately taken into consideration the case of French emigrants hitherto tolerated in this country from sen-

timents of humanity, and perceiving with some inquietude the increasing scarcity of provisions, and that the conduct of some among the emigrants is very censurable and directly in defiance of our public orders, by keeping up upon the frontiers of France secret intelligence, and by committing acts of violence, which tend to disturb the present tranquillity of the state and good neighbourhood.

The council having given attention to the duty it owes to the Helvetic association of this sovereignty, from which results its present happy neutrality, it is judged indispensable for the good of the state, which ought to be the first object of our solicitude, to order the general expulsion of the above-named emigrants before the 1st of April next.

In pursuance of which, the proper officers are directed in the first instance, to make out immediately a new list of French emigrants who reside in their respective jurisdictions, particularizing the age, sex, and vocation of each, and likewise the name of the person at whose house they live, and to send this list with as much dispatch as possible to the council of state. In the second place, they are directed to have this edict publicly read at the conclusion of divine service next Sunday, in each place of public worship, in order that such emigrants may prepare themselves to obey it, and that those at whose houses they reside may not hereafter pretend ignorance; and if any emigrants shall be found in this country after the period fixed, they shall be expelled by an escort, as dangerous and suspicious people. The council also apprises those

those who harbour emigrants, that if any such person shall be found under their protection, after the time fixed for their departure, every person giving that protection, will be regarded as connivers in the disobedience to this edict, and will be prosecuted with the utmost rigour of the law, as enemies to the public welfare.

Finally, the council declares, that if such emigrants, before their departure, dare to commit any act of violence on the territory of France, they shall be apprehended and given up to the French.

Given in council held under our presidency in the castle of Neufchatel, the 27th of January, 1795.

(Signed) MARVAL.

Declaration of the Prince of Orange.

THE prince of Orange has hitherto thought it unnecessary to publish the motives which induced him to absent himself for some time from his country, being convinced that no person could, with any shadow of justice, accuse him of the smallest crime in having quitted the territories of the provinces of Holland, after the states of that province had thought proper to send deputies to the commanders of the enemy's forces to capitulate, or rather to submit to them; but the resolution taken by the pretended States General the 24th of February last, on the motion made in that assembly the 31st of January by the deputies of the pretended provisional representatives of the people of Holland, having come to his knowledge, in which they thought proper to abolish the office

of stadtholder, captain general and hereditary admiral, with which this prince was invested, alleging, as a motive for this resolution, that he himself had abdicated them, he feels it incumbent on himself to be no longer silent, and to repel this calumny by a simple and exact statement of the facts which preceded and rendered necessary his departure from the territories of the United States.

The inundations formed for the defence of the republic, and in particular for that of the province of Holland (as well as the rivers in that country), being frozen in December last, there no longer remained any means of defending the provinces of Utrecht and Holland, after the retreat of the army commanded by general count Walmoden from the borders of the Waal and of the Rhine; the troops of the state, which might have been employed in the defence of these two provinces, being reduced (as well by hardships which the army sustained during the last campaign, as by sickness) to too small a number to garrison sufficiently those posts which it was necessary should be occupied in order to prevent the enemy from penetrating.

It must here be observed, that a great part of the troops which were in these two provinces could not be employed against the enemy, in virtue of the capitulations which many places had made, and in which it was stipulated that their garrisons should be sent into the interior of the republic, after having sworn not to serve against the armies of France during the war until they were exchanged.

The states of Utrecht therefore, thought it right to capitulate on
Friday

Friday the 16th of January, after having some days before informed the States General of their intention, and found themselves obliged to submit to those conditions which the conqueror thought fit to grant: it will suffice to state, that the states of that province having requested that their constitution and form of government might be preserved, would only provisionally agree to it, which afforded no security for the future.

The prince of Orange being informed, that the states of the provinces of Holland were about to adopt the same resolution on the same day, found himself under the necessity of sending away the princesses his wife and daughter-in-law, with the prince his grandson, on board a fishing-boat, on Sunday morning the 18th of January, and was himself obliged to follow them on the same day (with the two princes his sons), which however he did not do till he had acquainted the States General, as also the states of the Seven Provinces, and of the country of Dronthe, with his intended departure; writing to them, "That he easily foresaw, from the present situation of the republic, what lot he must expect if the enemy should penetrate further into the country; and, not wishing to be any obstacle to peace, he had resolved to absent himself and his family for a time from the territories of the states, and hoped that their high mightinesses would approve of this step."

It should here be remarked, that the prince did not depart till after his letter had been read, as well in the assembly of the States General as in that of the state of Holland; that his departure from the Hague and his embarkation were fully

known to both assemblies, who did not take any step to oppose the measure; and that his departure did not take place till the states of Holland had resolved to capitulate, and had required it in their name, from the prince of Orange, as captain-general of that province, an officer and a trumpet to announce the commission from the states of Holland, who were to repair to the general of the enemy to ascertain what articles should form a capitulation for that province. The prince knew their deputies were commissioned not to make any difficulties, but to yield to every article. The same day after the prince had notified his intention of quitting the Dutch territories, four members of the college of counsellors, deputed by Holland, demanded an audience of the prince, and begged he would hasten his departure; that they could give no reply to any thing; and that even if it was insisted upon in the French general's answer that the prince and his family should not be permitted to quit the country, they would be under the necessity of taking measures to prevent their departure, especially in case the French general, or the commissioners of the national convention, should require that the college of the deputed counsellors should be made responsible, if the prince absented himself before the arrival of the French troops. After such a declaration the prince of Orange thought it no longer safe to remain at the Hague, and embarked at Scheveling on board a fishing-boat. Having consulted the marine officers and pilot who were on board the vessel what course he should steer, they were unanimously of opinion that the best plan would be

be to make for an English port. The prince, before he quitted the road of Scheveling, wrote to M. Van Spiegel, counsellor pensionary of the province of Holland, with the opinion of the marine officers and pilot of the above-mentioned vessel, signed by them. The counsellor pensionary having communicated the same to their high mightinesses, they, by their resolution of the 19th of January, approved of the prince of Orange's departure, as a measure of absolute necessity; declaring, moreover, that they were desirous of hearing of that prince's safe arrival in one of the ports of the kingdom of Great Britain on board a ship of war belonging to the states, and that he might shortly be able to return to the republic, in order to continue assisting them with his counsel and presence for the maintenance of the independence and constitution of the republic. The prince's intention, of which he had already informed M. Van de Spiegel, pensionary counsellor, in his letter, was to inform himself, during his stay in England, of the situation of affairs, as well in the provinces of Zeeland as in the provinces of Friesland and Groningen, and to embark on board a ship of war of the states for either of those provinces in which it should appear his presence might be most useful. It is right to observe, that all correspondence between those provinces and the Hague was at that time intercepted, not only by the enemy but by the frost.

As soon as the states of Holland had resolved to admit forces inimical to the republic of the United Provinces into the place where the States General were assembled, and had given orders to their different

garrisons no longer to oppose the progress of the French, the prince of Orange was desirous that the States General, to whom this resolution had been communicated, should determine to dissolve their assembly, and to call it together again in one of the provinces which had not submitted to the yoke of the conqueror.

The States General thought proper to remain assembled in a place where the enemy's troops, joined by a number of malcontents, deprived them of the liberty of deliberating and doing what the public good required.

The French troops having arrived at the Hague, the States General were compelled to do every thing that was exacted from them. The deputies lawfully named by the provinces of Holland were obliged to quit that assembly, and have been replaced by deputies named by those who have taken upon themselves the supreme power of that province, under the name of provisional representatives of the people. These latter being admitted into the assembly of the States General, that assembly ceases to be legal, and the resolutions taken since that time cannot be considered as resolutions dictated by the real States General.

The prince of Orange's design was, as has already been observed, to go into Zeeland, as soon as he should have received information relative to the situation of affairs in that province, hoping that his presence there might be useful. But the States General having given orders soon after the prince's departure, and nearly at the time of the arrival of the French troops at the Hague, to the commanding officers of Bergen-op-Zoom, Breda,

Wilhemstadt and Steenburgen, fortresses which still held out, to capitulate, likewise to the troops who were in those provinces which had not yet submitted to the French, as also to the ships of the state, not to defend themselves against the French, the states of Zeeland were under the necessity of following the example of those of Holland and Utrecht, in capitulating for their province, or rather in submitting to the conqueror.

The prince of Orange being informed of this resolution, and perceiving that his presence could no longer be of any service there, was obliged to give up his intention of going into Zeeland, and the ice having for a long while prevented all communication between the provinces of Friesland and Groningen with England, during that time the prince could not receive any intelligence from those provinces, and the first he received was, that they had submitted in the same manner as the others had done, which frustrated his plan of going into either of those provinces.

The prince of Orange waits with confidence the judgment which every impartial person will pass on his conduct, and cannot think it was expected he should remain in a country which had submitted to the French arms, whilst the French national convention had declared war against him personally, and deliver himself into the hands of his enemies, without being able thereby to surrender the least service to his country.

He leaves it to the impartial public to judge if it is with reason that the pretended States General could declare, on the proposal of

the self-named provisional representatives of the Dutch people, that the stadtholdership was abolished, because the stadtholder, captain and admiral general, had thought proper to quit his post whilst the said provisional representatives of the people of Holland judged it right, in the same assembly where they have changed the form of government, and usurped the supreme power, to abolish those charges for the province of Holland, without assigning any other motive than that the nobility and hereditary offices were incompatible with equality.

The prince of Orange considers himself authorized to appeal to the whole universe from a resolution so unjust, and declares that he will not acknowledge as lawful, any resolution taken by those who now call themselves the States General, or States of the Provinces, as long as the republic shall be occupied by the French troops. He flatters himself, that if more fortunate circumstances should deliver his unhappy country from a foreign yoke, the nation, restored to itself, and enjoying, as it has done for these two centuries, a true liberty founded upon law, will do him justice by not delaying to call him to the exercise of the hereditary charges which he possesses in that republic, and which have been granted to his house, by the will of the nation, with the view of contributing to the maintenance of the religion, good order, independence and prosperity of the state, and of the true liberty and well being of its inhabitants.

W. PR. OF ORANGE.

Hampton Court Palace,

May 28, 1795.

Decree

*Decree of the King of Spain, dated
February 1795.*

THE expences of the present war being so great, and being ever desirous of easing my beloved subjects from imposts, taxes, and contributions which are necessary for supporting the present war with vigour, which, in many respects, is of so much importance to the nation, amongst whom our holy religion occupies the first place, I have represented to his holiness the Pope, by my minister the plenipotentiary in Rome, the indispensable necessity of causing the estates of the military orders to contribute towards the said expences, as likewise the religious order of St. John, in my dominions, by taxing them at the rate of twelve per cent. in kind or produce, or eight per cent. in money, per annum, and that the pensions of the Spanish order of Charles the Third should be included in this regulation.

His holiness being convinced of the just and urgent motives which render this impost necessary, had agreed, that it shall be levied, on condition that it is only to last two years after the expiration of the present war. This dispensation, dated the 5th of November last, has been sent to the council of the order, and in consequence, therefore, it shall commence from the beginning of this year, through the medium of the general office for the imposition and levying of the respective twelve or eight per cent. upon the estates of the four military orders, as the contribution shall be either in produce or money, taking special care, by all means and precautions, that the same

may be levied justly and faithfully.

Respecting the religious order of St. John and the royal Spanish order of Charles III. I have given the necessary orders for the collection of this temporal impost, consequently, there only remains under the said council, the exaction of the military orders on which it is to have immediate jurisdiction, putting the produce annually in the disposition and power of my secretary of state and the office of finances, by which means all doubts or difficulties which may arise in the execution of this, upon which head I give particular charge, will be heard in the council, and after justly examining, order that the fulfilling shall be punctually complied with.

In Aranjuez, 4th Feb. 1795.

(Signed) THE DUKE OF HESAR.

Edict of the Grand Duke of Tuscany.

HIS royal highness having, since the very beginning of the present war, been of opinion; that it was neither just nor convenient for Tuscany to take any active part in the transactions which at this present time convulse Europe; that the welfare and safety of this country should not be entrusted to the preponderance of any of the belligerent powers, but to the sacred right of nations, and to the inviolable faith of those treaties which guarantee the immunities, and of course the neutrality of the port of Leghorn; and lastly, that the natural and political situation of his dominions demand the most impartial line of conduct, has re-

solved, with the strictest impartiality, to observe the edict of neutrality, published by his august father, under date the first of August, 1778, as a fundamental law of the duchy.

The beneficial consequences of this resolution rendered it highly agreeable to his beloved subjects, who, profiting by the trade and commerce of other nations, without hurting any of them, found themselves relieved from those alarms and troubles which are occasioned by the fear of war. Whilst his royal highness enjoyed the satisfaction of seeing that Tuscany, superior, as it were, to the occurrences of the times, rested peaceful and quiet on that neutrality which was constantly respected by the French republic, he found himself involved in those unpleasant transactions, which are already known to all Europe. Although his royal highness was unable to resist them, yet he consented to nothing but the removal of the French minister residing at his court, the only act which the imperious circumstances of that period could extort from him, and which can never be quoted as an act derogatory to the constitutional neutrality of Tuscany.

The sincere explanation of these facts, which admit neither discussion nor refutation, and the impartial line of acting observed afterward towards the French republic, as well as towards individuals of that nation, have restored Tuscany to the enjoyment of all the blessings which had been taken from her. His royal highness having concluded with the national convention of France a treaty, calculated to re-establish his former neutrality for the benefit of his

subjects, without encroaching upon the rights and interests of the beligerent powers, with respect to whom he had never taken upon himself any particular obligation, has thought proper to publish the terms of that treaty.

His royal highness therefore wills, that in all his dominions, the edict of neutrality of the first of August, 1778, confirmed by the ordinance of the 22d of March, 1790, and published at Leghorn on the 28th of April, 1792, be scrupulously observed; for which purpose, a sufficient number of copies of this edict shall be sent to the consuls of foreign nations residing at Leghorn, and to the Tuscan consuls residing in foreign ports.

Given on the 1st of March, 1795.

FERDINAND,

V. A. SERRISTORI,

ERNEST DI GILKENS.

Imperial Decree of Commission from the Emperor to the Diet at Ratisbon, respecting the Proposition for negotiating a Peace with France.

The Preamble to this Decree contains a brief Statement of the Causes and Progress of the War, and the Proceedings of the Diet, till its last resolution relative to peace, after which it proceeds to the following purport:

THAT the restoration of tranquillity to the empire, by a speedy peace, is an event to be desired, and cannot admit of a doubt in the mind of any one, who shall, for a moment, compare the heavy calamities occasioned by the present war, unexampled for the violence with which it has been conducted,

ducted, with the blessings of peace. Whoever, also, shall duly consider the strenuous exertions made by his Imperial majesty, during the last three years, the armies he has brought into the field, the treasure he has expended, furnished principally by his hereditary dominions, cannot entertain a doubt of his paternal care and anxiety for the welfare of the empire, and that all his wishes tend to a conclusion of the miseries of war by a speedy re-establishment of peace. But when we proceed to consider by what means, and on what terms, this peace, in itself so desirable, is to be obtained, numerous and unexpected difficulties will be found to present themselves, which have been rather overlooked than examined suitably to their great importance. Nothing, at least, could have given greater pleasure to his Imperial majesty, than that the diet should have precisely stated the terms on which a just, honourable and durable peace, might be established; especially, since the electors, princes, and states of the empire, have thought it consistent with the present situation of affairs, with the present position of Germany, and with the general welfare, to discuss the subject in a public debate, and to declare their wish for peace.

His Imperial majesty, however, is far from intending to represent the wishes of the diet as unattainable, or in any manner very difficult; nor does he wish to prolong the execution of the subject in the conclusum, until the general opinion of the diet has pointed out the manner in which it is to be effected; but, on the contrary, his majesty is determined to take every

opportunity to second the views of the diet, and the states in general.

With respect to the cessation of arms, mentioned in the same decree of the diet, his Imperial majesty, ever attentive with unremitting paternal care to the good and happiness of his subjects, certainly agrees with the diet that it would be for the general benefit of the German empire, were it to be of such a kind as to lead to a safe, honourable, and lasting peace; and whenever there may be reason to believe that it may have so desirable a consequence, he will undoubtedly employ every means in his power, as head of the empire, for its procurement.

But since, in consequence of the extraordinary success of our enemies in the late campaign, it is not a little doubtful, whether they will be so willing as many may hope, and believe, to accept of such terms as shall not be dishonourable to us; how much soever a peace may be desirable for the sake of suffering humanity, and how much soever it may be the wish of his Imperial majesty, it will be incumbent on the empire to make the most ardent and unremitting preparations for the prosecution of the next campaign, should an invincible fate, or the obstinacy or extravagant demands of France render abortive all our hopes and wishes. His Imperial majesty thinks this intimation the more necessary, since, according to resolutions taken by the diet of October 28, it was determined that the first of February should be the last term in which the increase of forces and armaments were to be furnished to the commander general of the united army of the em-
pire

pire for the opening of the next campaign; and particularly as the proceedings in the diet relative to peace appear to have cooled the zeal of several of the states of the empire, a consequence far from the intention of the elector of Mentz, at whose motion the subject was first discussed in that assembly.

His Imperial majesty, therefore, conjures all the states of the Germanic body, jointly and singly, by their love for their country, not to suffer themselves to be lulled into incautious security by hopes, as yet, much too uncertain; but faithfully and assiduously to discharge those duties which the constitution and laws of the empire, and the preservation of every thing that should be dear to them, render indispensable; and conformably to the Imperial ordinance of the 14th of June last respecting the arming the vassals in the different villages, and the forming of militias in every district or town, to give such strength to their military force, as may render vigorous and successful a war, the continuance of which may, perhaps, be unavoidable. That the patriotic princes of the empire, whose dominions are situated within the circles most exposed to the enemy, should be supported and assisted by the princes whose territories lie farther in the interior parts of Germany, and be enabled, for the defence of the whole empire, and of each state, to raise fortifications; and that they should be furnished with artillery, ammunition, small arms, and other necessities of war.

His Imperial majesty most earnestly conjures all the states in the empire never to lose sight of the undeniable principle, that extra-

ordinary circumstances require extraordinary measures, and that by such measures alone, in cases of imminent danger, a state can preserve its security, and frequently even its existence: he entreats them to remember, that the resources of the empire are yet far from exhausted; that it is not by relaxing in our efforts, that the enemy can be arrested in his progress, and induced to accept just and honourable terms; and that, at all events, it is preferable to encounter any adverse fortune, than to sign the shame of Germany, and the overthrow of the Germanic constitution, in a treaty of peace.

(Signed) CHARLES, PRINCE OF
THURN AND TAXIS.

Ratisbon, Feb. 10, 1795.

Proclamation addressed to the Batavian Army by the States General.

Brave soldiers!

YOU who have given so many proofs of worth and courage, and who have revived the ancient glory of the Batavian heroes; you, like all your fellow-citizens, are equal and free. Your blood shall no longer flow to increase tyrannical power, or to give triumph to pride or ambition. No, brothers, you are discharged from the oath or promise that you have made to the late captain general. You will fight hereafter under the colours of liberty, for your country, for your homes, for your wives, for your children; for you shall be enabled freely to choose your wives, without being obliged to obtain permission from your commanders for that purpose. You shall be enabled to bear the respectable names of

of husband and father: the proud; the cruel, shall no longer treat you as slaves; you shall no longer feel the blows of the cudgel which was only made for ruling brutes, and not for governing free men; the old warrior, who has grown grey in arms, or who bears the scars of his wounds, those marks of his bravery, shall no longer be subordinate to the orders of young fools, who, by the title of an imaginary prerogative of birth, or of riches given by chance, have obtained the right to command as officers.

No: brave defenders of your country; virtue, capacity, or merit shall create hereafter to the rank of your officers. Any one of you shall be capable of attaining the highest military posts, who shall render himself worthy of them by his virtue, the knowledge he may have acquired, by his courage, by his obedience to the military laws, and by his attention to discipline so indispensable. Go then, brothers, acquit yourselves of your duty like brave men; serve the time of the engagements you have agreed upon. You shall not be compelled to remain an instant beyond the period for which you have enlisted, and no cunning artifice, no seduction, shall be employed again to subject you; but your free will, alone, shall oblige you, and your new companions in arms, to embrace the service of your country.

As soon as the army shall have been reformed and put upon a better footing, you shall be better clothed, better fed; and in making that reform we shall endeavour to convince you by our first actions, that what we now declare, relative

to your promotion, is not words only, nor vain sounds.

Brave Batavian soldiers, swear then, by a solemn oath, and in presence of the all-seeing Power, that you will be true and faithful to the country and to the sovereign Batavian people, of whom you yourselves are members. Embrace your French brethren who have delivered you from the yoke of slavery, and if it is necessary, fight like intrepid heroes by their side, for the liberty of mankind.

Done and decreed in the assembly of the States General of the United Provinces of the Low Countries at the Hague, the 27th of Feb. 1795, first year of Batavian liberty.
(Signed) W. QUARLES.

*Proclamation to the Dutch People,
from the Provisional Representatives of Holland, dated 26th March, 1795.*

WHEREAS we gave to the inhabitants of Holland, in our publication of the 4th of March, a true description of the melancholy situation of the finances of the country: every one must easily have been convinced of the necessity of restoring them, in order to extricate the country from the distress in which it is plunged, and to defend it vigorously against the threatened attack on the part of a nation which seemed formerly to be the friends of the Batavians, but which has already done great damage to them, and is now taking the necessary measures to attack them, as an avowed enemy, by force of arms, and to destroy them entirely, if possible. But whereas it is impossible to resist the enemy,

if we do not put our army and navy on a respectable footing, and whereas this cannot be done without some considerable sums of money, &c. &c.

Every inhabitant is therefore ordered to furnish, in the space of one month, all the uncoined gold and silver or plate which he possesses. Spoons and forks are excepted, as well as medals and personal ornaments, provided these last do not exceed in value 300 florins. The receipts shall be deducted from the sums which each individual will be bound to furnish for the grand operation of finance which is in meditation.

Proclamation from the Committee of Public Safety of the French Convention, to the Inhabitants of the Province of Guipuscoa, in Spain.

THE French people, forced to wage war by the coalition of the powers of Europe against their liberty and independence, after having driven them out of their territories, were obliged to follow them into their's, for their own security, and in order to obtain indemnities from them, to which the French people are entitled. But in conquering a territory formerly inhabited by their enemies, they have not forgot the principles of humanity and justice, which a generous and free people ought to bring with them where they come. This was the reason of the national convention having hastened to disown the horrors committed by the armies of the republic in the conquered countries in Spain, and particularly in the province of Guipuscoa. The agents of the tyranny which

has almost destroyed France, have been the cause that the name of the French has been tarnished in some places. These were bloodthirsty men, who carried desolation into foreign countries, after they had done the same in their own country.

The revolutions of the 9th Thermidor, and the 12th Germinal, have annihilated the guilty hopes of those perfidious men, and justice to all will, in future, be the constant order of the day. The committee of public safety is anxious to let the inhabitants of Guipuscoa know the decree of the national convention, with respect to the injustice done by our former governments. They think it their duty to proclaim, in the most solemn manner, the principles which guide the operations of the present government of France.

All the treaties, capitulations, and conventions, concluded between the agents of that government and those of the conquered countries, ought to be most religiously observed. All private property is sacred: he who violates it is a robber, and must be punished as such. The inhabitants of the conquered country must be governed according to their own laws and customs, and no innovation is permitted to be introduced.

The French people having proclaimed public worship, do not disturb that established in the conquered countries; the French people wish that public and religious opinions be respected. The French people revere old age, protect infancy, respect conjugal fidelity and modesty, and punish with severity those who violate them. If these principles have been violated in a conquered

conquered country, the inhabitants are invited to find out and accuse the guilty to the representatives of the people with the armies, and they may be assured that justice shall be done to them.

Given at Paris, at the national palace, the 1st Floreal, 20th April, 1795, third year of the Republic, one and indivisible.

(Signed) CAMBACERES, President;
MERLIN, TALLIEN,
LESAGE, ROUX,
F. AUBRY, J. P. LACOMBE,
MAREE, LAPORTE.

Declaration of the King of Prussia, to his Most High Colleagues, Co-States of the German Empire, and Members of the Germanic League, with respect to the treaty of Peace concluded between him and the republic of France, on the 5th of April, 1795.

HIS majesty the King of Prussia, &c. finds himself now in the happy situation of being able to announce to his most high co-states of the high and mighty German empire, an event, the agreeable and happy consequences of which so nearly concern the whole of Germany. The uncertain and dangerous war, which but too long for suffering humanity has spread to such an extent death and destruction around us, is now terminated on the part of his majesty. A happy treaty of peace between his majesty and the republic of France has been signed, on the 5th of April, 1795, at Basle, and has afterwards been ratified by the respective contracting parties. This treaty grants to the Prussian states a restoration of tranquillity and welfare, opens an easy road for the

states of the empire to attain the same beneficial and happy object; and already gives to a great part of Germany protection and security against all the misfortunes and the ravages of the war. His majesty, in expecting with the most just confidence, the consent and approbation of the whole of the empire, does not delay a moment to developé, with the utmost candour, his motives, his sentiments, and his wishes in concluding this peace.

His majesty flatters himself with the consciousness, that although his conduct, in this measure, has been forced, in some degree, by the imperious circumstances of the times, it has been as pure, and his views as liberal and disinterested as they have been hitherto, with respect to the great concerns which have employed the efforts of all Europe. His majesty is able, with conscious satisfaction, to submit his conduct to the judgment of his observing contemporaries, and to that of scrutinizing posterity; his interest in the whole of this war has never been his individual interest; he has taken a part, not from views to his own advantage or benefit, but wholly from pure motives of zeal for the general welfare, and from patriotic wishes for the security and defence of our attacked and oppressed mother country of Germany.

His majesty in these liberal views, and in the general concern of Germany, has not only faithfully and perfectly fulfilled his obligations as a member of the Germanic league, and as a state of the empire, but has far exceeded his power, by making extraordinary sacrifices: by the utmost unexampled exertions, by straining every nerve of the
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powerful body of the Prussian states. His majesty has carried on a bloody war for three long years with a great and choice army, at a distance from the Prussian states, in a foreign and almost exhausted territory, amidst the most extraordinary dearth of all necessities—amidst the greatest possible obstacles of every kind, and subject to an immense exportation of specie from his own dominions, in a contest against an enemy, powerful on account of its forces and its successes in the war.

His majesty has employed every means, and exhausted every effort, in order to remove from the German territories the devastating torrents, and the enterprizes of this dreadful enemy; and at all times has directed his efforts so as to deserve to be considered as the protector and saviour of Germany. Posterity will undoubtedly shew itself thankful to the Prussian armies, for having saved the German empire, in the beginning of this war, from the first powerful and rapid invasion made by general Custine, before any declaration of war had been issued by the empire, or any hostile preparation had been made; when, after that powerful enemy had rushed and penetrated almost into the very heart of Germany, the courageous Prussian armies, with their wonted discipline and military skill, succeeded in driving them from the territories of the empire, in re-conquering from them the fortress of Mentz and the opulent town of Frankfort, and in re-uniting and securing the German empire, which had already been torn asunder.

Posterity will be thankful to those troops, who, during three cam-

paigns, in which the armies of the allies, on the banks of the Rhine, on the right as well as on the left, met with the greatest misfortunes, have always persisted in defending the banks of that river, and have proved themselves the unshaken rampart of the heart of Germany, which they defended with the greatest courage and perseverance; and who, when perverse fortune had lost to the allies the United Netherlands, and when the undefended north of Germany stood open to the entrance of the victorious enemy, hastened to the places where danger threatened in the most formidable shape; and at last succeeded in saving and securing, together with the Westphalian dominions of his majesty, all the neighbouring circles, as well as in defending the countries of the empire, situated behind that new theatre of the war.

In this service of the common cause of all Germany, the Prussian blood was spilt in great abundance, and the states of Prussia totally drained of specie, even at a time when he king was partly involved in another war, and when the provinces of the other extremities of his monarchy were obliged to defend themselves against the insurrections and incursions of the neighbouring Poles, in which defence his majesty was afterwards forced to employ the remainder of his armed forces.

Every observer, well acquainted with the real power of the Prussian states and their resources, must, from the strained bravery of the troops in the hostilities carried on, on both sides, in this depopulating, destructive, and fatal war, principally at such a distance from the
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Prussian states, have concluded that at last the very nerves of the body of the Prussian monarchy would become weakened, and the continuation of a foreign and distant war must at last become entirely impossible.

His majesty has often communicated these circumstances for the information of his high colleagues, the members of the Germanic league, and his co-states of the German empire. This was particularly done in the beginning of last year, when his majesty was obliged openly to declare to the German empire, that it was become entirely impossible for him singly, and without assistance, to continue to bear the heavy burthen of this war; and that if the empire would not undertake to supply his troops with every thing necessary, he would find himself forced to withdraw his troops from the campaign, and to abandon the empire to its fate. But his just demands, in this respect, were every where received with coolness, disapprobation, and even contempt. This ill success of the just and well-founded claims of his majesty tended to disgust his liberal mind, and he began to meditate on the means of extricating his dominions from the dangerous situation in which they were involved.

At that period proposals of subsidies were fortunately made to his majesty from the court of Great Britain, which satisfied the claims of his majesty, and which furnished him with the means of continuing the war. His partaking in this war hitherto had always been the disinterested result of a true attention to all his connexions, and union with the other states of Ger-

many, and particularly of his zeal to oppose the destruction that was likely to be spread by the faction which at that time was raging in France, and to counteract the horrors which the latter carried to the utmost pitch; evidently proving his majesty to have acted merely from a pure patriotic attachment to his mother-country of Germany, and from a profound sensibility, which induced him to endeavour to strengthen its shaken foundation, and with all his energy to recover its declining preponderance. His majesty then embraced the propositions of Great Britain, and the distressed empire continued to enjoy the protection of the Prussian arms.

The subsidies, however, were but a very limited relief to the efforts of his majesty in the continuance of the war; they did not continue long enough; at last they discontinued entirely, and the whole burthen of the war fell again upon his majesty alone, and upon his means of carrying it on.

Had his majesty at that time abandoned the empire, according to his previous declarations, to its own feeble defensive force, its fatal destiny would soon have been decided, particularly at that period when no dawn of peace had yet made its appearance; when every where on the German frontiers, and in the advanced countries of Germany, nothing but misfortune was raging; when every where a sorrowful conjecture predicted the fate undergone by all the states of the empire beyond the Rhine, and that the greatest part of unprotected Germany would become subject to the same fate with the Imperial Netherlands, notwithstanding their

having been defended with the most extreme and energetic exertions; and that the United Netherlands, which at that time were threatened in the most dangerous manner, would also fall into the hands of the conquerors.

The king, however, at that very crisis, persevered as the active defender of the German empire; his army marched at one time to the most threatened parts, at another to that of the open parts of the north of Germany, which latter they secured against the supernumerary forces and the victorious armies of the advancing enemy.

But these continued sacrifices, the march of a numerous army of his majesty to Westphalia, and the difficulties of providing that army with the scarce necessaries, and particularly with corn, in territories but little fertile, and totally exhausted, formed the last effort of the Prussian state in favour of the war. After a continual and immense draining of finances from the Prussian territories, which lasted for three years; after an uninterrupted warfare, weakening and diminishing the troops; after the Prussian territories on the other bank of the Rhine had fallen into the hands of the enemy; the sensible influence of these events upon the population, the provisions and welfare of the other provinces, rendered the continuance of this war entirely impossible for his majesty; if it was to be supported merely by means of his own capacity, and the resources of his dominions.

And what other remedies were at that time offered to his majesty; when the empire itself even refused to furnish provisions for the Prussian troops who were combating

for its defence and security? And even at present, when the troops in exhausted Westphalia ran the risk of fighting against the most formidable enemy, under the disadvantage of an insufficiency of provisions, and when the neighbouring and opulent states, who eagerly wished for defence, far from granting them provisions to fill their magazines, even refused permission to export provisions from their territories. The extraordinary and monstrous expences of his majesty, in consequence of the re-conquest of Mentz, and of other extraordinary undertakings, in which the Prussian army alone executed that which was the duty of an army of the empire, have remained unliquidated, although the treasure for the operations of the war of the empire is destined particularly for such objects, and to which considerable contributions of the Roman months (so called) have been furnished by the several states of the empire, and which even upon repeated claims of his Prussian majesty, deducting what is due to the same contributions from his own dominions, have yet remained unsatisfied.

What assistance in this warfare could his majesty expect for the future from any other power of the allies? Particularly as by the reduction of the United Netherlands, the number of the powers combating against the enemy of the empire were so extremely diminished, and that, by this means, the weakest side of Germany had been opened to them, through which they easily could penetrate into its very heart. Every where traces were seen of the continual miscarriage of the arms of the allies,

lies, which even left no hopes for a future possible success. Every where the most total exhaustion was discovered, as the natural consequence of extraordinary exertions.

Even his Imperial majesty, upon whom depended the most powerful exertions of the war, having in it such a manifold pressing and immediate interest, who could in a more easy manner, furnish strong forces, in the middle of last year, made no secret in declaring to the German states, that he was unable any longer to save that empire, without a particular assistance in men and money. What resources then remained to the empire, which could expect only to be abandoned to itself, and to the weakness of its diminishing power of defence? This defence, it is true, was increased by a quintuple armament; but it could expect no greater effect from this measure, than from the triple contribution, particularly since so many countries of the empire had been conquered by the superiority of the French arms, of whose assistance the empire is now deprived, and since the principal states of the empire are at present exhausted by the misfortunes and the expences of the war, and some others are too impotent, and in no state of defence; in this war, as well as in preceding ones, the experience is confirmed, that the formation of the measures for a war of the empire must always be deficient and weak, on account of its being composed of such a number of divided parts, in order to form the whole, that it can never have activity sufficient without the assistance of other powers.

To these considerations, and to others particularly in consequence of the conclusion of last campaign, where on one side the desperate crisis seemed to threaten the most dreadful events, was added the important event on the part of France, where, upon the ruins of the destroyed system of terror, a mild and moderate government was seated upon the throne of power, who first displayed their wise sentiments on the necessity of peace for their country; this in Germany could produce but one wish, and could awaken but one desire.

When, therefore, after three dreadful years of death and destruction have entirely exhausted the war resources, and have made all further hopes of success vanish; when it appears clear and unquestionable that the powerful hand of Providence has given to the mighty stream of enterprizes, hostile to us, so decided a superiority, and rendered all future attempts against it fruitless; and when at the same time we see the enemy not disinclined to peace; and when all hopes predict to us that we certainly should obtain more by means of the latter than by an obstinate continuation of a destructive war; what choice is left to us? Would a wise and humane monarch, after this prospect, ever proceed in and continue the horrors of a war without any object of success or prosperity? Have not there been provinces enough unpeopled, and filled with misery and mourning? Has not suffering humanity been yet rendered sufficiently miserable?

The king of Prussia, therefore, declares his sincere wish that rest and tranquillity may soon be restored to the Prussian states, and if

possible to the whole of the German empire. The latter has even expressed the same general wish, having already opened a formal deliberation of the diet of the empire. Whole circles, and several of the most distinguished princes of the empire, have even applied to his majesty to make a common cause with them, and to negotiate for a peace. By means of the patriotic zeal of a number of states for their own as well as for the general interest of the empire, ensued the celebrated conclusum of the diet of Ratisbon, by which the empire, with dignity and moderation, expresses its wish for a peace, requesting the interference, for that purpose, of the principal head of the empire; and applying, secondly, to his majesty of Prussia, in order to invite him to co-operate in this important enterprize.

This co-operation of his Imperial majesty, in which his majesty the king of Prussia was only to be the secondary, has been delayed; and, on the contrary, all steps have been taken in order to enforce the contributions of the states to the armament for this campaign, however weak and hopeless they may be; and it seemed to have taken the turn, that notwithstanding the solemn declaration of the states of the empire in favour of a negotiation for peace, it is condemned to continue involved in this unfortunate war.

His majesty the king of Prussia, however, in a war of three years, had made the greatest exertions in the defence of the empire, and the greatest sacrifices, in order to procure its welfare and security, but has, after this continued experience, found all his efforts fruitless.

It is impossible for his majesty to sacrifice his existence, or to expose his collective states to destruction, in order to partake of experimental and delusive operations in war, the best possible result of which cannot be equally beneficial with a present negotiation for peace; and especially when all that regards his external and internal interests, all the sacred obligations which his majesty owes to the welfare of his provinces, who, wishing for peace and tranquillity, demand pressingly of his majesty for the present to renounce a war, the progress of which can only produce irreparable destruction.

His majesty, therefore, did not suffer the opportunity to pass away of commencing a negotiation for peace, to be carried on at Basle, between his and a French plenipotentiary; his good intentions have been blessed with a happy success, and his majesty is now able to enjoy the pleasure of a sovereign—a father to his subjects; that by this treaty of peace he has restored to his states tranquillity and undisturbed welfare.

To the German empire also his majesty has, in this important occurrence, displayed his patriotic attention and particular care. His majesty is not in the immediate power of procuring a formal and real peace to the empire, for to this would be required the principal head of that empire, and a direct authority on the part of all the states, to give sufficient legitimacy in the eyes of the French government, and particular instructions for the articles of the negotiation. In the mean time his majesty, from his own humane sentiments, respecting the deplorable situation of the

the empire, and in consequence of repeated applications made to him by several of the most distinguished states, has done all that lay in his power, in order to open a road by which the whole empire, as well as all the separate states, might arrive at the pinnacle of their wishes.

For this purpose an article has been expressly inserted in the treaty of peace that his majesty has concluded with the French republic, which allows, within three months time, any state of the empire to enter into a negotiation for peace with the republic of France, through the mediation of his majesty. A peculiar agreement has also been entered into between the two contracting powers, which establishes a line of separation and neutrality, tending to stop the progress of hostilities against all the provinces situated behind that line, whether under the dominion of his majesty or others, to which security and tranquillity is insured, on condition of their abstaining from all direct and indirect hostilities. His majesty has also obtained the surrender, on the part of the French republic, of all the prisoners made of the troops of any of the states of the empire, who had been taken, in co-operating with his majesty's troops in the different campaigns.

These are the advantages which his majesty is enabled to offer, for the present, to the states of the German empire: his majesty, therefore, flatters himself that they will all be struck with the ideas of their most important interests; and when once a hand is reached to them for peace and reconciliation, will there be any body inclined to reject these untried?

His majesty herewith makes the

most solemn promise to all those who shall immediately apply to France for a negotiation of peace, and at the same time may be in want of his mediation, that his endeavours shall be employed to the utmost of his power, in order to procure the most agreeable negotiation in their favour from the French government.

His majesty will think himself happy, his wishes completely fulfilled, and his sacrifices made hitherto for the welfare of the German empire, compensated, if he succeeds in these endeavours to spread the blessings of peace still farther, and soon to see the terrors and destructions of this dreadful war removed from the territories of the German empire, that its citizens may once more be restored to tranquillity and security, and to the happy exercise of their peaceable duties.

Whatever course these events may take, and if even the empire is doomed to a continuance of this war, it is his majesty's duty to declare, that by his treaty of peace he is obliged no longer to take any part in the contest, and never to co-operate in it by any means, whether to send his contingent, or to pay the so-called Roman months, which he is obliged fully to renounce, and only to conduct himself in the most punctual and strict neutrality, particularly as, during the three campaigns, his majesty has completely fulfilled his duty of a state of the empire, and even done infinitely more than could be required for many future years: so that his majesty cannot even reproach himself with any irregularity of conduct on his side.

His majesty has the satisfactory conviction

conviction to have contributed to the welfare of the German country, the security of its constitution, and its tranquillity; first, by an energetic exertion of a war of three campaigns, which seemed almost to surpass all physical possibility; and of having at last, by his patriotic care, opened a road for peace.—His majesty leaves to the enlightened opinion of his co-states of the empire to obtain, by this road, the object of their long-continued contest, namely, tranquillity and security; and hope that they may, for this purpose, take advantage of the proffered mediation of his majesty, and of the principles of moderation and justice at present adopted by the French republic.

(Signed, **FREDERIC WILLIAM.**
Berlin, May 1, 1795.

Proclamation from the National Convention to the Citizens of Paris,
May 24, 1795.

Citizens,

THE national convention, whose most ardent wish is to provide for the wants of the people, and who would long since have accomplished that wish, if the operations of the government had not been checked by the enemies of the public weal, think it their duty, at the moment of trouble and agitation, to point out to the good citizens the conduct which they ought to adopt, and the duties which they ought to fulfil.

Men, notorious for the infamous parts which they have played under the dreadful reign of the late anarchy, have organized a revolt under the name of insurrection. The other demands which

they connect with the demands for provisions, afford room to doubt whether their object is to complain of our melancholy situation in that respect, or to profit of it.

Disposed to arm those in want whom they irritate by the fears which they affect to entertain, and by the rejection of confidence, they pretend to be astonished at the unproductive nature of our commerce. Such, citizens, are the men whom you ought to distrust, and whose perfidious insinuations and seditious provocations you ought to repel; they offer to your view the dishonourable signal of revolt, which leads to slavery.

Your courage, and your love for the republic, your active zeal for the security of persons and property, are a guarantee to the national representation, that you will not acknowledge any other standard than that which has so often been honoured by victory, and which your children, brethren, and friends, love to see at the head of your phalanxes; that tri-coloured standard which, in remote countries, conquered by their intrepidity, present to their animated looks the precious and encouraging image of the country.

Citizens, the instigators of the troubles take good care not to disclose their secrets to you; they abhor peace because it will re-establish abundance and vivify industry. A treaty of peace was to be signed at Basle on the 16th of last Germinal. On the 12th they excited revolt. Negotiations entered into with activity and prudence, open to the government a pleasing perspective, and promise the most satisfactory result: these same disturbers of the public peace endeavour

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your to stifle, at its birth, the germ of your prosperity, and to break the thread of the political operations of those who govern.

Citizens, this is the moment in which you are going to gather the fruit of so many painful sacrifices; this is the moment in which a definitive government, the only remedy for the present evils, is on the point of being given to France, fixed on the bases of liberty and equality; in this moment, when you are entering the port, your internal and external enemies excite commotions and tempests, and throw this city and France against the rocks still blood-stained by anarchy.

Whatever perfidy may attempt, or anarchy undertake, the national convention, who by their courage will always be worthy of their post, will open neither the hall of the jacobins nor the temple. The genius of liberty animates them; strong in the confidence of all good citizens, they will know how to fulfil their functions, and to make an honourable termination of their career. It is painful to us, citizens, to direct your attention in this moment to any other object than that of subsistence. Your multiplied and pressing wants affect our sensibility, and have long occupied our zeal; but can we speak of the miseries of scarcity, without referring to a disorganization which was the cause of it? Can we talk of ills, without referring to those who wished to increase them?

The convention, on their side, by redoubling, as much as possible their diligence and care to provide for your wants, hope to be seconded by the active patriotism of all good citizens who are the friends

of the laws, of liberty, and of peace, and who are attached by principle to the maintenance of property.

This well-founded hope, doubling its force, prepares success to the new measures of government relative to provisions, and will give you abundant resources in the present crisis; it will give to your enemies the opprobrium of a defeat, and to the republic the *eclat* and utility of a triumph.

Substance of the Emperor's Decree of Commission, dated Vienna, May 19, relative to the preparatory Measures for a Pacification, presented to the Assembly of the Diet of the Empire, at Ratisbon, on the 23d of May, 1795.

IT is well known, that on the 5th ult. a separate treaty of peace and friendship has been concluded at Basle, between the French nation and his majesty the king of Prussia, elector of Brandenburg, and co-state of the empire; and that it has since been ratified by both of the contracting parties.

The present urgent period appears to his Imperial majesty to require of him to express his opinion with frankness and candour, to the electors, princes and states of the empire, and to the German nation at large, in order to dissipate certain doubts and fears, which from ignorance of the real state of circumstances, from misunderstanding, or from other causes, which have originated in the minds and hearts of mankind, have been spread and inculcated, either by chance or design, with respect to the pure and sincere views of his Imperial majesty; in order also from his paternal

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nal affection towards the empire, to unite the electors, princes, and states; and, with an entire confidence in their patriotism, to concur with them in a constitutional manner, upon measures to be taken in this important conjuncture, which may agree with the fundamental rights of the constitution of the empire, with the system of the independence of the states, and with the dignity and integrity of the Germanic body. His Imperial majesty does not think it necessary to detail the instances of his conduct which prove his close adherence to the German constitution, and his zeal for its support, his constant care and energetic endeavours to preserve and increase the general welfare of the country; since the whole of his majesty's reign, from his ascending the Imperial throne to this moment, has been distinguished by his paternal care and love for the German empire, and by the immense sacrifices made by the house of Austria for its defence, and for the support of its constitution. His Imperial majesty continued to shew his constitutional intentions, and the sincere interest he took in the affairs of the empire, in his quality of its supreme chief, by approving of the principles laid down in the conclusion of the diet of the 22d of December last, in order to open a road for a just and lasting peace; when his Imperial majesty declared, that he was disposed to enter into preparatory considerations how to obtain this desirable object; observing at the same time, that it was necessary to invite his majesty the king of Prussia to co-operate in concert with his Imperial majesty, in accomplishing this wished-for

measure, in the manner in which it was proposed in the conclusion of the diet: and lastly, by the constitutional regard which his Imperial majesty has always paid to that *committal* decree.

He has given an assurance in his quality as chief of the empire, not only that he will in time give a special information to the general diet of the empire, of the success with which the preliminary dispositions shall meet; but also expressly invited the diet itself to co-operate ultimately in this object, in order to partake of the heavy burthen which his paternal cares for the empire are imposing upon his Imperial majesty: that he might, by this ulterior co-operation, receive a more efficacious assistance, in the same degree as his paternal conduct exerted itself in the present difficult political state of Germany, which shall always be sincere and active for the welfare of the empire.

In consequence of this disposition, which his Imperial majesty manifested, of seriously endeavouring to establish the means which tend to procure peace, he did not fail to take the first step in this salutary measure. On the 14th of February, in the present year, (the day when the decree of commission respecting the war of the empire, and the proposal of peace, was presented to the dictature in the diet of Ratisbon), his Imperial majesty gave orders to his ministers at the court of Berlin, to communicate the annexed note to the Prussian ministry.

This note, if considered through the whole extent of its contents, as well as with regard to the objects to which they relate, and particularly

particularly the paper which follows it, will evidently prove, that his Imperial majesty has been disposed to open in concert the preliminaries of such a negotiation as has been agreed upon by a decision of the diet; the basis of which his Imperial majesty had in some measure already paternally approved. His Imperial majesty there expressed the most pressing request, that he might obtain the assistance of his Prussian majesty, in order that, together with the authority given by the conclusum of the empire, the foundation might be laid for a negotiation, in which all the electors, princes, and states might co-operate for a speedy treaty of peace for the empire, according to the principles of the treaty of Westphalia; that all the states might send their deputies with full powers, and with instructions on the *materiale pacis*, as well as on the *modus tractandi*, in order to prevent all kind of contest according to the principles contained in the ancient acts of the empire. This end might have been obtained, if his majesty the king of Prussia had declared to the assembly of the empire, that he would employ every means to procure to the empire the peace and tranquillity which it so ardently wished; particularly whilst, according to the general rumors at that time, preparatory dispositions had already been made on his part, in order to enter into negotiations for peace.

The answer of the Prussian minister to the above declaration of his Imperial majesty's minister, dated February 26th,* arrived on

the 14th of March at the Imperial court. If on one hand, in this answer, the expression inserted in the conclusum of the diet, approved by the supreme chief of the empire, namely, "that the general wish of the states of the empire was to obtain a peace, conformable to the fundamental constitution of the empire," represented only a general wish for any peace whatsoever; on the other hand, his Imperial majesty cannot discover, in this answer, that disposition of co-operation, or that solicitude for the welfare of the empire, which he so ardently wished and expected for facilitating and accomplishing the great end of pacification. Besides, M. Hardenberg, the Prussian minister of state, set out from Berlin, on his way to Basle, a few days after the official note from the court of Prussia had been signed, with the character of minister plenipotentiary and with new powers, dated February 28th, in order to continue and bring to a conclusion the negotiations commenced between count Goltz and the plenipotentiary from the French government, by means of powers given to the count, dated the 8th of December, 1794.

The state of things have now taken a different aspect on account of this separate peace. His Imperial majesty thinks, in his paternal solicitude, and judges it necessary, that the electors, princes, and states, in order to accelerate a peace for the empire so generally wished, should, by the right of co-operation granted to them by the treaty of the peace of Westphalia,

* The two papers here alluded to immediately follow this memorial.

and the capitulation of the election, set aside all private contest, and, with a patriotic unanimity, open a deliberation in the diet, for the purpose of appointing a deputation of the empire, composed of as small a number of deputies as possible, to be sent to the first congress which may be appointed for obtaining a peace. These deputies should have full powers as deputies from the empire. The deliberations ought to extend upon these peculiar powers, to be conferred upon their sub-delegates, and lastly upon the instructions to be drawn up for the conduct of the deputies, respecting the *materiale pacis* and the *modum tractandi*, and afterwards a conclusum should be presented to his Imperial majesty, on all these objects: precedents to which may also be found in the ancient acts of the diet of the empire.

His Imperial majesty waits with the utmost solicitude and impatience for this conclusum of the diet. However, in virtue of the election capitulation enacted in the year 1790, under the reign of Leopold, the electors, princes, and states of the empire, have a right, independent of their faculty of appointing deputies to the congress of the peace of the empire, to send to the congress their own ambassadors for their private affairs and individual interest, which relate to the negotiation of peace; whilst, at the same time, they are warned by his Imperial majesty and by the empire, that, in the powers and in the instructions given to these peculiar ambassadors, the attachment to, and the union and harmony with his Imperial majesty and the empire, should always

be fully expressed; for, upon these alone, the true *supremacy* and the safety of the empire must rest.

The importance and the power of Germany are founded upon the happy concord of the general will of the states, loyally united to their chief; as well as its permanent welfare is founded upon the inviolability of the principles, and of the decisions of the diet of the empire. His Imperial majesty himself is subjected to the laws of the empire; but in his faculty of presiding as chief, in order to maintain them, he hopes that the electors, princes, and states, in this interesting business of the peace of the empire, will deviate in nothing from article VII. of the Westphalian treaty, and that they will regulate their conduct according to the decision of the diet of April 30, and in the mean time, that they will continue to fulfil the different obligations imposed upon them by the decisions of the diet respecting the war of the empire, which is still continued, until a convenient, acceptable, just, and equitable peace, shall be concluded, in a most constitutional form.

The following are the two papers alluded to in the preceding decree.

Copy of the Note delivered from the Emperor to the Prussian Ministry, at Berlin, by Prince Von Reuss, the Imperial Minister, dated Feb. 21, 1795.

THE contents of the most humble advice of the empire, addressed to his Imperial majesty by the general assembly of the diet, in which is
commu-

communicated its most anxious wishes to the chief of the empire, for an equitable, just, decent, and acceptable peace, cannot have remained unknown to the ministry of his Prussian majesty.

His Imperial majesty is of opinion that he cannot manifest, in a more candid and confidential manner, the constant paternal care for the security and welfare of the Germanic empire, which he has displayed ever since the commencement of his reign in the most indefatigable manner, and supported by the most extraordinary sacrifices of the resources of the arch-ducal house, and which have been acknowledged; in the most grateful terms, by the electors, princes, and states, as likewise his persevering attention with regard to the present critical situation of the Germanic empire, than it has been done in the most gracious decree of commission lately issued to the electors, princes, and states, a copy of which is here enclosed, and from which his Prussian majesty will farther be pleased to recognize the sentiments of the chief of the empire upon this most momentous concern of Germany, addressed by the general assembly of the diet of the empire.

Notwithstanding the sincerity of the Imperial paternal inclination of his Imperial majesty, to effect the preliminary introduction to obtain a peace congenial to the wishes of the empire, his Prussian majesty cannot but perceive the various great difficulties which attend, in the present critical juncture of affairs, the accomplishment of the peace so fervently desired. The more urgent is the care of

his Imperial majesty to obtain, by the concert to be opened with his Prussian majesty, on the preliminary introduction of pacificatory means, mentioned in the said advice of the empire and the Imperial decree of commission, that succouring assistance and Imperial paternal indulgence, which can further this pacific end by the basis of peace, established in the said advice of the empire, and most graciously ratified by his Imperial majesty; especially since his Prussian majesty has already previously declared to the general assembly of the Germanic diet, "that he will use every endeavour to procure to the empire that peace and tranquillity so fervently wished for;" and since, according to universal rumours, his Prussian majesty is reported to have already made some overtures for an attempt to negotiate a peace, the more intimate knowledge of which might perhaps facilitate the good offices of the chief of the empire.

While the undersigned, accredited Imperial minister at this court, has the honour to make this communication to the royal Prussian ministry, by the supreme command of his Imperial majesty, he recommends himself, &c. &c..

(Signed) VON REUSS.

Answer of the Prussian Cabinet.

WE testify our gratitude to prince Reuss, the Imperial royal ambassador extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary at this court, for the friendly communication made to us on the 21st inst. of the Imperial decree of ratification, which ensued upon the late advice of the empire, respecting

respecting the opening of the negotiations of peace. His majesty, our most gracious lord the king, to whom we communicated the contents, perceived in it, with pleasure, the fresh proof of Imperial paternal care, which is to be revered with gratitude by the whole empire, since his Imperial majesty gives his assent and approbation, as chief of the empire, to the expression of the general longing desire of the states of the empire for a speedy armistice and a tolerable peace; and since his Imperial majesty declares most graciously his readiness to make the preliminary introduction to the salutary end, which becomes even more, and, in all respects, the only and surest remedy to save the Germanic country, after the result of a war, as equally just as it has been unequally and most unsuccessfully waged.

Upon the question put in the said communication by his highness, the above-mentioned Imperial minister, we shall not omit to reply, that his majesty charged major-general count Von Goltz, when his majesty sent him some time ago to Basle, concerning the exchange of prisoners, to sound at the same time the sentiments of the French nation, with regard to a peace and the means of obtaining it.—The illness and subsequent death of the said count have, however, prevented all farther intimations. But nothing has been done in this respect, relative to the Germanic empire, nor could any thing be done, as the king's majesty had to wait in this respect the above-mentioned Imperial ratification, the advice of the empire containing propositions of peace, and the further overtures

from the pleasure of his Imperial majesty.

(Signed) FINKENSTEIN,
ALVENSLEBEN,
HAUGWITZ.

Berlin, Feb. 26, 1795.

The Members of the General Administration of East-Flanders, sitting at Ghent, to the National Convention of France, 3d February, 1795.

LEGISLATORS, amid the united voices that express the general satisfaction produced by your inviolable attachment to the principles of liberty, equality, justice, and probity, the administrators of East-Flanders present the homage of their attachment, and express their eagerness to see effected the incorporation of this interesting part of Belgium with the French republic. Yes, legislators, the inhabitants of this fine country are worthy of being French citizens. The love of liberty, that sacred fire which burns in your hearts, burns also in theirs. Frank in their character, energetic in their sentiments, they daily express their joy at the recital of the new triumphs, which, in the most rigorous season, procured to France the conquest of all Holland. A great number of their countrymen have long since given other proofs of their attachment to the republic. In your armies they have shed their blood for liberty, because they felt its worth, and abhorred every species of tyranny. They declare, that by releasing them from despotism, you have restored to them their country, which they will cherish for ever; and they feel in their hearts

hearts the principles and laws you have proclaimed. They would be at the height of their wishes if these salutary laws were executed in Belgium. Can you, legislators, refuse them the advantage of participating in the war and the prosperity of the French.

receive the benefit. Health and fraternity.

PERES.

HAUSMANN.

The Members of the Central Administration of Belgium to the National Convention.

Letter from the Representatives of the People with the Armies of the North, and Sambre and Meuse, to the National Convention.

Brussels, Feb. 15.

Citizen Colleagues,

THE central administrators of Belgium request us to transmit to you an address, in which they express in the most formal and precise terms, their wish for a speedy incorporation of their country with the French republic. In doing this, they observe, that they are only the organs of a majority of the people, who are eager to bear the name of Frenchmen, and to be associated in the glory of which that name calls up the idea. We received at the same time an address to the same effect from the commune of Mons. All the communes of Belgium express the same eagerness on this head; they all ardently desire that you would put an end to the state of uncertainty, in which their civil and political existence has fluctuated, since you for the second time rescued them from the yoke of tyranny. We invite you to consider in your wisdom their demand, and to pronounce a union, which we have promised in your name, and of which we think them worthy to

Legislators,
CALLED by the authority of your colleagues, under circumstances of difficulty, to the important and delicate functions of the administration of Belgium, we were to keep two points in view; the glory, the prosperity of the republic, and the happiness of the inhabitants of these provinces. Such were the views of the Belgians who sat among us, such the views of the French who share our labours. Public confidence reposes upon us, and it shall not be deceived. The sound and enlightened part of the people of Belgium have long aspired to a real incorporation with the French republic. They have demanded it more than once, and the reception you gave their demand two years ago, nourished the hope of their seeing the happy day in which they might say with enthusiasm, "We are Frenchmen." Your colleagues, by their proclamations, have already given to merited contempt divers agents denounced by public opinion, agents whose self-sufficiency and conduct formed so singular a contrast to republican manners. These proclamations tend to assure to the Belgians subsistence, and whatever is necessary for the preservation of their trade and manufactures. They have put a stop, in a great measure, to the evil of requisitions, and removed

moved the impediments to commerce. Hasten, legislators, to complete our regeneration. Belgium has suffered enough. Too long has it vegetated with half its liberty; it is time that it should recover the whole, and resume its ancient station among the Gauls. Pronounce the union, and you will destroy the ramifications of liberticide factions; you will silence the calumniators who insinuate to an honest and industrious people, that sacrifices have been required of them only to replunge them into slavery: you will defeat the hopes of those, who, for the reign of virtue, of justice, and the laws, would substitute a justly abhorred system of terror. If the Belgians have sometimes suffered themselves to be misled by hypocrites, they are not less deserving of your esteem upon that account, for what people is there whose energy has not been paralyzed at some time or another by ambitious men or pretended patriots? To you, legislators, it was reserved to lay the unperishable foundations of a republic, in which the love of principles will be the sole guide of the citizens. Recollect, however, that the Belgians, destitute of all means, and strong only in their courage, chased away their despot while France was still groaning under her's. While Batavia was receiving chains from an ambitious woman, did not Belgium give the first signal of the glorious revolution which you have accomplished? Did not Belgium, in 1787, give the first commotion to the conductor, whose parts electrified 25 millions of men who now enjoy liberty? Did not 30 battalions of Belgians and Liegeois share the perils of the heroes

of the republic? No, legislators, you will not suffer this people to be longer without a civil existence. You will not suffer us to be any longer an object of traffic for the tyrants of London, of Vienna, and Berlin. The French people will not make slaves. That generous people, which merits the admiration of the universe, is formed to love the Belgians, and to fraternize with them. Why defer proclaiming this union? it is then that the people of these countries will see their wounds begin to heal, and that their numerous sacrifices will seem light, because they will be sure of reaping the benefit of them. Hasten then, legislators, when our inhabitants shall go to learn of your Areopagus hatred of tyrants and love of virtue; when our youth, trained up in republican principles, will early accustom themselves to fight in defence of liberty and equality. The wish of honest men is to see our destinies united to those of France. This is our dearest hope, the only safety of Belgium. *Vive la Convention! Vive la République!*

Done at Brussels, in the sitting of the 23d Pluviose (Feb. 11), third republican year.

Letter from the Representatives of the French People with the Armies of the North, to the National Convention, dated Brussels, the 8th Ventose (26th February), 1795.

Citizen Colleagues,
I SEND you the wish of the city of Antwerp for its union with the republic. This desire is uttered throughout Belgium, in proportion as we draw near to the opening of the

the campaign, and this ought to assure you of its sincerity. Men will not brave tyrants, at the moment they present themselves to impose new chains upon them: they will not defy them, as it were, to their face; without an ardent love for liberty, and without a firm resolution to perish in its defence. Therefore the national convention has only to declare itself, and 40,000 Belgians are ready to unite themselves with the triumphant armies of the republic, to give the last blow to the impious coalition which dares to misrepresent it:

Health and Fraternity.

PÈRES.

The Representatives of the People with the Army of the North, and Sambre and Meuse, in a Letter from Brussels of March 7th, 1795, wrote to the Committee of Public Safety as follows:

BRUSSELS is tranquil, peace and content reign throughout Belgium. If any cries are heard, they are those of immediate union with the republic. I do not think it necessary to punish as seditious, the authors of such sentiments.

The Belgians, at first alarmed by the military contributions which were required and the various requisitions which were made, now confess that the law of conquest was mildly exercised. In short, the salutary regulations of the committee of public safety, which had facilitated the payment of the contributions, which have restored the hostages to their families, which have broken the fetters of commerce, which have erected for the first time, in this despotic coun-

try, the noble institution of trial by jury; all these benefits united tend to conciliate the affection of all persons, by convincing them that the French republic is as generous as it is powerful, and as benevolent towards the people as terrible towards despots. Such are the Belgians, and when they are represented to you in an unfavourable light, it is only to induce you to maintain that barrier which has existed between you and them; but soon shall you overthrow it, and the people of both countries shall join heart and hand to combat tyranny and defend liberty.

Health and Fraternity.

(Signed)

PÈRES.

Address of the Magistrates of Antwerp to the National Convention of France, read on the 2d of March, 1795.

REPRESENTATIVES,

AT length all our sufferings will be ended. The benevolent decree of the committee of public safety, dated the 22d Pluviose, tranquillizes all hearts. Disposers of our destiny, you manifest unequivocal intentions to ascertain it for ever. All the inhabitants of our commune present you the just tribute of their gratitude. From all parts of our provinces the people, rejoiced at the sight of your exploits, admire the happy change you have just effected.

Yes, citizens, all Europe, plunged in the horrors of fanaticism, hypocrisy pervading all hearts, despotism seated upon thrones, governing with an iron rod in his hand, made of all Europe one unhappy family, enslaved by the arbitrary will of a species of individuals,

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whose birth and distinguished origin seemed to entitle them to give laws to their equals. Nothing less than a magnanimous nation could subdue and disappoint the numerous plots which the declared enemies of the public good incessantly foment against her—who may at length uproot the ancient tree of feudalism, of despotism and tyranny, and cause the tree of liberty to flourish in its place.

We begin to breathe: a happy fraternity, a beneficent liberty, a perfect equality will be the immutable basis of our future felicity. Delighted with her happiness, which we presage from this auspicious fraternity, we can form no other wishes but to consolidate them by a happy union of our provinces, already reviving at the prospect of prosperity with that nation which alone was able to effect their felicity. It is this union alone which can give a durable happiness, which you have thus procured us; it is by means of this union, and under its auspices, we shall see plenty revive amongst us; it is this only that can make commerce flourish, which formerly was the inheritance of the inhabitants of our provinces; and the free navigation of the Scheldt will restore to our citizens that abundance which was only banished from us by our inability to draw it from its source.

You have broken our chains; complete our happiness by uniting us to you. Being become your brothers, and forming but one family with the glorious nation you represent, we shall for ever bless your exploits; and, safe under the shield of your victories, we shall no longer fear the despotism of those tyrants, under whose terrible

yoke we have groaned; and the nation, freed by your invincible troops, sharing with you the fruits of liberty, will become a nation of brothers and friends.—Long live the French republic over the face of the whole globe!

This was referred to the committee of public safety.

Letter from the Magistrates of Brussels, read in the Convention on the 9th of March, 1795.

Representatives of the French People,

THE city and district of Brussels, represented according to the ancient forms, by us, the great council, and by the nine nations consisting of the corporations of this commune, have freely declared by acclamation, their unanimous wish to be united with the French republic. Our deputies carried it to the committee of public safety on the 2d August last: persuaded that it will be found in the records of that committee, we request you to attend to it. If we are desirous of forming part of the French republic, it is because we think ourselves worthy of participating her glory and her happiness. *Vive la Republique! Vive la Convention!*

A similar letter was read from Liege.

Substance of a Rescript of the Emperor, dated Vienna, 22d April, 1795, and presented by the Imperial Minister to the Minister of the States of the Germanic Empire, at Ratisbon, on the 4th of May, 1795.

THE ministers of his Imperial majesty are charged to declare, in the

the name of his majesty the emperor and king, to the envoys representing the several princes and states of the holy Roman empire, that his majesty is ready to enter into negotiations with the French republic. His majesty, without being too mindful of his own interest, will consult thereby the real welfare of the empire, and make it his sole care to procure to the empire an acceptable, solid, and permanent peace. But his Imperial majesty has also, at the same time, the just confidence in all his co-states of the empire, that they will co-operate, with all their power, to accomplish this desirable end, and not enter into separate negotiations with the French republic. His Imperial majesty expects, however, the speediest declaration on this subject, and the Imperial co-commissioner will soon present a declaration from the emperor and king, explanatory of the sentiments of his Imperial majesty. In other respects, his Imperial majesty cannot conceal, that the separate treaty of peace concluded on the part of his Prussian majesty, even in his quality of a prince and co-state of the empire, has been most unexpected to him.

Substance of a Declaration made May the 12th, 1795, to the Ministers of the States of the Empire, in the Name of the Emperor, by Baron Huegel, his Ambassador and Commissary at Ratisbon.

ALTHOUGH his Imperial majesty has been disappointed with respect to the conduct of the king of Prussia, who sent his minister,

Hardenberg, to Basle, where the well-known separate peace with France was concluded, without the concurrence of the states of the empire, his majesty the emperor, in order to comply with the wishes of the empire, is busily employed in taking measures in order to obtain the accomplishment of that object also; and notwithstanding the present disturbances in France, and the crisis to which the affairs in that country are come at present, seem to warn us not to be too hasty in a negotiation for peace; his majesty assures the states, that he constantly has this important object in view, and that he continues his endeavours, in order to comply with the general wishes of the states of the empire.

His Imperial majesty, however, reposes so much confidence in the states of the empire, as to hope that with respect to a peace, their conduct will be directed according to the eighth article of the treaty of peace of Westphalia, and to the resolution of the empire of the 30th of April, 1793; that they will remain united according to the constitutional laws of the empire, so as not to separate from the Germanic league, and zealously to continue the armaments for the defence of the empire, without which neither a reasonable nor a solid peace can be expected.

Substance of the Emperor's second Rescript to the Diet of Ratisbon, represented in the middle of May, 1795.

HIS Imperial majesty, as a state and member of the empire, ardently desires to concur in procuring a peace for Germany. How-

ever much at the same time he wishes to effect this, the Germanic body should unite with its chief to treat under his auspices, conformable to the constitution; for, as a sovereign, he cannot but regard truces or partial treaties as dangerous measures: his Imperial majesty, in advertising the co-governments of this danger, has only in view the support of the German constitution, and the forming of a bulwark of the force and co-operation it is his wish to preserve—he invites his co-sovereigns to declare, either in a body or individually, what measures they propose to adopt, in case of a detached pacification being preferred, regardless of the consequences of the inevitable anarchy that must ensue: his Imperial majesty, however desirous to support his allies, must in that case concentrate his strength in his own dominions.

Substance of the Address which accompanied the Medal which the Danish Nation sent to their beloved Minister of State, Count Bernstorff.

TO the man of the king and the country, the noble Bernstorff, who taught Europe that true state policy constituted in justice, and peace maintained with a courageous constancy, are the greatest honours of a government; this mark of gratitude is sent by his grateful fellow-citizens for the great blessings which, for the benefit of mankind and the state, have been promoted for some years past. This day, so dear and important to both the kingdoms, was fixed upon by their faithful sons, in order to

render deserved thanks to the most worthy of citizens.

On the part of the Danes and Norwegians who are attached to their king and country.

January 1, 1795.

Substance of the Treaty between Great-Britain and the Dey of Algiers, concluded at the close of the year 1795.

THE Algerines shall be permitted to carry their prizes to Corsica, and to sell them publicly there.

There shall be sent monthly from Corsica a vessel, which shall fetch from Algiers private letters or commercial advices.

The English shall not, under any pretext, obtain possession of what shall be found on board an Algerine ship. In case the property of the ship become the object of dispute, it shall be referred to the Dey to decide.

The Algerines grant freedom to all the Corsican slaves, and permission to fish in the environs of the coast. In consequence of this arrangement the Dey is allowed to draw a draft upon the viceroy of Corsica, for the sum of 179,000 piastres of Algiers, independently of another sum of 24,000 piastres, for the payment of a cargo of grain taken by the English, which was Algerine property under Swedish colours.

Proclamation to the People of France, upon the Completion of the Constitution.

Men of France,
AFTER long storms you are about

about to decide upon your fate, by pronouncing upon your constitution. Long has the country loudly called for a free government, the wisdom of whose principles should be the guarantee of its duration.

Have your representatives attained this end? They think they have—they have at least desired to attain it. Citizens, who love order and tranquillity, accept the pledge of it: it consists in the government that is offered to you; that alone, by giving us peace, can restore prosperity and plenty.

Men of France, citizens of all professions, of all opinions, rally for the interest of the country. Above all, do not make retrograde steps to the point from which you set out. Ages have passed within six years: and though the people may be tired of revolution, they are not tired of liberty. You suffer, it is true, but it is not by making fresh revolutions—it is by completing that which is begun that you will terminate your miseries.

No, you will not impute to the republic which hitherto has not been organized, the ills which cannot be re-produced under a government free without licentiousness and strong without despotism.

Sovereign people, hear the voice of your representatives. The project of the social compact which they offer to you was dictated by the desire of your happiness; it is for you to attach your destiny to it. Consult your interest and your glory, and the country is saved.

Republic of France and the Landgrave of Hesse Cassel.

THE French republic having accepted of the good offices of the king of Prussia in favour of his most serene highness the landgrave of Hesse Cassel, and being animated with the same sentiments as the landgrave, to make a solid and permanent peace succeed to a war which had disunited them, in consequence of which the contracting powers have appointed as follows:

The French republic, on her part, Citizen Francis Barthelemi, her ambassador in Switzerland, and the landgrave of Hesse Cassel, his privy counsellor Frederick Sigismond baron of Waitz d'Eschen.

Which ministers, after having exchanged their respective powers, agreed upon the following articles:

Art. 1. There shall be peace, friendship, and good understanding between the French republic and the landgrave of Hesse Cassel.

2. In consequence of which all hostilities between the two parties shall cease from the ratifications of the present treaty, and none of the two powers shall after that period furnish against each other, under whatever quality or condition it may be, succours or contingent, either in men, horses, provisions, money, ammunition, or other things.

3. As long as the war shall be continued between the French republic and England, the landgrave shall neither prolong it or renew the two subsidiary treaties existing between him and England.

This disposition will begin to have its effect from the date of the present treaty.

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Treaty concluded at Basle, on the 11th Fructidor, (Aug. 8th), between the

4. With respect to the passing of any troops whatever through his states, the landgrave shall conform himself to the dispositions stipulated in the convention concluded at Basle, on the 17th of May, 1795, between the French republic and the king of Prussia.

5. The French republic will continue to occupy the fortress of Rheinfelds. The town of St. Goor, and the part of the county of Katzenellenbogen, situated on the left bank of the Rhine; the definitive arrangements with respect to these countries remain suspended, until a general pacification between the French republic, and the parts of Germany which are yet at war with the republic.

6. All commercial communications and relations shall be re-established between France and the states of the landgrave of Hesse Cassel, on the footing on which they were previous to the war.

7. Both the respective governments, and the individuals of the two nations, shall grant to each other a restoration of all goods or property of any kind whatever, detained, seized, or confiscated, on account of the war which has taken place between France and Hesse Cassel, as also speedy justice, with respect to debts existing in the states of the respective contracting parties.

8. All the prisoners made respectively since the beginning of the war, without consideration of the number or rank, shall be delivered up to each other within two months, at the latest, after the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty, without any reclamation of expences: paying, however any debts of the privates,

which might have been contracted during their captivity. The same shall be observed with respect to the sick and wounded, immediately after their recovery.

Commissioners shall be appointed, on both parts, to proceed to the execution of this article: the dispositions of which shall be applied to the Hessian troops in the service of England, and who have been made prisoners of war.

9. The present treaty to have no effect until it is ratified by the contracting parties, and the ratifications to be exchanged in this town of Basle, within a month from this day, or sooner if possible.

We, the undersigned, plenipotentiaries of the French republic, and of his most serene highness the landgrave of Hesse Cassel, in virtue of our respective powers, have signed this present treaty of peace, and have sealed it with our respective seals.

Done at Basle, the eleventh of the month Fructidor, of the third republican year, and the 28th of August, 1795.

(Signed) FRANCIS BARTHELEMI,
FREDERIC SIGISMOND,
Baron of Waitz d'Eschen.

Decree for incorporating the Austrian Netherlands, &c. with the French Republic.

Art. 1. THE decrees of the national convention of the 2d and 4th of March, and of the 8th of May, 1793, which annexed the countries of Liege, Stavelot, Logue, and Mal-midy, to the French territory, shall be

be executed according to their form and tenor.

2. The decrees of the national convention of 1, 2, 6, 8, 9, 11, 19, and 23 of March, which annexed to the French territory Hainault, Tournaisis, the country of Namur, and the majority of the communes of Flanders and Brabant, shall be in like manner executed.

3. The national convention accepts the wishes expressed in 1793, by the communes of Ypres Grammont, and other communes of Flanders, of Brabant, and that part of Austrian Gueldres not comprised in the said decrees, for their union with the French territory.

4. All the other countries, on this side the Rhine, which were, before the present war, under the dominion of Austria, and those which have been reserved to the French Republic by the treaty concluded at the Hague, the 27th of last Floreal, between their plenipotentiaries and those of the republic of the United Provinces, to which none of the dispositions of the present decree attach, shall be also united to the French territory.

5. The inhabitants of the countries of Liege, Stavelot, Logue, Malmidy, and those of the communes of Belgium, comprised in articles two and three of this decree, shall enjoy from the present moment all the rights of French citizens, provided they possess in other respects the qualifications required by the constitution.

6. With respect to the communes comprised in the fourth article, the inhabitants shall enjoy, until it shall be otherwise provided, all the rights guaranteed by the constitution to strangers who re-

side in France, or possess property there.

7. The countries mentioned in the first four articles of the present decree, shall be divided into nine departments, viz. the Dyle (Brussels, chief place); the Scheldt, (Ghent, chief place); Gemappes, (Mons, chief place); Des Forets, (Luxembourg, chief place); the Sambre and Meuse, (Namur, chief place); De Lourthe, (Liege, chief place); La Meuse Inferieure, (Maestricht, chief place); Des Deux Nettes, (Antwerp, chief place): La Lys, (Bruges, chief place).

8. The representatives of the people sent to Belgium, are charged with fixing the different boundaries of these departments, and to divide them into cantons like other parts of the republic.

9. They shall nominate provisionally the functionaries who shall compose the administrations of the departments, those of the cantons, and the tribunals of the countries of Limbourg, Luxembourg, Maestricht, Venloo, and their dependencies, with Dutch Flanders.

10. The legislative body shall determine the number of representatives of the people each of the departments formed, according to article 7; shall nominate, conformably to the constitution, at the epoch of its renewal, which shall take place the fifth year of the republic.

11. The representatives of the people, sent to Belgium, shall take care that the extraordinary contributions levied on these countries, and forming their contingent of the expences of the war and liberty, be levied and paid.

12. The custom-houses now existing,

isting, whether between France and the countries mentioned in the first four articles of the present decree, or between the different parts of the same countries, shall be suppressed. Those which are established between these same countries, the United Provinces, and the countries not annexed between the Meuse and the Rhine, shall remain as before.

*Proclamation to the French People,
October 7.*

Frenchmen,

ONE of the most extensive conspiracies to be recorded in the annals of the French revolution, was on the point of breaking out. For a long time the royalists had been arranging their plot: incendiary libels, corrupt manœuvres, all the means of stock-jobbing, and artificial scarcity, had been employed. They hoped to subdue the defenders of the national convention, and of the country. Not content with sowing amongst the citizens the seeds of war, they attempted to introduce division among the representatives of the people. They chose the period of the primary assemblies for the accomplishment of their purpose. The nation already know how far they had usurped the rights, how far they had tried the patience of the people and their representatives. They could not, however, succeed in wearying them out. The national convention, calumniated, torn in pieces, proscribed by some sections; superior to personal outrages, but too indulgent, perhaps, to crimes directed against the rights of all,

by their decree of the 11th Vendémiaire, granted to some sections four days to terminate their elections. It even promised to the agitators pardon for their disobedience to laws previously proclaimed—they despised its clemency—they provoked its justice. The time granted them for repentance, they employed to fill up the measure of their crimes. On the day of the 12th, they were incessantly engaged in publishing horrible proclamations. They loudly called for civil war—they took up arms in order to carry it on, and even fixed the hour at which they intended to commence it. Summoned to lay down their arms and to obey the laws, they resisted. A central commission was established under their bayonets, and, as if infatuation had seized the wretches, they thought themselves sufficiently strong to bring forward, for their electorate, and for the presidency of their commission, one of the most audacious writers in favour of royalty. They created an army, named generals, and prepared to renew the dreadful day of the 31st of May. Their parricidal bands were seen to approach in six different sections. Some atrocious intriguers, as on the 2d of June, were employed to deceive a credulous multitude. They marched almost 30,000 strong—they came from all quarters to surround the representatives of the people at the place of their sittings. A hope was yet cherished, that they would stop on the brink of the precipice. The defenders of the convention had express orders to disregard all commotions, and by all means to avoid, at whatever price, any effusion of the blood of the citizens; but perfidious foreigners

reigners and ferocious emigrants, with their worthless accomplices, were desirous to complete their crimes. They commenced with the basest treason. The perfidious troops approached, they lowered their muskets, lifted their hats, presented the colours of their battalion, and uttered expressions of fraternity; and at the moment when the chief of the section was proceeding to embrace the commandant of the post of the insurgents, made two discharges of musketry on the soldiers of liberty, and killed twenty-three warriors. An engagement immediately took place in several quarters.

Frenchmen! Between the conquerors of Fleurus, of the 14th of July, and of the 10th of August, on one side, and the satellites of Louis XVIII. on the other, the engagement could not be long; and the avenging cannon, whose noise still vibrates, will teach the brother of the last of our tyrants, stationed near the abbey of Bourg-neuf, that he in vain expects any effects from those movements so long prepared, and that the only passage, which, in his vain hope, he saw open to the gates of the convention, is now shut for ever.

Frenchmen, the national convention has been contending for that constitution, which hypocrites embraced, only in order to destroy it; and, as there is no calumny so absurd, which the fury of the sections does not attempt to propagate, they accused us of wishing to continue in our functions at the moment when we were within ten days of the period of the convocation of the legislative body.—While we were proclaiming the pardon of injuries, and the oblivion of cr-

rors, they brought forward the charge, that we were desirous to restore the scaffolds of terror. No, never, never shall the dreadful government of Robespierre again weigh down our country. Who could have more interest to oppose its restoration than we, who ourselves were so long its victims, and who at last were its conquerors? But it is time that a salutary fear should take possession of the hearts of the ruffians who had dug under our feet the tomb of the republic, and who were preparing the destruction of all the friends of liberty persecuted under different pretexts. They shall be punished—those who adopt their projects shall be repressed. Notwithstanding their efforts, we will here maintain the security of persons and property; we will once more rescue this great commune from the consequences of its own fury, and we will compel the enemies of its peace to acknowledge, that between all parts of the republic the most perfect equality ought to reign.

Frenchmen! the national convention will preserve for you the precious deposit of your new laws; it is watching over your dearest interests; it recommends to you oblivion of animosities, but vigilance with respect to the malevolent; it invites you to tranquillity and union.

Proclamation from the Executive Directory to the French People, dated Dec. 31.

THE legislative body, and the executive directory, animated with the same spirit, have sought with perseverance the means of re-establishing

lishing the national credit; and there is reason to hope, that by means of the resources now at the disposal of the government, we approach to the end of our evils. The executive directory will employ all its efforts to second them, and give them efficacy. Abuses shall be extirpated; the most rigid reform shall be made in every part of the administration: the constitution shall be maintained with firmness; the enemy shall be pursued without ceasing; anarchy shall be crushed; and all factions shall be destroyed with equal vigour.

Patriotic agents, of probity and information, shall in all parts of the republic actively execute the laws and the measures of government; and, if in the multitude, which the executive directory has at once been obliged to choose, it has named intriguers or evil-disposed persons, it will be anxious to reform its errors when they have been demonstrated by experience.

It is with this vigilance that the state will be enabled to supply all its wants; that the price of goods will be brought within the power of the consumer; that we shall be enabled to provide every thing necessary for those brave armies, who have shewn an heroic perseverance in the midst of the most pressing wants, and have invariably forgot their own sufferings in their anxiety for the safety and glory of the republic.

We find it our duty, however, to advise you, that expiring royalty and stock-jobbing unite all their efforts against a plan, of which the success will be their ruin: we are assured, that England has poured in her treasures to raise the price

of money; that the stock-jobbers have made great sacrifices to obtain that end; and to prevent the success of the measures about to be adopted by the legislative body; but it is easy to perceive that this undue lowering of the assignats, if it takes place, can only prolong itself till the term of the first payment of the forced loan; for then the guineas of England, already exhausted, will fail in opposing the genius of liberty! and the ruin of those atrocious men, whose avarice devours us, will be the consequence of their own manœuvres.

Frenchmen! instructed by six years of revolution, you will not abandon to avarice the fruit that you ought to gather yourselves! you shall not be reduced by the tricks of stock-jobbing, which, to lower the public credit, and to raise the price of goods on which it speculates, one time makes an insidious sale of money, and another circulates the most alarming news by the mouths of the false, and by their perfidious journals; one time it is reported, that the executive directory refuses all propositions of peace, when, on the contrary, it is the object of all its wishes, and that our enemies only keep peace at a distance, in the chimerical hope of destroying France, and reducing it to the fate of Poland.

A generous indignation against so many base and criminal projects will redouble your energy and your courage: all of you should unite yourselves to give success to the measures which can alone secure to the indigent his bread, and to the opulent his life and fortune.

As for us who, always guided by the desire of saving the republic,

we think only on the means which ought most powerfully to unite all parties, to restore confidence, and bring back abundance and peace; we will second the wishes of the true citizens, in causing the laws to be executed with the greatest firmness and activity.

RAWBELL, president.

Letter from Louis XVIII. to the Archbishop of Paris, residing in Switzerland.

My cousin,

I HAVE received the letter, which in conjunction with the bishops of Langres, Nismes, and St. Malo, you have written me in the name of the faithful part of my clergy, residing at Constance. I gratefully acknowledge the concern you take in my grief, on account of the decease of the king, my nephew; and the attachment you profess for my person. I accept with submission the burthen which Providence has been pleased to charge me with; and I should even accept it with joy, if I might hope to become the instrument of its mercy, for restoring to the Christian kingdom its religion, so cruelly persecuted by those who usurp my throne.

I charge you to return my thanks to the three bishops, as well as to all the clergy who have expressed their kindness towards me through you; and tell them, in my name, to offer up the most ardent prayers to that God, through whom monarchs reign, that he may condescend to restore to my love my subjects, and to my subjects, by my intervention, those laws which have so long maintained my king-

dom in a flourishing condition; but above all, to restore to them the precious gift of faith.

Wherewith, I pray to God, my cousin, to hold you in his holy and worthy keeping.

At Verona, the 15th of June, 1795.

(Signed) LOUIS.

Letter from Louis XVIII. to the Pope.

Verona, 24th June.

IT is with the most lively sorrow I inform your holiness of the death of king Louis XVII. my honoured lord and nephew, who on the 8th of this month sunk under the pressure of the rigorous treatment which he incessantly experienced from the assassins of his august father. Become by his death most Christian king, I am sensible of the obligations which such a title imposes upon me; and the first of my cares will be, to make the Roman Catholic religion flourish in my kingdom. Your holiness has long been acquainted with my sentiments of veneration for your person, and attachment to the holy see. You will always find me in the eldest son of the church, who implores your apostolic benediction. I am, most holy father, your holiness's very zealous son,

(Signed) LOUIS.

Answer of the Pope to the Letter of Louis XVIII.

PIOUS VI. to our very dear son in Jesus Christ, Louis XVIII. of France and Navarre, the most Christian king.

My

My very dear son,

IT WAS with real regret that we learned the premature death of your illustrious and unfortunate nephew, with the melancholy circumstances attending it. We have not ceased to invoke Divine Providence that he may deign to fortify and encourage your majesty, that you may be enabled in these times of calamity to support the burthen of the crown of your ancestors.

The misfortunes and adversities that have incessantly pressed upon you since your departure from France, have been intimately felt by every one. But to these misfortunes there is an end Confide then in the infinite mercy of the Almighty; he alone will decide between you and the French people, whether they ought to be republicans, or whether they shall be subject to a king. His will, which shall be freely made known by the people in the new national organization, shall undoubtedly decide upon that heroic sacrifice which is worthy to be made by a soul like yours in favour of the repose of human kind. The unequivocal principles of equity which have superseded the barbarous system of terror under which France has groaned, give us the reason to hope that pacific resolutions will be the fulfilment of the designs of the Almighty:

Very dear son, whatever these may be, constantly depend upon our paternal solicitude, and the tender interest we shall not cease to take in the concerns of the eldest son of the church.

We give your majesty our apostolical benediction, and pray to

God that he will protect your lawful rights.

(Signed) Pius VI.

PROCLAMATION OF LOUIS
XVIII.

LOUIS, BY THE GRACE OF GOD,
KING OF FRANCE AND NAVARRE,

To all our subjects, greeting.

In depriving you of a king, whose whole reign was passed in captivity, but whose infancy even afforded sufficient grounds for believing that he would prove a worthy successor to the best of kings, the impenetrable decrees of Providence, at the same time that they have transmitted his crown to us, have imposed on us the necessity of tearing it from the hands of revolt, and the duty of saving the country, reduced, by a disastrous revolution, to the brink of ruin.

The fatal conformity which subsists between the commencement of our reign and the commencement of the reign of the fourth Henry, operates as an additional inducement with us to take that monarch for our model, and imitating, in the first instance, his noble candour, we shall now lay open our whole soul before you. Long, too long have we had to deplore those fatal circumstances which imperiously prescribed the necessity of silence; but now that we are allowed to exert our voice, attend to it. Our love for you is the only sentiment by which we are actuated; our heart obeys with delight the dictates of clemency; and since it has pleased Heaven to reserve us, like Henry the Great, to re-establish in our empire the reign of

of order and the laws, like him we will execute this divine task, with the assistance of our faithful subjects, by uniting kindness with justice.

Your minds have, by dreadful experience, been sufficiently informed of the extent and origin of your misfortunes. Impious and factious men, after having seduced you by lying declamations, and by deceitful promises, hurried you into irreligion and revolt. Since that time a torrent of calamities has rushed in upon you from every side. You proved faithless to the God of your forefathers; and that God, justly offended, has made you feel the weight of his anger; you rebelled against the authority which he had established, and a sanguinary despotism, and an anarchy no less fatal, have alternately continued to harass you with incessant rage.

Consider an instant the origin and progress of the evils with which you are overwhelmed. You first consigned your interests to faithless representatives, who, betraying the confidence which you had reposed in them, and violating the oaths which they had taken, paved the way for their rebellion against their king, by treachery and perjury towards you: and they rendered you the instruments of their passions, and of your own ruin. You next submitted to the despotic sway of gloomy and austere tyrants, who contested with each other, while the contest was marked by mutual massacres, the right of oppressing the nation; and they imposed upon you an iron yoke. You afterwards permitted their blood-stained sceptre to pass into the hands of a rival faction, which, in order to secure their power, and to

reap the fruits of their crimes, assumed the mask of moderation, which sometimes it lifts up, but which it dares not yet venture wholly to throw aside; and you have changed sanguinary despots, whom you abhorred, for hypocritical despots whom you despise. They conceal their weakness beneath an appearance of mildness, but they are actuated by the same ambition which influenced the conduct of their predecessors. The reign of terror has suspended its ravages, but they have been replaced by the disorders of anarchy. Less blood is shed in France, but greater misery prevails. In short, your slavery only changed its form, and your disasters have been aggravated. You have lent a favourable ear to the calumnious reports that have been propagated against that ancient race which, during so long a period, reigned as much in your hearts as over France: and your blind credulity has increased the weight of your chains, and prolonged the term of your misfortunes. In a word, your tyrants have overthrown the altars of your God and the throne of your king, and have completed the sum of your wretchedness.

Thus impiety and revolt have been the cause of all the torments you experience: in order to stop their progress you must dry up their source. You must renounce the dominion of those treacherous and cruel usurpers who promised you happiness, but who have given you only famine and death: we wish to relieve you from their tyranny, which has so much injured you, to inspire you with the resolution of shaking it off. You must return to that holy religion which

which had showered down upon France the blessings of Heaven. We wish to restore its altars ; by prescribing justice to sovereigns and fidelity to subjects, it maintains good order, ensures the triumph of the laws, and produces the felicity of empires. You must restore that government which, for fourteen centuries, constituted the glory of France and the delight of her inhabitants ; which rendered our country the most flourishing of states, and yourselves the happiest of people : it is our wish to restore it. Have not the various revolutions which have occurred augmented your distress, since the period of its destruction, and convinced you that it is the only government that is fit for you ?

Give no credit to those rapacious and ambitious men, who, in order to violate your property and to engross all power, have told you that France had no constitution, or, at least, that its constitution was despotic. Its existence is as ancient as the monarchy of the Franks ; it is the produce of genius, the master-piece of wisdom, and the fruit of experience.

In composing the body of the French people of three distinct orders, it traced with precision that scale of subordination, without which society cannot exist. But it gives to neither of the three orders any political right which is not common to all. It leaves all employments open to Frenchmen of every class ; it affords equal protection to all persons and to all property ; and by this means, in the eye of the law, and in the temple of justice, all those inequalities of rank and fortune disappear, which civil order necessarily

introduces among the inhabitants of the same empire.

These are great advantages ; but there are others still more essential. It subjects the laws to certain specific forms prescribed by itself ; and the sovereign himself is equally bound to the observance of the laws, in order to guard the wisdom of the legislature against the snares of seduction, and to defend the liberty of the subject against the abuse of authority. It prescribes conditions to the establishment of imposts, in order to satisfy the people that the tributes which they pay are necessary for the preservation of the state ; it confides to the first body of the magistracy the care of enforcing the execution of the laws, and of undeceiving the monarch, if he should chance to be imposed upon ; it places the fundamental laws under the protection of the king and of the three orders, for the purpose of preventing revolutions, which are the greatest calamities that the people can possibly sustain ; it has adopted a multiplicity of precautions in order to secure to you the advantages of a monarchical government, and to screen you from its dangers. Do not your unexampled misfortunes, as much as its venerable antiquity, bear testimony of its wisdom ? Did your ancestors ever experience the evils which you have borne, since the hands of ignorant and obstinate innovators have overthrown their constitution ? It was the common support of the cottage of the poor, and the palace of the rich ; of personal freedom, and of public safety ; of the rights of the throne, and of the prosperity of the state. The moment it was overthrown, property, safety, freedom,

all

all ceased to exist. No sooner did the throne become a prey to usurpers, than your fortunes were seized by plunderers: the instant the shield of royal authority ceased to protect you, you were oppressed by despotism, and sunk into slavery.

To that ancient and wise constitution, whose fall has proved your ruin, we wished to restore all its purity which time had corrupted; all its vigour which time had impaired: but it has itself fortunately deprived us of the ability to change it. It is our holy ark; we are forbidden to lay rash hands upon it; it is your happiness and our glory; it is the wish of all true Frenchmen; and the knowledge we have acquired in the school of misfortune, all tend to confirm in our mind the necessity of restoring it entire. It is because France is dear to us, that we are anxious to replace her under the beneficent protection of a government, the excellence of which has been proved by so long a continuance of prosperity. It is because we feel it to be our duty to quell that spirit of system making, that rage for innovation which has been the cause of your ruin, that we are anxious to renovate and confirm those salutary laws which are alone capable of promoting a general unity of sentiment; of fixing the general opinion, and of opposing an insurmountable barrier to the revolutionary rage, which every plan of a change in the constitution of our kingdom would again let loose upon the public.

But while the hand of time gives the stamp of wisdom to the institutions of man, his passions are studious to degrade them; and they place either their own work on the

side of the laws, with a view to weaken their effect, or make it usurp the place of the laws, in order to render them useless. In those empires which have attained the highest pitch of glory and prosperity, abuses most generally prevail; because in such states they are the least likely to attract the attention of those who govern. Some abuses had therefore crept into the government of France, which were not only felt by the lower class of people, but by every order of the state. The deceased monarch, our brother and sovereign lord and master, had perceived and was anxious to remove them; in his last moments he charged his successor to execute the plans which he had in his wisdom conceived, for promoting the happiness of that very people who suffered him to perish on the scaffold. On quitting the throne, from which crime and impiety had hurled him, to ascend that which Heaven had reserved for his virtues, he pointed out to us our duties in that immortal will, the inexhaustible source of admiration and regret. The king! that martyr! submissive to the God who had made him a king, followed his example without a murmur, in rendering the instrument of his punishment a trophy of his glory, and in attending to the welfare of his people at the very time when they were completing the sum of his misfortunes! What Louis XVI. could not effect, we will accomplish!

But though plans of reform may be conceived in the midst of confusion, they can only be executed in the bosom of tranquillity. To replace upon its ancient basis the constitution of the kingdom, to

give it its primitive impulse, to put all its parts in motion, to correct the vices which had crept into the administration of public affairs, is the work of peace. Religious worship must be re-established, the hydra of anarchy destroyed, the regal authority be restored to all its rights, before we can execute our intentions of opposing abuses of all kinds with invincible firmness; of seeking them with diligence, and of proscribing them with decision.

The implacable tyrants who hold you in subjection alone retard that happy moment. They do not attempt to deny that the time of illusion is past; and that you feel all the weight of their ignorance, their crimes, and their depredations. But those fraudulent promises, of which you are no longer the dupes, are succeeded by the dread of punishment, which they alone have deserved. After having robbed you of your property, they represent us to you as an enraged avenger, who means to deprive you of life, the only good that you now have left. Dismayed by the reproaches of their conscience, they wish to make you partake of their fate, that they may profit by your despair; they endeavour to inspire you with false alarms, that they may be able to quiet their own apprehensions. But, know the heart of your sovereign, and leave to him the task of preserving you from the machinations of your enemies.

We shall not only forbear to magnify errors into crimes, but crimes themselves which have originated in error we shall be ever ready to pardon. All Frenchmen who, abjuring pernicious opinions, shall throw themselves at the feet

of the throne, will be received: all Frenchmen, who have only become criminal in consequence of being misled, far from finding in us an inflexible judge, will discover a compassionate father. Those who, in the midst of revolt, have preserved their fidelity; those who by an heroic sacrifice have become the companions of our exile and our associates in misfortune; those who have already shaken off the bondage of illusion, and the yoke of revolt; those who, being still retained by a cruel perseverance, shall hasten to return to reason and to duty, shall all be treated as our children. If one part of these have preserved their character and their rights by unshaken fidelity, the other part have recovered them by a salutary repentance; and they shall all share in our affection. We are Frenchmen—a title, which the crimes of a few individuals can no more degrade, than the enormities of the duke of Orleans can pollute the blood of Henry the Fourth. This title, which was ever dear to us, will also render us dear to those who bear it.

We pity those men who are still retained in the paths of error, from weakness of mind, or by the arts of seduction; we water with our tears the ashes of those brave men who have fallen victims to their fidelity; we lament the fate of those who have perished in support of rebellion and schism, and whose restoration to the bosom of the church and the monarchy, would have given us the most pleasing satisfaction.—The evils which you experience constitute our only suffering; and to cure those evils is the only felicity which we can henceforth hope to enjoy.

The

The excesses of which the people have been guilty, are certainly dreadful; but we cannot forget that seduction and violence have had greater influence over them than opinion and inclination; and we know, that even while they favoured the revolutionary schemes, their hearts remained faithful, and secretly disavowed the conduct which terror directed. That people, alternately deceived and subdued, but always more deserving of pity than of censure; that people, who have been sufficiently, nay too severely punished by six years of slavery and oppression; by that multitude of calamities which they have drawn down upon their own heads; that people, who were always dearly beloved by the kings our predecessors, will make us amends for the cruel torments we have suffered, by affording us an opportunity of loading them with our benefactions.

Who would have ventured to believe, that perfidy and rebellion could ever have infected that army which was the support of the throne, and at all times devoted to honour and to their sovereign!—Their successes have proved that courage is never to be extinguished in the heart of a Frenchman. But how many tears ought you to shed over those fatal successes! They have been the principle of the general oppression; they have constituted the support, and increased the audacity of your execrable tyrants; they are the instruments employed by the hand of God for the chastisement of France. What soldier is there, who will not, when he returns to his home, find the still bloody traces of those calamities which his victories have occa-

sioned? But the French army cannot long remain the enemy of its king. Since it has preserved its ancient valour, it will resume its primitive virtues; since honour is not extinguished in its bosom, it will follow her dictates; it will listen to her voice. Soon, we doubt not, the cry of *vive le roi*, will replace the clamours of sedition; soon will the army return, submissive and faithful, to re-establish our throne; to expiate at our feet even its own glory; and to read in our looks oblivion of past errors, and pardon of past crimes.

We might let justice take her course against the criminal authors of the people's errors, against the chiefs and instigators of the revolt; and perhaps we ought so to do; though how could we palliate the irreparable injury which they have done to France? But those whom Divine justice has not yet overtaken, we will leave to their own conscience; that will be punishment enough. May they, overpowered by this excess of indulgence, and remaining submissively attached to their duty, justify us in our own mind for the unexpected pardon which we shall have granted them!

But there are crimes (why can they not be effaced from our recollection, and from the memory of man!)—there are crimes, the atrocity of which exceeds the bounds of royal clemency. In that horrid sitting, in which subjects had the audacity to bring their king to trial, all the members who sat as judges were accomplices in the crime.—But we are still willing to believe, that those whose votes were calculated to save his sacred head from the patricidal axe, were only induced

duced to mix with his assassins by their desire to preserve his life; and that motive may suffice to ensure their pardon. But those miscreants, whose sacrilegious tongues dared to pronounce the fatal sentence, all those who co-operated in and were the direct and immediate instruments of his death; the members of that tribunal of blood, which, after having given the capital the signal, and set it the example of judicial massacres, crowned their atrocious deeds by sending their queen to the scaffold; a queen still more exalted in her prison than upon her throne; a princess, whom heaven had formed to be the finished model of every virtue! all these monsters, whom posterity will never name without horror, are devoted by the general wish of the French to the punishment which their crimes deserve.

That sentiment which leads us to confine the vengeance of the law within such narrow bounds, is a certain pledge to you that we will never tolerate any acts of private revenge. Therefore, dismiss every apprehension which the idea of being exposed to such revenge may have excited.

The faithful princes of our house have the same principles, the same affections, and the same views with ourself: you are as dear to them as to us: like us, they are only anxious to see the end of your sufferings. The only object of their labours, as well as of ours, is your deliverance; and if, in these days of mourning and of crimes, Providence should have doomed us to perish successively by rebellious hands, you would see the sceptre pass from one to the other, without perceiving the smallest altera-

tion in the exercise of the royal authority.

Those Frenchmen who have remained among their countrymen to set them an example of unshaken fidelity, will only pity those who have not had the resolution to imitate their conduct; and that unchangeable virtue which they have opposed to the torrent of corruption, will not be debased by criminal animosity. Those ministers of a God of peace who have only fled from the violence of persecution to preserve your religious faith, filled with the zeal that enlightens, with the charity that forgives, will teach, as well by their practice as their precepts, oblivion of injuries and the love of their enemies.— Could you possibly fear that they would tarnish the immortal splendour which their generous conduct, and the blood of so many martyrs, have reflected on the Gallican church? Our magistrates, who have ever been distinguished for their integrity in the administration of justice, will set an example of obedience to the laws, whose ministers they are. Inaccessible to the passions which it is their duty to repress, they will, by a due exertion of impartial firmness, give effect to those sentiments with which clemency inspires us. The nobility, who have only left their country the better to defend it; who have only drawn their swords in the firm persuasion that they were fighting for France, and not against it; who offer you assistance even at the time when duty compells them to fight you; who oppose to the attacks of calumny their firmness in adversity, intrepidity in battle, humanity in the moment of victory, and their invincible attachment to the principles

ciples of honour—those nobles, against whom every effort is made to excite your hatred, will not forget that they are destined to enlighten, to assist, to support the people; they will place their glory in their magnanimity; they will ennoble the numerous sacrifices they have made by the sacrifice of their resentment; and that class of emigrants who are their inferiors in birth, though their equals in virtue; those worthy Frenchmen, whose fidelity is the more deserving of praise from the additional temptations they had to resist, would, if it were necessary, offer themselves to you as pledges for the sincerity of those generous sentiments which they have so often witnessed. Who would dare to inflict vengeance when the king forgives?

But the mercy which will signalize the first days of our reign, will be invariably united with firmness: that love of our subjects which leads us to be indulgent, teaches to be just. We shall forgive, without regret, those men, criminal as they are, who have led the people astray: but we shall treat with inexorable rigour all those who may hereafter endeavour to seduce them from their duty. We will open our arms to those rebels who may be induced by repentance to return to us; but if any of them should persist in rebellion, they will find that our indulgence will stop at the limits which justice prescribes, and that force, will reduce those whom kindness has proved inadequate to attach.

That throne, which the revolution has twice deprived of its lawful sovereign, is not to me an object of ambition or enjoyment!—

Alas! still smoking with the blood of our family, and encompassed with ruins, it can promise us nothing but sorrowful recollections, labours, and pains. But Providence orders us to ascend it; and it is our duty to obey. We are called thither by our rights, and we know how to defend them. We may there be able to promote the happiness of France, and that motive gives us courage to proceed. If we should be reduced to the necessity of conquering our country, confiding in the justice of our cause, and in the zeal of true Frenchmen, we will advance to the conquest with indefatigable perseverance, and with undaunted courage; we will advance to the conquest, should it be necessary, through the cohorts of rebels, and the poniards of assassins. The God of St. Louis, that God whom we call to witness the purity of our intentions, will be our guide and our support.

But no—we shall not be reduced to the necessity of using arms against deluded subjects. No! to themselves alone, to their regret, to their love, shall we be indebted for the re-establishment of our throne; and the mercy of heaven, moved by their tears, will make religion once more flourish in the empire of the most christian kings.

This pleasing hope revives our heart. Misfortune has removed the veil which was placed before your eyes; the harsh lessons of experience have taught you to regret the advantages which you have lost. Already do the sentiments of religion, which shew themselves with *eclat* in all the provinces of the kingdom, present to our sight the image of the glorious ages of the church!

already does the impulse of your hearts, which brings you back to your king, declare that you feel the want of being governed by a father.

But it is not enough to form barren wishes; decisive resolutions must be adopted. It is not enough to groan beneath the yoke of your oppressors; you must be assisted in shaking it off. Show the world how the French, restored to their senses, can obliterate faults, in the commission of which their hearts were not concerned; prove that as Henry the Great has transmitted to us with his blood his love of the people, so are you also the descendants of that people, one part of whom, always faithful to his cause, sought to restore him to his throne; and the other part, abjuring a momentary error, bathed his feet with the tears of repentance. Remember that you are the grandsons of the conquerors of Ivry and Fontain Francaise.

And you, invincible heroes, whom God has appointed to restore the altar and the throne, and whose mission has been attested by a multitude of prodigies: you whose pure and triumphant hands have, in the heart of France, kept alive the torch of faith and honour's sacred fire: you who have been the constant objects of our affection, and in whose labours we have been incessantly anxious to share; who were always our consolation and our hope: illustrious catholic and royal armies, worthy models for all Frenchmen to imitate, receive this testimony of your sovereign's satisfaction. Never will he forget your services, your courage, the integrity of your principles, and your unshaken fidelity.

Given in the month of July, in the year of Grace, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-five, and the first of our reign.

LOUIS.

Edict, published at Hanover, Sept. 29.

GEORGE the Third, King of Great Britain and Ireland, Elector of Hanover, &c. &c.

Whereas the depôts of the French emigrants, and other free corps which have served with our army, were only for a certain time, and until they could be removed to other parts of our German dominions; their longer stay producing disorders, and becoming oppressive and burthensome to our subjects; and, moreover, having already caused it to be declared, that we acquiesce in the treaty of peace, concluded on the 5th of April between his Prussian majesty and France, and especially to the additional convention of the said treaty; we do hereby enact and will, that all and every emigrant, as well as other foreign corps, shall be immediately embarked and removed from our German dominions, and no such corps, under any form whatever, shall any longer be suffered there. We notify this our pleasure to all our subjects, and enjoin all our civil officers, magistrates, &c. in all our German dominions, not to allow any such corps or troops, after the embarkation, which is immediately to be effected, to remain in the country, and still less to permit any depôt, detachment, or division of the corps embarked, to be left behind, nor to suffer any transports of recruits for the same

to enter and pass our said German dominions; but on the contrary immediately to stop, order back, take up, and remove from our dominions, or deliver them to the next garrison, for their removal beyond the frontiers, and in case of need, to request the assistance of the military for that purpose; to which all our civil officers are most carefully to attend, as all those who shall be guilty of any neglect shall be called to a severe account for the same.

Pro Memoria, or Note, delivered by the Prussian Directorial Envoy to the States of the Circle of Franconia, assembled at Nuremberg.

THE epoch has appeared, in which his majesty the king of Prussia can publicly denote the value which his majesty sets upon that confidence, which his co-states in the circle of Franconia have testified by the letter of the 13th of May, of the present year. Immediately after the conclusion of peace at Basle, his majesty apprised the circle of Franconia of the measures which he was also about to take for the welfare and safety of this circle, though that justice has not been done to his endeavours, which his majesty could claim: though the undersigned envoys have not yet received the definitive declaration demanded in their notes of the 2d and 9th of May, his majesty has nevertheless weighed the various coincident considerations, and is resolved to devote farther his care and attention to the welfare of the circle, regardless of all other matters, and thereby to convince it of the generous extent which his ma-

jesty is still inclined to give to his relations and duties, as director of the circle, or convoking prince, and as co-state. The sacrifices of the king, and his continual efforts for the welfare of Germany, for the preservation of its constitution, and the return of peace, are publicly manifest, and universally acknowledged by the Germanic empire. The most recent occurrences, after the passage of the Rhine by the French army, have probably, by this time, justified the advantages, and the value of those endeavours, with the states of the empire, as likewise their motives: they have, no doubt, convinced all Germany, with what ardour his majesty strove to make his co-states feel, as much as it depended on him, and in moments of the most imminent danger, the effects of his zeal for the welfare, the tranquillity, and safety of Germany. In consequence of those patriotic sentiments, and steady principles, his majesty, notwithstanding the silence of the states, and relinquishing all other considerations, has procured respect to the line of demarcation, stipulated in the additional convention of the 17th of May. In consequence of these sentiments, his majesty has hitherto generously granted the solicited protection to all his co-states, and their dependants, who sought refuge in his territories.

But now the time is come, in which general and uniform measures ought to be taken, in which the king must positively know, how far it is intended to make use of his patriotic sentiments, how far he may unfold his partiality to his co-states in this circle, and his care for their safety. The even-

tual declaration of his serene highness the hereditary prince of Hohenlohe, commander in chief of his majesty's troops, destined to observe the line of demarcation, proves, that his majesty is inclined to set no other bounds to his noble endeavours, but such as the sentiments of his co-states shall please to trace out. His highness, the commander in chief, is ready to draw that cordon on the line of demarcation, and for its safety, respecting which the annexed supplement contains a full explanation. The undersigned envoy of his majesty is now come to the point of requiring a definitive declaration of the circle of Franconia; whether or not it be intended, on the part of the circle, to make use of the king's generous offers? To provide afterwards farther for the said cordon for the troops of which, who will find their own provisions, nothing but quarters will be required, though the safety of the territories of the states be their sole destination. The open, generous, and magnanimous, plain, and disinterested manner, in which his majesty marks his conduct, even in this case, will surely be every where answered by the sentiment of its full value and by thankfulness, as it is in other respects superior to each and all equivocation. The experience which the circle has hitherto had of the king's patriotism, of his attachment to the constitution of the empire and the circle, of his care for the tranquillity of his co-states and their territories, the dangers which threaten these in the vicissitudes of the occurrences of the war, and the duties for the safety of their possessions and subjects, may now dictate

to the circle and its states their decision. The urgent relations of the time, and the measures which depend on it, render it unavoidable, to expect peremptorily, and once for all, the said definitive declaration inclusively till the 7th instant. His majesty is far from forcing the effect of his efforts for the welfare of Germany, and his protection upon the circle; but his majesty owes it to the sacrifices and labours, which he till now continued, for the prosperity of Germany—his majesty owes it to his dignity, to make himself in a moment sure of the sentiments of the circle. Should the circle of Franconia, contrary to the sense of its letter of the 13th of May, addressed to his majesty, not deem it proper to make use, in the social union, to which his majesty himself belongs, of the measures proposed for its safety, or to declare itself positively upon it within the said period, his majesty must renounce, with regret, the execution of his patriotic intentions, and confine himself to measures of safety for his own territories, and to that protection which his majesty has hitherto granted to those states who claimed it by name, and not deny it to those who may yet claim it, till the expiration of the above-mentioned period. Then it will no longer depend upon his majesty to alter any of the measures taken for that purpose; his majesty will see its cordial interest, if the circle of Franconia, against all events, will find means in another manner to provide for its own tranquillity and safety, and for that of its dependants.

But his majesty could then no farther, singly or wholly, take any share

share in it, and would be obliged to leave it entirely to those of his co-states, who shall not have made any use of his majesty's offer, how they shall effectually secure themselves, their subjects and property, against all danger; his majesty will zealously continue his good offices for the restoration of the general tranquillity of Germany; and tranquillize himself in the consciousness of his pure intentions for all the fatal consequences of a too great and supposed safety, or of the non-acknowledgment of the purity of the said intentions; and while his majesty in the face of all Germany, gives, by this declaration, a fresh and unequivocal proof of his Germanic patriotism; his majesty may also expect from all Germany, and from the circle of Franconia in particular, the justice to have done all that depended on him, to avert from his co-states and their subjects the unhappy consequences of the war, and to have fulfilled, in the most generous and disinterested manner, all the duties incumbent upon him in all his relations as a state of the empire.

(Signed) JULIUS COUNT SODEN.

L. F. CHR. SCHMID.

Nuremberg, October 5, 1795.

Imperial Decree of Ratification concerning the Opening of Negotiations for a Peace between the Empire and France, published 21st of August in the usual Form. Dated, "Vienna, the 29th July."

This memorable decree first states the different points set forth in the advice given by the Empire

of the 3d of July, and then continues to observe as follows:

HIS Imperial majesty, above all, returns his warmest acknowledgments to the electors, princes, and states, for the grateful sentiments they have expressed towards his majesty for his sincere and zealous endeavours to promote the welfare of the empire. As chief of the Germanic body, he feels peculiar satisfaction to find, that in the second section of the advice of the empire, it has been declared to be the constant wish and firm resolution of all its members to obtain a general peace for the empire, in an unimpaired and unalterable junction of all the states of the empire with its supreme chief, as soon as possible, in a solid and constitutional manner. It is moreover declared, that the full restitution of its territory, and security of the Germanic constitution, shall form the basis of a treaty of peace, according to the fundamental principles laid down in the advice of the empire of the 22d December last year, and approved of by his majesty, with respect to the attainment of a reasonable, just, and honourable peace. This desire and resolution (for according to the fundamental laws of the German constitution, in all matters concerning a peace or war of the empire, its supreme chief can neither be separated from its members, nor the latter from the former) is the true and praiseworthy expression of constitutional, generous, and patriotic sentiments, and the constitution of Germany may still subsist for a long series of years, if the electors, princes, and states, sensible of their duty, and animated by patriotism and public spirit, remain

remain faithful to the sentiments thus solemnly declared. His majesty having frequently proved, and but very lately declared in the court decree of the 10th of May, his inviolable attachment to the German constitution, and his ardent zeal for the preservation of all its parts, rights, and members, it would be in open contradiction with his own declarations and actions, if he did not readily and fully approve and ratify the aforesaid second section, which so perfectly agrees with his paternal sentiments and duties, as chief of the empire.

His Imperial majesty farther declares, that he is ready to take upon himself the required first introduction of pacificatory negotiations, which, as far as it relates to the place where the congress is to be held, has been entirely left to his Imperial majesty's own judgment and discretion. In order as much as possible to accelerate the conclusion of a peace to the empire, pursuant to the wish of the diet, his Imperial majesty, in his quality of chief of the Germanic body, has for this purpose already taken the necessary steps, of the result of which he will not fail in due time to inform the diet, as well as the place where the negotiations for peace are to be carried on. The question, whether, without any prejudice to the future negotiations of peace, it will be possible to obtain an armistice, can hardly be decided, before the said negotiations are actually set on foot; and in pursuance of the Imperial decree concerning the advice of the empire of the 22d of December, a probable prospect opens to obtain a reasonable, just, and ho-

nourable peace; whence, and indeed in every possible case, there arises the cruel necessity, that the electors, princes, and states, conformably to their duty and own declarations, do not neglect, but persist in their united and constitutional means of defence, until Germany has obtained the blessings of a general peace for the empire. Meanwhile, the diet may rest assured, that if his Imperial majesty should be able, on behalf of suffering humanity, to obtain from the present rulers of France, who seem to have adopted more moderate sentiments, a modification or temporary pause of hostile requisitions and devastations, he will not fail to make, for that purpose, the necessary proposals.

As to the rest, his Imperial majesty is of opinion, that hitherto no political relations exist, which urge the necessity of accepting a mediator, although clothed with all the necessary requisites in point of skill, prudence, sincerity, and impartiality; nor does his majesty see the necessity of accepting the mediation of a third person. If the German empire, the first in point of rank, and mighty and powerful in its chiefs and its members, is with true German spirit united for a grand and momentous purpose, there is no doubt but it possesses sufficient authority and power to obtain a reasonable, just, and honourable peace. But as the diet, according to the plurality of votes, finds a peculiar satisfaction in seeing his majesty the king of Prussia co-operate for that purpose, his Imperial majesty, provided, however, that it does not tend to the prejudice either of the immediate negotiations for peace between the

the supreme chief of the empire, the deputed states, and the deputies of France, or of the constitutional proceedings in all other respects, readily complies with the states of the empire, and under this proviso consents that his Prussian majesty, according to his own repeated voluntary offers, may on his part employ his good offices with France to obtain on the basis agreed and determined upon, a peace for the empire, which restores its integrity and secures its constitution.

Lastly, his majesty repeats once more the declaration set forth in the Imperial court decree of the 10th of May, and which cannot be too often repeated, viz. that the political importance of Germany rests on the close and happy union between the supreme chief of the empire and the electors, princes, and states; and its welfare depends on the inviolability of its fundamental laws. These ought to guide the chief as well as the members. His majesty, who, not only in virtue of his Imperial office, but also by a solemn compact between him and the electors, is charged with the administration of justice, is therefore obliged, by open and lawful means, to protect the constitution against all unconstitutional proceedings; lest the like precedents might in future times be supposed to contain a tacit abrogation of laws which are of the greatest importance for the safety and welfare of the German empire.

published at Ratisbon, September 25, 1795.

THE diet of the empire declared but very lately in the second part of the advice of the 3d July, occasioned by the Imperial court decree of the 19th of May, before all Germany and Europe, in the most solemn and positive manner.

That it still remained the constant wish and firm determination of the empire, in undissolved and unalterable junction of all the members of the empire, with its chief, by constitutional means, to obtain a general peace for the empire, and through it the restoration of the integrity of its dominions.

The political relations of the Germanic empire, and the pressing urgencies of the present posture of affairs, seemed to require that his majesty should answer this truly patriotic declaration with the same clearness and undisguised frankness which becomes the father of the empire. His majesty, therefore, declared in the court decree of the 29th July, "That the aforesaid constant wish and resolve did not only afford him peculiar satisfaction in his quality as supreme chief of the empire, but that also (as according to the fundamental laws of the German institution in all matters concerning both the conclusion of a peace and the determination on a war of the empire, neither the supreme chief could be separated from the members, nor the latter from the former.)" The said declaration was the genuine and glorious expression of constitutional and patriotic sentiments; and that the Germanic constitution might still flourish

Imperial Court Decree, concerning the separate Treaty of Peace, concluded between the Landgrave of Hesse Cassel and the French Republic;

flourish for a long series of years, if the electors, princes, and states, sensible of their moral and legal obligations, and animated by a becoming public spirit, would remain faithful to their solemn professions. That, therefore, his Imperial majesty, having so often and so lately testified his zealous attachment to the Germanic constitution, and the preservation of all its parts, members, and rights, would act in open contradiction with his own actions and declarations, if he did not readily sanction the whole tenor of the aforesaid second part, which so perfectly agreed both with his paternal affection for the empire, and his duty as chief of it.

Pursuant to these sentiments, thus solemnly declared by the diet, and sanctioned by his Imperial majesty, the former continued to deliberate on the Imperial court decree of the 19th of May, especially concerning the concurrence of the states of the empire in the future negotiations for peace with France, and proposed for that purpose an extraordinary deputation, consisting of ten members of the Germanic body. His Imperial majesty, in order to promote the said negotiations, was pleased most graciously to sanction this advice of the empire with his concurrence, trusting that the deputed states would remain faithful to the grand fundamental law of the unity of the empire and its legal inseparability from its chief, and by co-operating with patriotic German perseverance in the important business of a peace of the empire, would constitutionally endeavour to support and promote the common interest and welfare

of the German empire. Since the 7th instant, the diet has again been constantly employed in deliberating on the remaining objects pointed out by the said court decree, and especially on the important instructions which ought fully and clearly to prescribe not only the terms of peace, but also the manner of treating.

Whilst the Germanic empire, united under its supreme chief, endeavoured, and still endeavours, by constitutional means, to obtain a general peace of the empire, private negotiations for a separate peace were carried on by his serene highness the landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, with a French deputy, the result of which appears by the adjoined printed copy of a treaty of peace and amity, concluded on the 28th of August, the ratification of which is to be exchanged within a month's time, or sooner.

His Imperial majesty will yet suppress his just feelings, roused by an event, which, on account of the above-mentioned solemn declaration of the diet of the empire, of the 3d of July, he had so little reason to expect. This event, if some reports are to be credited, may be followed by transactions of a singular nature, whereby the defence of Germany, and the attainment of the restoration of the integrity of the empire, and safety of its constitution, by means of a just, reasonable, solid, and honourable peace, would be rendered more difficult, if single states have it in their power, at their own pleasure, thus to withdraw from the confederacy of the German empire, by separate treaties of peace and secret articles, to separate their interest from the general interest of the

the empire, and to dissolve the latter into mere separate concerns.

His Imperial majesty finds a consolation in proposing these very serious considerations and consequences, together with several others of the highest importance for the Germanic constitution, to the patriotic deliberation of the diet, and he places in the electors, princes, and states, the fullest paternal confidence, that they will take the said occurrence into that serious consideration which its importance demands, and supply him not only with full and satisfactory advice, concerning the light in which this treaty of amity and peace ought to be considered, but also recommend to him the measures which it will be most advisable to pursue, in order to maintain the German constitution, and to assert the unity, dignity, and independence of the Germanic body.

The diet cannot but be sensible that the deputation appointed by the late concludum of the empire, together with the instructions to be drawn up for the deputed states, would be altogether nugatory and useless, and he at best only the honour of signing the future treaty of peace, if the existing doubts were not previously removed by means of the demanded advice; and if even other states, who experience the disasters of war, should follow the examples already existing (in the fifth article of the Hessian treaty of peace, the general peace to be concluded between France and the German empire is no longer called a general peace of the empire, but a peace to be settled by the other parties as yet concerned in the war with France.) For this reason it becomes the more

urgent, that the advice of the empire, demanded by his Imperial majesty in his quality as chief of the empire, should be delivered with all possible speed.

(Signed) PRINCE OF COLLO-
REDO MANNSFELS.

Vienna, September 18, 1795.

*Treaty of Defensive Alliance between
his Britannic Majesty and the
Emperor of Germany, signed at
Vienna, May 29, 1795.*

HIS majesty the emperor, and his majesty the king of Great Britain, being desirous to renew and to cement the ancient relations of friendship and intimacy between their crowns and their respective dominions, as well as to provide in a solid and permanent manner for their future safety, and for the general tranquillity of Europe, have determined in consequence of these salutary views, to proceed to the conclusion of a new treaty of alliance: and they have nominated for that purpose, viz. his majesty the emperor, his actual privy counsellor and minister for foreign affairs, baron de Thugut, and his majesty the king of Great Britain, sir Morton Eden, one of his majesty's privy counsellors, knight of the bath, envoy extraordinary, and minister plenipotentiary of his said majesty, at the court of Vienna; who, after having communicated to each other their respective full powers, have agreed upon the following articles:

Art. 1. There shall be between his Imperial majesty and his Britannic majesty, their heirs and successors, and between all the respective dominions, provinces, and subjects,

jects of their said majesties, a perfect and sincere good understanding, friendship and defensive alliance. The high contracting parties shall use all their endeavours for the maintenance of their common interests, and shall employ all the means in their power to defend and guarantee each other mutually against every hostile aggression.

2. The high contracting parties shall act in perfect concert in every thing which relates to the re-establishment and to the maintenance of general peace; and they shall employ all their efforts to prevent, by the means of friendly negotiation, the attacks with which they may be threatened, either separately or conjointly.

3. In case either of the high contracting parties should be attacked, molested, or disturbed in the possession of its dominions, territories, or cities whatsoever, or in the exercise of its rights, liberties, or franchises wheresoever, and without any exception, the other will exert all its endeavours to succour its ally without delay, and in the manner hereinafter mentioned.

4. Their Imperial and Britannic majesties reciprocally guarantee to each other, and in the most express manner, all their dominions, territories, cities, rights, liberties, and franchises whatsoever, such as they at present possess, and such as they shall possess, at the conclusion of a general peace, made by their common agreement and consent, in conformity to their mutual engagements in that respect, in the convention of the 30th of August, 1793.—And the case of this defensive alliance shall exist from the moment whenever either of the high contracting parties shall

be disturbed, molested, or disquieted in the peaceable enjoyment of its dominions, territories, cities, rights, liberties, or franchises whatsoever, according to the state of actual possession, and according to the state of possession which shall exist at the above-mentioned epoch.

5. The succours to be mutually furnished, in virtue of this treaty, shall consist in 20,000 infantry, and 6000 cavalry, which shall be furnished in the space of two months after requisition made by the party attacked, and shall continue to be at its disposition during the whole course of the war in which it shall be engaged. The succours shall be paid and maintained by the power required, wherever its ally shall employ them; but the power requiring shall provide them with the necessary bread and forage, upon the same footing with its own troops.

If the party requiring prefers, it may demand the succours to be furnished in money; and in that case the succours shall be computed at the following rate, that is to say, 10,000 Dutch florins per month for every thousand infantry, and 30,000 Dutch florins per month for every thousand cavalry. And this money shall be paid monthly, in equal portions, throughout the whole year.

If these succours should not suffice for the defence of the power requiring, the other party shall augment them according as the occasion shall require, and shall even succour its ally with its whole forces, if the circumstances should render it necessary.

6. It is agreed that, in consideration of the intimate alliance established by this treaty between the

the two crowns, neither the one or the other of the high contracting parties, shall permit the vessels of merchandize belonging to its ally, or to the people or subjects of its ally, and which shall have been taken at sea by any ships of war or privateers whatsoever, belonging to enemies or rebels, to be brought into its harbours; nor any ship of war or privateer to be therein armed, in any case or under any pretext whatsoever, in order to cruise against the ships and property of such ally, or of his subject: nor that there be conveyed by its subjects, or in their ships, to the enemies of its ally, any provisions, or military or naval stores, for these ends, as often as it shall be required by either of the allies, the other shall be bound to renew express prohibitions, ordering all persons to conform themselves in this article, upon pain of exemplary punishment, in addition to the full restitution and satisfaction to be made to the injured parties.

7. If, notwithstanding the prohibitions and penalties above-mentioned, any vessels of enemies or rebels, should bring into the ports of either of the high contracting parties any prizes taken from the other or from its subjects, the former shall oblige them to quit its ports in the space of twenty-four hours after their arrival, upon pain of seizure and confiscation; and the crews and passengers, or other prisoners, subjects of its ally, who shall have been brought into the said ports, shall immediately after their arrival be restored to their full liberty with their ship and merchandize, without any delay or exception. And if any vessel whatsoever, after having been

armed or equipped, wholly or partially, in the ports of either of the allies, should be employed in taking prizes, or in committing hostilities against the subjects of the other, such vessels, in case of their returning into the said ports, shall at the requisition of the injured parties, be seized and confiscated for their benefit.

The high contracting parties do not intend that the stipulations in these two articles should derogate from the execution of anterior treaties actually existing with other powers; the high contracting parties not being, however, at liberty to form new engagements hereafter to the prejudice of the said stipulations.

8. Their Imperial and Britannic majesties engage to ratify the present treaty of alliance, and the ratification thereof shall be exchanged in the space of six weeks, or sooner if it can be done.

In witness whereof, we the undersigned, being furnished with the full powers of their Imperial and Britannic majesties, have signed the present treaty in their names, and have caused the seals of our arms to be affixed thereto.

Done at Vienna, the 20th day of May, 1795.

(L. S.) LE BARON DE THUGUT.

(L. S.) MORTON EDEN.

Separate Article.

In case the establishment, in general limited, of the land forces of Great Britain should not permit his Britannic majesty to furnish, within the term specified, the succour in men stipulated by the 5th article of the present treaty of alliance, and that consequently his Imperial majesty should be obliged

to supply that succour by an equal number of other troops, to be taken into his pay, the confidence which the emperor reposes in the friendship and equity of the king of Great Britain leaves him no room to doubt but that his Britannic majesty will readily grant him an indemnification for the difference, which, according to a just valuation at the time, shall exist between the expences of the taking into pay and subsistence of those troops, and the estimate in Dutch florins, which, in order to avoid every delay of discussion, has been adopted in the above-mentioned 5th article, in conformity to the estimate contained in ancient treaties.

The separate article making, part of the treaty of alliance, signed this day in the name of their Imperial and Britannic majesties, shall have the same force and validity as if it were inserted word for word in the said treaty of alliance.

In witness whereof, we, the undersigned, being furnished with the full powers of their Imperial and Britannic majesties, have in their names signed the present separate article, and have caused the seals of our arms to be affixed thereto.

Done at Vienna, the 20th of May, 1795.

(L. S.) MORTON EDEN,

(L. S.) LE BARON DE THUGUT.

Separate Article.

Their Imperial and Britannic majesties shall concert together upon the invitation to be given to her Imperial majesty of all the Russias, in order to form, by the union of the three courts, in consequence of the intimate connections which exist already between

them, a system of triple alliance, proper for the re-establishment and maintenance in future of peace and general tranquillity in Europe.

This article shall have the same force as if it were inserted in the present treaty.

In witness whereof, we the undersigned, being furnished with the full powers of their Imperial and Britannic majesties, have in their names signed the present separate article, and have caused the seals of our arms to be affixed thereto.

Done at Vienna, the 20th of May, 1795.

(L. S.) MORTON EDEN,

(L. S.) LE BARON DE THUGUT.

Treaty of Defensive Alliance between his Britannic Majesty and the Empress of Russia. Signed at St. Petersburg, February 18, 1795.

IN the name of the Most Holy Trinity. His Britannic majesty, and her majesty the empress of all the Russias, animated with a desire equally sincere to strengthen more and more the ties of friendship and good understanding which so happily subsist between them and their respective monarchies, have thought that nothing would more effectually contribute to this salutary end than the conclusion of a treaty of defensive alliance, concerning which they should occupy themselves forthwith, and which should have for basis the stipulations of similar treaties which have already been heretofore concluded, and have made the objects of the most intimate union between the two empires. For this purpose their said majesties have named for their plenipo-

plenipotentiaries, that is to say, his Britannic majesty, the sieur Charles Whitworth, his envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary to her Imperial majesty of all the Russias, knight of the order of the Bath; and her Imperial majesty of all the Russias, the sieur John count Osterman, her vice-chancellor, actual privy counsellor, senator, and knight of the orders of St. Andrew, of St. Alexander Newsky, great cross of that of St. Vladimir of the first class and of St. Anne; the sieur Alexander count of Besborodko, her great master of the court, actual privy-counsellor, director-general of the posts, and knight of the orders of St. Andrew, of St. Alexander Newsky, and great cross of that of St. Vladimir of the first class; and the sieur Arcadi de Marcoff, privy-counsellor, member of the college of foreign affairs, knight of the order of St. Alexander Newsky, and great cross of that of St. Vladimir of the first class: who, after having mutually exchanged their full powers, found to be in good and due form, have agreed upon the following articles:

Art. 1. There shall be a sincere and constant friendship between his Britannic majesty and her majesty the empress of all the Russias, their heirs and successors; and, in consequence of this intimate union, the high contracting parties shall have nothing more strongly at heart than to promote by all possible means their mutual interests, to avert from each other whatever might cause them any injury, damage, or prejudice, and to maintain themselves reciprocally in the undisturbed possession of their do-

minions, rights, commerce, and prerogatives whatsoever, by guaranteeing reciprocally for this purpose all their countries, dominions, and possessions, as well such as they actually possess, as those which they may acquire by treaty.

2. If, notwithstanding the efforts which they shall employ by common consent, in order to obtain this end, it should nevertheless happen that one of them should be attacked by sea or land, the other shall furnish him, immediately on the requisition being made, the succours stipulated by the following articles of this treaty.

3. His Britannic majesty and her Imperial majesty of all the Russias declare, however, that in contracting the present alliance, their intention is by no means to give offence thereby, or to injure any one, but that their sole intention is to provide by these engagements for their reciprocal advantage and security, as well as for the re-establishment of peace, and for the maintenance of the general tranquillity of Europe, and above all, that of the North.

4. As the two high contracting parties profess the same desire to render each other their mutual succours as advantageous as possible, and as the natural force of Russia consists in land troops, whilst Great Britain can principally furnish ships of war, it is agreed upon, that if his Britannic majesty should be attacked or disturbed by any other power, and in whatever manner it might be, in the possession of his dominions and provinces, so that he should think it necessary to require the assistance of his ally, her Imperial majesty of all the Russias

shall send him immediately 10,000 infantry and 2000 horse. If, on the other hand, her Imperial majesty of all the Russias should find herself attacked or disturbed by any other power, and in whatever manner it may be, in the possession of her dominions and provinces, so that she should think it necessary to require the assistance of her ally, his Britannic majesty shall send her forthwith a squadron of twelve ships of war and of the line, carrying 708 guns, according to the following list:—two ships of 74 guns, making together 148 guns, and the crews 960 men; six ships of 60 guns, making 360 guns, and the crews 2,400 men; four ships of 50 guns, making 200 guns, and the crews 1200 men. In the whole 12 ships, 708 guns, and the crews 4560 men. This squadron shall be properly equipped and armed for war. These succours shall be respectively sent to the places which shall be specified by the requiring party, and shall remain at his free disposal as long as hostilities shall last.

5. But if the nature of the attack were such, as that the party attacked should not find it to his interest to demand the effective succours, such as they have been stipulated for in the preceding article, in that case the two high contracting powers have resolved to change the said succour into a pecuniary subsidy; that is to say, if his Britannic majesty should be attacked, and should prefer pecuniary succours, her Imperial majesty of all the Russias, after the requisition having been previously made, shall pay to him the sum of 500,000 rubles yearly, during the

whole continuance of hostilities, to assist him to support the expences of the war; and if her Imperial majesty of all the Russias should be attacked, and should prefer pecuniary succours, his Britannic majesty shall furnish her with the same sum yearly, as long as hostilities shall last.

6. If the party required, after having furnished the succour stipulated in the fourth article of this treaty, should be himself attacked, so as to put him thereby under the necessity of recalling his troops for his own safety, he shall be at liberty to do so, after having informed the requiring party thereof two months beforehand. In like manner, if the party required were himself at war at the time of the requisition, so that he should be obliged to retain near himself, for his own proper security and defence, the forces which he is bound to furnish his ally in virtue of this treaty; in such case the party required shall be dispensed from furnishing the said succour, so long as the said necessity shall last.

7. The Russian auxiliary troops shall be provided with field artillery, ammunition, and every thing of which they may stand in need, in proportion to their number. They shall be paid and recruited annually by the requiring court. With regard to the ordinary rations and portions of provisions and forage, as well as quarters, they shall be then furnished to them by the requiring court, the whole on the footing upon which his own troops are or shall be maintained in the field or in quarters.

8. In case the said Russian auxiliary

liary troops required by his Britannic majesty should be obliged to march by land, and to traverse the dominions of any other powers, his Britannic majesty shall use his endeavours jointly with her Imperial majesty of all the Russias to obtain for them a free passage, and shall supply them on their march with the necessary provisions and forage in the manner stipulated in the preceding article; and when they shall have to cross the sea, his Britannic majesty shall take upon himself either to transport them in his own ships, or to defray the expences of their passage; the same is also to be understood as well with regard to the recruits which her Imperial majesty will be obliged to send to her troops, as respecting their return to Russia, whenever they shall either be sent back by his Britannic majesty, or recalled by her Imperial majesty of all the Russias for her own defence, according to article 6 of this treaty. It is farther agreed upon, that, in case of recalling or sending back the said troops, an adequate convoy of ships of war shall escort them for their security.

9. The commanding officer, whether of the auxiliary troops of her Imperial majesty of all the Russias, or of the squadron which his Britannic majesty is to furnish Russia with, shall keep the command which has been entrusted to him; but the command in chief shall belong most certainly to him whom the requiring party shall appoint for that purpose; under the restriction, however, that nothing of importance shall be undertaken that shall not have been beforehand regulated and determined upon in a council of war, in the

presence of the general and commanding officers of the party required.

10. And, in order to prevent all disputes about rank, the requiring party shall give due notice of the officer to whom he will give the command in chief, whether of a fleet or of land forces; to the end that the party required may regulate in consequence the rank of him who shall have to command the auxiliary troops or ships.

11. Moreover, these auxiliary forces shall have their own chaplains, and the entire free exercise of their religion, and shall not be judged in whatever appertains to military service, otherwise than according to the laws and articles of war of their own sovereign. It shall likewise be permitted for the general and the rest of the auxiliary forces to keep up a free correspondence with their country, as well by letters as expresses.

12. The auxiliary forces on both sides shall be kept together as much as possible; and in order to avoid their being subjected to greater fatigues than the others, and to the end that there may be in every expedition and operation a perfect equality, the commander in chief shall be bound to observe on every occasion a just proportion, according to the force of the whole fleet or army.

13. The squadron which his Britannic majesty is to furnish by virtue of this alliance, shall be admitted into all the ports of her Imperial majesty of all the Russias, where it shall experience the most amicable treatment, and shall be provided with every thing which it may stand in need of, on paying the same price as the ships of her

Imperial majesty of all the Russias; and the same squadron shall be allowed to return every year to the ports of Great Britain, as soon as the season will no longer permit it to keep the sea; but it is formally and from this time forward stipulated, that this squadron shall return every year to the Baltic sea about the beginning of the month of May, not to quit it again before the month of October, and that as often as the exigency of the treaty shall require it.

14. The requiring party, in claiming the succours stipulated by this treaty, shall point out at the same time to the required party, the place where he shall wish that it may, in the first instance, repair; and the said requiring party shall be at liberty to make use of the said succour during the whole time it shall be continued to him, in such manner and at such places as he shall judge to be most suitable for his services against the aggressor.

15. The conditions of this treaty of alliance shall not be applicable to the wars which may arise between her Imperial majesty of all the Russias and the powers and people of Asia, respecting whom his Britannic majesty shall be dispensed with from furnishing the succours stipulated by the present treaty; excepting in the case of an attack made by any European power against the rights and possessions of her Imperial majesty, in whatever part of the world it may be. As also, on the other hand, her Imperial majesty of all the Russias shall not be bound to furnish the succours stipulated by this same treaty in any case whatever, excepting that of an attack made by

any European power against the rights and possessions of his Britannic majesty, in whatever part of the world it may be.

16. It has been in like manner agreed upon, that considering the great distance of places, the troops which her Imperial majesty of all the Russias will have to furnish by virtue of this alliance, for the defence of his Britannic majesty, shall not be sent to Spain, Portugal, or Italy, and still less out of Europe.

17. If the succours stipulated in the fourth article of this treaty should not be sufficient, in that case the contracting parties reserve to themselves to make a farther provision between themselves with respect to the additional succours which they should give to each other.

18. The requiring party shall make neither peace nor truce with the common enemy, without including the required party, to the end that the latter may not suffer any injury in consequence of the succours he shall have given to his ally.

19. The present defensive alliance shall in no way derogate from the treaties and alliances which the high contracting parties may have with other powers, inasmuch as the said treaties shall not be contrary to this, nor to the friendship and good understanding which they are resolved constantly to keep up between them.

20. If any other power would accede to this present alliance, their said majesties have agreed to concert together upon the admission of such power.

21. The two high contracting parties, desiring mutually and with eagerness

eagerness to strengthen and to consolidate as much as possible the friendship and union already happily subsisting between them, and to protect and extend the commerce between their respective subjects, promise to proceed without delay to the forming of a definitive arrangement of commerce.

22. As circumstances may make it necessary to make some change in the clauses of the present treaty, the high contracting parties have thought proper to fix the duration of it to eight years, counting from the day of exchanging the ratifications: but before the expiration of the eighth year it shall be renewed according to existing circumstances.

23. The present treaty of alliance shall be ratified, and the ratifications exchanged here, in the space of two months, or sooner if it can be done.

In witness whereof the above-mentioned ministers plenipotentiary on both sides have signed the present treaty, and have thereunto affixed the seals of their arms.

Done at St. Petersburg this eighteenth day of February, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-five.

(L.S.) CHARLES WHITWORTH.

(L.S.) CTE. JEAN D'OSTERMAN.

(L.S.) ALEXANDER CTE. DE
BESBORODKO.

(L.S.) ARCADI DE MARCOFF.

Manifesto on the Part of the Empress of Russia relative to the Affairs of Poland.

I, Timothy Tutolmin, lieutenant-general of the armies of my

most gracious sovereign, the empress of all the Russias, governor general of Minck, Izaslaw, and Bracklaw, knight of the Russian order of St. Alexander Newsky, &c.

In executing the Supreme will of my most gracious sovereign, the empress of all the Russias, be it known to all those whom it may concern, that her Imperial majesty, having repressed the troubles generally prevailing in the provinces occupied by her troops, means to incorporate with her own estates for ever the provinces adjoining to the governments committed to my care.

For the purpose of maintaining justice and good order, and preserving the limits of the ancient frontier between the Russian and Austrian possessions to the river Bog, the countries along the descent of that river, to the frontier of Lithuania, comprising the palatines of Wolhynia and Chelm, situate on the right side of the Bog; and all the lands, districts, and towns adjoining the palatinates of Beltz and Russia, shall, in future and for ever, belong to the Russian crown, and a perpetual subjection is attached henceforth to all the inhabitants of these provinces, and all the proprietors, of every age, sex, or rank whatever.

For this purpose I have received strict orders from her majesty, the empress, to assure all her new subjects in her name and on her word, that they shall be admitted to all her benefits and distinctions granted by her Imperial manifesto of the 27th of March, 1793, as follows:

1. Her most gracious majesty not only confirms to all persons the full and free exercise of their reli-

gion, but also guarantees to all an equal participation of all the rights, immunities, and privileges, enjoyed by her ancient subjects, so that the citizens of the incorporated provinces shall be entitled to all the advantages suitable to their conditions, through the whole extent of the empire of Russia.

2. All the citizens in general of the newly annexed provinces, beginning with the dignitaries of the most distinguished nobility, and proceeding to the lowest proprietors, shall within the space of one month take solemn oaths of fidelity and subjection to her majesty the empress, and the grand dukes her successors, before the persons whom her Imperial majesty shall officially appoint to receive them. On the other hand, if any of the nobility or other persons, possessing immoveable property, shall neglect to take such oath at the time appointed, they are allowed within the space of three months, to dispose of such immoveable property, and remove from the country; but, after the expiration of three months, all the goods and property that remain shall be sequestered.

3. All the clergy high and low, are charged not only to shew promptitude in taking this oath, but also shall publicly offer up prayers every day for the preservation of the health of her Imperial majesty, and her son the grand duke Paul Petrovitch, and all the imperial family, according to the formulæ which shall be given to them.

Until an order of government shall be introduced for the happiness of this country, conformably to the gracious regulations of her Imperial majesty, the existing tri-

bunals in the countries, palatinates and districts annexed, shall exercise their functions at the usual periods, in the name and on the authority of her Imperial majesty, and in conformity to the rules of justice and good order.

I declare finally, that the troops stationed in these countries shall observe the strictest discipline, live at the expence of the state, and offer no interruption whatever to agriculture, trade, or commerce.

In order that this manifesto may be universally known, it is ordered to be read in all the churches on the 28th of June, 1795, enregistered in all the courts, and posted up in such places as may be deemed necessary.

Done by the order of my most gracious sovereign the Empress,
and signed with my own hand
and arms, 18th of June, 1795,
(L.S.) TIMOTHY TUTOLMIN.

*Proclamation by Sir Gilbert Elliot,
Viceroy of Corsica.*

In the name of the King.

THE facts that have occurred in some districts, and the errors committed by a part of the inhabitants, seduced by turbulent minds, have induced me to expose to the view of all Corsicans the grievous consequences of such conduct, in order to preserve them from this bad example, to maintain them in the observance of the laws, and in just obedience to his majesty's government. It is well known, that from certain circumstances and past events, Corsica was reduced to a situation the most dangerous for any nation to experience. It was this situation that moved the magnanimity

nanimity of his majesty to afford it assistance, and with the sovereignty, to accept the task of rendering it happy. It is not necessary to repeat the sacrifices that have been made, and how much English blood has been bravely and generously shed, for the purpose of effecting that undertaking. In the circumstances in which it is incumbent on his majesty to supply the most considerable expences, he has not ceased to communicate, with the utmost liberality, in whatever he thought necessary for the defence of the island: the English troops have been employed to protect it; several Corsican battalions raised and maintained by his majesty's beneficence, and an arsenal established at Ajaccio; navigation has been restored, and care has been taken to protect it from the enemy; industry has been compensated by riches, and the means of consumption increased by the station of the fleet and army; the national credit has been respected by foreigners, and supported by all the political influence of his majesty; laws have been framed according to the constitution of the kingdom; the public authorities regulated and protected; individual liberty preserved inviolable, and every motive for intestine division suppressed; the exercise of the religion of your ancestors has been re-established, and a happy conclusion to the articles presented by the parliament to his holiness the pope may soon be expected; and, in fine, a rapid progress in every point towards a perfect organization of the system of government effected, with the applause and consent of the whole nation. But when we promised ourselves that the moral effects

of these changes would have been sufficient for the maintenance of tranquillity and obedience to the laws, and to direct the national activity towards industry and every means of accelerating the general good, it was with much displeasure that, in some parts, we perceived tumults formed, for the purpose of forcing the peaceable and well-behaved subjects to participate in acts of turbulence and licentiousness, viz. to burn the public magazines, to declare and resolve against the payment of the imposts, to search the houses of individuals by an armed force, and threaten the lives of the citizens, with several other inconveniences, manifested and executed with a spirit of insubordination to the government, and the dissolution of every good principle of society, characterized by traits unworthy of persons who possess any stimulus of respect for themselves, or attachment to their country: however, it has been some consolation to us in perceiving that these proceedings are held in abhorrence by the greatest part of the kingdom, and regretted by persons of credit and respectability. It is incumbent upon the Corsicans to consider the danger of the divisions to which this conduct must infallibly expose their nation: tumults are inevitably connected with vexations and acts of violence; arbitrary sway takes place of the law, and then neither life nor property is any longer secure. Neither should we forget an enraged and neighbouring enemy, who can only be kept at a distance by his majesty's arms, your own unanimity, and the energy of the government. The pretence that a people may be go-

verned without taxes is folly in the extreme; this pretence has been subservient to the designs of the seditious of all nations, but has always been the ruin of those who have been so unhappy as to be deceived by it. Such an error as this ought to have less effect in Corsica than any other place, since the heaviest charges are defrayed by the liberality of the king, and where no duty is imposed without the law, and where the laws are framed by the representatives of the people. It has been our wish to enlighten the majority of the nation to whom we apply with confidence, in reminding them of the oath taken to his majesty and the country; and that oath does not promise a bare homage, but a perfect submission and obedience to the laws, and to the orders of the legitimate government, a deviation from which is not permitted to any true and loyal subject of his majesty, under any pretence whatever. A benign compassion, which inclines us in favour of those who have been deceived, and the affection we retain for a nation, in whose prosperity we are interested, has determined us to prefer admonition to every other measure, which, we flatter ourselves, will be sufficient to persuade the Corsicans to an entire submission to the laws, and obedience to the government. We pledge ourselves to answer every just demand; but we likewise declare, that we will never adhere to any measure produced by violence against the course of the laws; and that we will maintain the constitutional rights of the king and his government, in Corsica, with dignity, and unalterable firmness, as

well as the exercise of the prerogative accorded by the constitution itself.

Done at Bastia, Aug. 7, 1795.

Note of Mr. Drake, the British Minister, to the Genoese Republic.

THE undersigned, &c. thinks it his duty to expose to the most serene government the following circumstances:

The report having been circulated and credited, that on the 6th inst. two French privateers endeavoured to sail from this port, without having previously given the securities stipulated in the 6th article of the edict of neutrality, long ago published by the most serene government, and the most strict execution of which was promised in the face of Europe; an edict which, among other clauses, expressly states, that no vessel shall be molested until 24 hours after her sailing: that the officer commanding the battery of the Mole, endeavouring, conformably to the express orders he had received from the most serene government, to prevent the privateers from sailing, and thus obviate the manifest and insulting infraction of the formal laws of the country, ordered a gun to be fired without ball; but this measure having had no effect, that the officer, respecting his duty and the express orders of the most serene government on such occasions, fired with ball, and by this means obliged the privateer to submit to the laws of the port: that, in consequence of this event, an agent of the convention having taken on him to make the strongest complaints against the conduct of the commanding

manding officer, as if his exactness in doing his duty could be considered a crime; and having added to his complaints the most insulting threats to an independent power, threats which become the more insulting because it is impossible for him to realize them: and that, lastly, the most serene government, deliberating on these occurrences, has not only thought proper to allow itself to be intimidated by its menaces, but has even made apologies to this agent of the convention; has imprisoned the commanding officer of the port, and the gunners who fired on the privateers, whose conduct is notwithstanding justified by the positive orders of the most serene government to cause the neutrality to be respected:

The undersigned, &c. informed of all these particulars, could in the first instance view them in no other light than as calumnious reports, circulated by malevolence and the enemies of the most serene government, not being able to persuade himself that it could deviate in a way so open and so insulting to the formal laws of its neutrality. But these reports acquiring daily more and more consistency, the undersigned thinks it his absolute duty to pray the most serene government to give him by an explicit reply, a knowledge of the degree of credit these reports may deserve; for it is of much consequence to his court, as well as to all Europe, to know what reliance can be placed on the protestations so frequently and solemnly repeated by the most serene government, that the law of the neutrality of this port should be respected.

The undersigned profits by this

opportunity to inform the most serene government, that privateers are fitting out in this port, more especially one between the wooden bridge and the arsenal, notwithstanding this is in manifest and clear contradiction of the 7th article of the edict of neutrality above cited.

Answer of the Genoese Republic to Mr. Drake's Note.

THE under-written secretary of the most serene republic of Genoa has the honour to answer to the note of Mr. Francis Drake, minister plenipotentiary for his Britannic majesty, dated the 10th instant, that since many days it is notorious, that on the 8th instant the New Mole fired with grape shot at the French privateer Sibilla, which had sailed from this port without the bill of clearance, though it was strictly ordered to the officer commanding that post to enforce the execution of the edict of neutrality communicated to all the foreign ministers and consuls at Genoa. However, he was not permitted to fire with grape shot, which was never used on any occasion, and was not prescribed by the regulations and instructions given to the commandant of the battery. The government, on its being informed of this accident, even before the French minister had brought any complaint (which related only to the quality of the shot, and not to the fact itself), was affected with that surprize which it would have felt had it been the case of any other flag, and caused the gunner, as well as the officer, to be arrested, in order that

that a trial might be instituted according to the law, and the French minister was then made acquainted with it. Such a conduct, by which the government is assured to have acted in conformity with the system of neutrality, and with the edict by which the mode of its execution is prescribed, could not be interpreted in an unfavourable manner, but by some ill-disposed persons, and by them insidiously exposed to the British Minister, in order to determine him to bring a complaint. The republic therefore has not altered in the least its conduct, nor has it in the least deviated on this occasion from that regularity which is the leading character of justice. The republic therefore cannot help remarking its surprize, in observing, by the note of the British minister, that (independent of the instructions received from his court upon the new point which constitutes the substance of the said note) he has thought proper to insist upon an explicit answer, even in regard to the quality and observance of the neutrality of Genoa.

The adoption of the diplomatic measure (the importance of which cannot but be too well known to the British minister) in respect to a free government, which never ceases to conform its operations to the strictest impartiality, cannot reasonably shake the firmness by which it is directed.

But as the unfavourable colour of the transaction, which involves the neutrality of the republic, must yield to the truth of the fact, the said government rests assured, that it will not in future make any such unfavourable and injurious impressions on the mind of the British

minister as was expressed by him in terms that the king his sovereign, who respects the dignity of others in his own, would not permit to be inserted in the note presented by his minister.

Treaty between America and Algiers.

Treaty of Peace and Amity, concluded this present Day, Lima Artasi, the Twenty-first of the Safer Year of the Hegira, 1210, corresponding with Saturday, the 5th of September, 1795, between Hassan Bashaw, Dey of Algiers, his Divan and Subjects; and George Washington, President of the United States of North America, and the Citizens of the said United States.

Art. 1. From the date of the present treaty there shall subsist a firm and sincere peace and amity between the president and citizens of the United States of North America, and Hassan Bashaw, dey of Algiers, his divan and subjects; the vessels and subjects of both nations reciprocally treating each other with civility, honour, and respect.

2. All vessels belonging to the citizens of the United States of North America shall be permitted to enter the different ports of the regency, to trade with our subjects, or any other persons residing within our jurisdiction, on paying the usual duties at our custom-house that are paid by all nations at peace with this regency; observing, that all goods disembarked, and not sold here, shall be permitted to be re-embarked, without paying any duty whatever, either for disembarking or embarking. All naval
and

and military stores, such as gunpowder, lead, iron, plank, sulphur, timber for building, tar, pitch, rosin, turpentine, and any other goods denominated naval and military stores, shall be permitted to be sold in this regency, without paying any duties whatever at the custom-house of this regency.

3. The vessels of both nations shall pass each other without any impediment or molestation; and all goods, monies, or passengers, of whatsoever nation, that may be on board of the vessels belonging to either party, shall be considered as inviolable, and shall be allowed to pass unmolested.

4. All ships of war belonging to this regency, on meeting with merchant vessels belonging to citizens of the United States, shall be allowed to visit them with two persons only besides the rowers; these two only permitted to go on board said vessel, without obtaining express leave of the commander of said vessel, who shall compare the passport, and immediately permit said vessel to proceed on her voyage unmolested. All ships of war belonging to the said United States of North America, on meeting with an Algerine cruiser, and shall have seen her passport and certificate from the consul of the United States of North America, resident in this regency, shall be permitted to proceed on her cruise unmolested; no passport to be issued to any ships but such as are absolutely the property of citizens of the United States; and eighteen months shall be the term allowed for furnishing the ships of the United States with passports.

5. No commander of any cruiser

belonging to this regency, shall be allowed to take any person, of whatever nation or denomination, out of any vessel belonging to the United States of North America, in order to examine them, or under pretence of making them confess any thing desired; neither shall they inflict any corporal punishment, or any way else molest them.

6. If any vessels belonging to the United States of North America shall be stranded on the coast of this regency, they shall receive every possible assistance from the subjects of this regency; all goods saved from the wreck shall be permitted to be re-embarked on board of any other vessel, without paying any duties at the custom-house.

7. The Algerines are not, on any pretence whatever, to give or sell any vessel of war to any nation at war with the United States of North America, or any vessel capable of cruising to the detriment of the commerce of the United States.

8. Any citizens of the United States of North America having bought any prize condemned by the Algerines, shall not be again captured by the cruisers of the regency then at sea, although they have not a passport; a certificate from the consul resident being deemed sufficient, until such time as they can procure such passport.

9. If any of the Barbary states at war with the United States of North America shall capture any American vessel, and bring her into any of the ports of this regency, they shall not be permitted to sell her, but shall depart the port on procuring the requisite supplies of provision.

10. Any

10. Any vessel belonging to the United States of North America, when at war with any other nation, shall be permitted to send their prizes into the ports of the regency, and have leave to dispose of them without paying any duties on sale thereof. All vessels wanting provisions and refreshments shall be permitted to buy them at market price.

11. All ships of war belonging to the United States of North America, on anchoring in the ports of the regency, shall receive the usual presents of provisions and refreshments, gratis. Should any of the subjects of this regency make their escape on board vessels, they shall be immediately returned. No excuse shall be made, that they have hid themselves amongst the people, and cannot be found, or any other equivocation.

12. No citizen of the United States of North America shall be obliged to redeem any slave against his will, even should he be his brother; neither shall the owner of a slave be forced to sell him against his will: but all such agreements must be made by consent of parties. Should any American citizens be taken on board an enemy's ship, by the cruizers of this regency, having regular passports, specifying they are citizens of the United States, they shall be immediately set at liberty. On the contrary, they having no passport, they and their property shall be considered lawful prizes; as this regency know their friends by their passport.

13. Should any of the citizens of the United States of North America die within the limits of this

regency, the dey and his subjects shall not interfere with the property of the deceased; but it shall be under the immediate direction of the consul, unless otherwise disposed of by will. Should there be no consul, the effects shall be deposited in the hands of some persons worthy of trust, until the party shall appear who has a right to demand them, when they shall render an account of the property. Neither shall the dey or divan give hindrance in the execution of any will that may appear.

14. No citizen of the United States of North America shall be obliged to purchase any goods against his will; but, on the contrary, shall be allowed to purchase whatever it pleaseth him. The consul of the United States of North America, or any other citizen, shall not be amenable for debts contracted by any one of their own nation, unless previously they have given a written obligation so to do. Should the dey want to freight any American vessel that may be in the regency, or Turkey, said vessel not being engaged: in consequence of the friendship subsisting between the two nations, he expects to have the preference given him, on his paying the same freight offered by any other nation.

15. Any disputes, or suits at law, that may take place between the subjects of the regency and the citizens of the United States of North America, shall be decided by the dey in person, and no other. Any disputes that may arise between the citizens of the United States, shall be decided by the consul; as they are in such cases not subject to the laws of this regency.

16. Should

16. Should any citizen of the United States of North America, kill, wound or strike a subject of this regency, he shall be punished in the same manner as a Turk, and not with more severity. Should any citizen of the United States of North America, in the above predicament, escape prison, the consul shall not become answerable for him.

17. The consul of the United States of North America shall have every personal security given him and his household; he shall have liberty to exercise his religion in his own house. All slaves of the same religion shall not be impeded in going to said consul's house at hours of prayer. The consul shall have liberty and personal security given him, to travel whenever he pleases, within the regency: he shall have free licence to go on board any vessel lying in our roads, whenever he shall think fit. The consul shall have leave to appoint his own dragoman and porter.

18. Should a war break out between the two nations, the consul of the United States of North America, and all citizens of the said state, shall have leave to embark themselves and property unmolested, on board of whatever vessel or vessels they shall think proper.

19. Should the cruisers of Algiers capture any vessel, with citizens of the United States of North America on board, they having papers to prove they are really so, they and their property shall be immediately discharged. And should the vessels of the United States capture any vessels of nations at war with them, having subjects of

this regency on board, they shall be treated in like manner.

20. On a vessel of war belonging to the United States of North America anchoring in our ports, the consul is to inform the dey of her arrival; and she shall be saluted with twenty-one guns; which she is to return in the same quantity or number; and the dey will send fresh provisions on board, as is customary, gratis.

21. The consul of the United States of North America shall not be required to pay duty for any thing he brings from a foreign country, for the use of his house and family.

22. Should any disturbance take place between the citizens of the United States and the subjects of this regency, or break an article of this treaty, war shall not be declared immediately; but every thing shall be searched into regularly: the party injured shall be made reparation.

On the 21st of the moon of Safer, 1210, corresponding with the 5th of September, 1795, Joseph Donaldson, junior, on the part of the United States of North America, agreed with Hassan Bashaw, dey of Algiers, to keep the articles contained in this treaty sacred and inviolable; which we, the dey and divan, promise to observe, on consideration of the United States paying annually the value of twelve thousand Algerine sequins in maritime stores. Should the United States forward a larger quantity, the overplus shall be paid for in money, by the dey and regency. Any vessel that may be captured from the date of this treaty of peace and amity, shall immediately be

be delivered up on her arrival in Algiers.

(Signed) VIZIER HASSAN BASHAW,
J. DONALDSON, jun.

Seal of Algiers stamped at the
foot of the original treaty in
Arabic.

*To all whom these presents shall come,
or be made known.*

Whereas the under-written David Humphreys hath been duly appointed commissioner plenipotentiary, by letters patent under the signature of the president, and seal of the United States of America, dated the 30th of March, 1795, for negotiating and concluding a treaty of peace with the dey and governors of Algiers; whereas by instructions given to him on part of the executive, dated 28th of March and 4th of April, 1795, he hath been further authorized to employ Joseph Donaldson, junior, on an agency in the said business; whereas, by a writing under his hand and seal, dated the 21st of May, 1795, he did constitute and appoint Joseph Donaldson, jun. agent in the business aforesaid; and the said Joseph Donaldson, jun. did, on the 5th day of September, 1795, agree with Hassan Bashaw, dey of Algiers, to keep the articles of the preceding treaty sacred and inviolable.

Now, know ye, that I David Humphreys, commissioner plenipotentiary aforesaid, do approve and conclude the said treaty, and every article and clause therein contained; reserving the same nevertheless, for the final ratification of the president of the United States of America, by and with the advice

and consent of the senate of the said United States.

In testimony whereof I have signed the same with my hand and seal, at the city of Lisbon, the 28th of November, 1795.

(Seal) DAVID HUMPHREYS.

Now be it known, that I, George Washington, president of the United States of America, having seen and considered the said treaty, do, by and with the advice and consent of the senate, accept, ratify, and confirm the same, and every clause and article thereof. And to the end that the said treaty may be observed and performed with good faith on the part of the United States, I have ordered the premises to be made public; and I do hereby enjoin and require all persons bearing office, civil or military, within the United States, and all other citizens or inhabitants thereof, faithfully to observe and fulfil the said treaty, and every clause and article thereof.

In testimony whereof, I have caused the seal of the United States of America to be affixed to these presents, and signed the same with my hand.

Done at the city of Philadelphia, the 7th day of March, 1796, and of the independence of the United States of America, the 20th.

(Seal) GEO. WASHINGTON.

By the president,

TIMOTHY PICKERING,

Secretary of state.

Treaty between America and Spain.

Treaty concluded between the
United

United States of America and his Catholic majesty.

HIS Catholic majesty and the United States of America, desirous to consolidate, on a permanent basis, the friendship and good correspondence which happily prevails between the two parties, have determined to establish by a convention, several points, the settlement whereof will be productive of general advantage and reciprocal utility to both nations.

With this intention his Catholic majesty has appointed the most excellent lord Don Manuel de Goday, and Alvarez de Faria, Prince de Paz, duke de la Alcudia, grandee of Spain, of the first class, &c. And the president of the United States, with the advice and consent of their senate, has appointed Thomas Pinckney, a citizen of the United States, and their envoy extraordinary to his Catholic majesty. And the said plenipotentiaries have agreed upon and concluded the following articles:

Art. 1. There shall be a firm and inviolable peace, and sincere friendship, between his Catholic majesty, his successors and subjects, and the United States, and their citizens, without exception of persons or places.

2. To prevent all dispute on the subject of the boundaries which separate the territories of the two high contracting parties, it is hereby declared and agreed as follows, to wit: the southern boundary of the United States, which divides their territory from the Spanish colonies of East and West Florida, shall be designated by a line, beginning on the river Mississippi, at the northernmost part of the thirty-first

degree of latitude, north of the equator, which from thence shall be drawn due east, to the middle of the river Apalachicola or Carah-suche, thence along the middle thereof to its junction with the Flint; then straight to the head of St. Mary's river, and thence down the middle thereof to the Atlantic ocean. And it is agreed, that if there should be any troops, garrisons, or settlements of either party on the territory of the other, according to the above-mentioned boundaries, they shall be withdrawn from the said territory within the term of six months after the ratification of this treaty, or sooner, if it be possible; and that they shall be permitted to take with them all the goods and effects which they possess.

3. In order to carry the preceding article into effect, one commissioner and one surveyor shall be appointed by each of the contracting parties, who shall meet at Natches, on the left side of the Mississippi, before the expiration of six months from the ratification of this convention, and they shall proceed to run and make this boundary, according to the stipulations of the said article. They shall make plans and keep journals of their proceedings, which shall be considered as part of this convention, and shall have the same force as if this were inserted therein. And, if on any account it should be found necessary that the said commissioners and surveyors should be accompanied by guards, they shall be furnished in equal proportion by the commanding officer of his majesty's troops in the two Floridas, and the commanding officer of the troops of the United States

States in the south-western territory, who shall act by common consent, and amicably, as well with respect to this point, as to the furnishing provisions and instruments, and making every other arrangement which may be necessary or useful for the execution of this article.

4. It is likewise agreed that the western boundary of the United States, which separates them from the Spanish colony of Louisiana, is in the middle of the channel or bed of the river Mississippi, from the northern boundary of the said states to the completion of the thirty-first degree of latitude north of the equator. And his Catholic majesty has likewise agreed, that the navigation of the said river, from its source to the ocean, shall be free only to his subjects and the citizens of the United States, unless he should extend this privilege to the subjects of other powers by a special convention.

5. The two high contracting parties shall, by all means in their power, maintain peace and harmony amongst the several Indian nations who inhabit the country adjacent to the lines and rivers which, by the preceding article, form the boundaries of the two Floridas; and the better to attain this effect, both parties oblige themselves expressly to restrain by force, all hostilities on the part of the Indian nations living within their boundary; so that Spain will not suffer their Indians inhabiting their territory, nor will the United States permit their last-mentioned Indians to commence hostilities against his Catholic majesty, or his Indians, in any manner whatsoever.

And whereas several treaties of friendship exist between the two contracting parties and the said nations of Indians, it is hereby agreed, that in future no treaty of alliance, or other whatsoever (except treaties of peace) shall be made by either party with the Indians living within the boundary of the other; but both parties will endeavour to make the advantages of the Indian trade common and mutually beneficial to their respective subjects and citizens, observing in all things the most complete reciprocity, so that both parties may obtain the advantages arising from a good understanding with the said nations, without being subject to the expence which they have hitherto occasioned.

6. Each party shall endeavour, by all means in their power, to protect and defend all vessels and other effects belonging to the citizens or subjects of the other, which shall be within the extent of their jurisdiction by sea, or by land, and shall use all their efforts to recover, and cause to be recovered, to their right owners, their vessels and effects which may have been taken from them within the extent of their said jurisdiction, whether they are at war or not with the subjects who have taken possession of the said effects.

7. And it is agreed, that the subjects or citizens of each of the contracting parties, their vessels or effects, shall not be liable to any embargo or detention, on the part of the other, for any military expedition, or other public or private purpose whatsoever. And in all cases of seizure, detention, or arrest, for debts contracted or offences committed by any citizen

or

or subject of the one party within the jurisdiction of the other, the same shall be made and prosecuted by order and authority of law only, and according to the regular course of proceedings usual in such cases. The citizens and subjects of both parties shall be allowed such advocates, solicitors, notaries, agents, and factors, as they judge proper in all their affairs, and in all their trials at law, in which they may be concerned, before the tribunal of the other party, and such agents shall have free access to be present at the proceedings in such causes, and at the taking of examinations and evidence which may be exhibited on the said trials.

8. In case the subjects and inhabitants of either party, with their shipping, whether public and of war, or private, and of merchants, be forced, through stress of weather, pursuit of pirates or enemies, or any other urgent necessity for taking shelter or harbour, to retreat and enter into any of the rivers, bays, roads or ports belonging to the other party, they shall be received and treated with all humanity, and enjoy all favour, protection and help; and they shall be permitted to provide themselves, at reasonable rates, with victuals, and all things needful for the sustenance of their persons, or reparation of their ships, and prosecution of their voyage; and they shall no ways be hindered from returning out of the said ports or roads, but may remove and depart when and whither they please, without any let or hindrance.

9. All ships and merchandize, of whatever nature soever, which shall be rescued out of the hands of any pirates or robbers on the

high seas, shall be brought into some port of either state, and shall be delivered to the custody of the officers of that port, in order to be taken care of, and restored to the true proprietor, as soon as due and sufficient proof shall be made concerning the property thereof.

10. When any vessel of either party shall be wrecked, foundered, or otherwise damaged, on the coast, or within the dominions of the other, their respective subjects and citizens shall receive as well for themselves as for their vessels and effects, the same assistance which would be due to the inhabitants of the country where the damage happens, and shall pay the same charges and duties only as the said inhabitants would be subject to pay in a like case: and if the operation of repairs would require the whole, or any part of the cargo to be unladen, they shall pay no duties, charges, or fees, on the part which they shall relade and carry away.

11. The citizens and subjects of each party shall have power to dispose of their personal goods, within the jurisdiction of the other, by testaments, donation, or otherwise; and their representatives, being subjects or citizens of the other party, shall succeed to their said personal goods, whether by testament or *ab intestato*, and they may take possession thereof, either by themselves or others acting for them, and dispose of the same at their will, paying sale duties only, as the inhabitants of the country where the same goods are shall be subject to pay in like cases. And in case of the absence of the representative, such

care shall be taken of the said goods as of a native in like case, until the lawful owner may take measures for receiving them. And if questions should arise among several claimants, to which of them the goods belong, the same shall be decided by the laws and judges of the land wherein the said goods are. And where on the death of any person holding a real estate within the territories of the one party, such real estate would, by the law of the land, descend on a citizen or subject of the other, were he not disqualified by being an alien, such subject shall be allowed a reasonable time to sell the same, and to withdraw the proceeds without molestation, and exempt from all right of detraction on the part of the government of the respective states.

12. The merchant ships of either party which shall be making into ports, or into a port belonging to the enemy of the other party, and concerning whose voyage, and the species of goods on board her, there shall be just grounds of suspicion, shall be obliged to exhibit, as well upon the high seas as in the ports and havens, not only her passport, but likewise certificates, expressly shewing that her goods are not of the number of those which have been prohibited as contraband.

13. For the better promoting of commerce on both sides, it is agreed, that if a war shall break out between the two said nations, one year, after the proclamation of war, shall be allowed to the merchants in the cities and towns where they shall live, for collecting and transporting their goods and merchandizes; and if any

thing be taken from them, or any injury be done them, within that term, to either party, or the people or subjects of either, full satisfaction shall be made by the government.

14. No subject of his Catholic majesty shall apply for, or take any commission or letters of marque, for arming any ship or ships to act as privateers against the United States, or against the citizens, people, or inhabitants of the said United States, or against the property of any of the inhabitants of any of them, from any prince or state, with which the United States shall be at war. Nor shall any citizen, subject, or inhabitant of the said United States, apply for, or take any commission or letters of marque, for arming any ship or ships to act as privateers against the subjects of his Catholic majesty, or the property of any of them, from any prince or state with which the said king shall be at war. And if any person of either nation shall take such commission or letters of marque, he shall be punished as a pirate.

15. It shall be lawful for all and singular subjects of his Catholic majesty, and the citizens, people, and inhabitants of the United States, to sail with their ships, with all manner of liberty and security, no distinction being made, who are the proprietors of the merchandizes laden therein, from any port to the places of those who now are, or hereafter shall be, at enmity with his Catholic majesty or the United States. It shall be lawful likewise for the subjects and inhabitants aforesaid to sail with the ships and merchandizes afore-mentioned, and to trade

trade with the same liberty and security from the places, ports, or havens of those who are enemies to both, or either party, without any opposition or disturbance whatsoever, not only from the places of the enemy afore-mentioned to neutral places, but also from one place, belonging to an enemy, whether they be under the jurisdiction of the same prince, or under several; and it is hereby stipulated, that free ships shall also give freedom to goods, and that every thing shall be deemed free and exempt which shall be found on board the ships belonging to the subjects of either of the contracting parties, although the whole lading, or any part thereof, should appertain to the enemy of either, contraband goods being always excepted. It is also agreed, that the same liberty be granted to persons who are on board a free ship, so that although they may be enemies to either party, they shall not be made prisoners, or taken out of that free ship, unless they are soldiers, and in actual service of the enemies.

16. This liberty of navigation and commerce shall extend to all kinds of merchandizes, excepting only those which are distinguished by the name of contraband; and under this name of contraband, or prohibited goods, shall be comprehended arms, great guns, bombs, with their fusees, and the other things belonging to them, cannon-balls, gun-powder, match, pikes, swords, lances, spears, halberts, mortars, petards, grenades, salt-petre, muskets, musket-balls, bucklers, helmets, breast-plates, coats of mail, and the like kind of arms, proper for arming soldiers; musket-

rests, belts, horses with their furniture, and all other warlike instruments whatever. These merchandizes which follow, shall not be reckoned amongst contraband or prohibited goods; that is to say, all sorts of cloths, and all other manufactures woven of any wool, flax, silk, cotton, or any other materials whatever, all kinds of wearing apparel, together with all species whereof they are used to be made; gold and silver, as well coined as uncoined, tin, iron, latten, brass, copper, coals; as also wheat, barley, and oats, and any other kind of corn and pulse; tobacco, and likewise all manner of spices, salted and smoked flesh, salted fish, cheese and butter, beer, oils, wines, sugar, and all sorts of salt; and in general, all provisions which serve for the sustenance of life; furthermore all kinds of cotton, hemp, flax, tar, pitch, ropes, sails, sail-cloths, anchors, or any part of anchors, also ship-masts, planks and wood of all kinds, and all things proper either for building or repairing ships, and all other goods whatever which have not been worked into the form of any instrument prepared for war by land or by sea, shall not be reputed contraband, much less such as have been already wrought and made up for any other use; all which shall be wholly reckoned amongst free goods; as likewise all other merchandizes and things which are not comprehended, and particularly mentioned in the foregoing enumeration of contraband goods; so that they may be transported and carried in the freest manner by the subjects to both parties, even to places belonging to an enemy, such towns or places being only

excepted as are at that time besieged, blocked up, or invested. And except the places in which any ship of war or squadron shall, in consequence of storms or other accidents at sea, be under the necessity of taking the cargo of any trading vessel or vessels, in which case they may stop the said vessel or vessels, and furnish themselves with necessaries, giving a receipt, in order that the power to whom the said ship of war belongs, may pay for the article so taken, according to the price thereof, at the port to which they may appear to have been destined by the ship's papers; and the two contracting parties engage, that the vessels shall not be detained longer than may be absolutely necessary for the said ships to supply themselves with necessaries; that they will immediately pay the value of the receipts, and indemnify the proprietor for all losses which he may have sustained in consequence of such transactions.

17. To the end that all manner of dissensions and quarrels may be avoided and prevented on one side, and on the other, it is agreed, that in case either of the parties hereto should be engaged in a war, the ships and vessels belonging to subjects or people of the other party, must be furnished with sea letters or passports expressing the name, property, and bulk of the ship, as also the name and place of habitation of the master or commander of the said ships, that it may appear thereby that the ships really and truly belong to subjects of one of the parties; which passport shall be made out and granted according to the form annexed to this treaty. They shall likewise be recalled every year, that is, if the ship hap-

pens to return home within the space of a year.

It is likewise agreed that such ships being laden, are to be provided not only with passports, as above-mentioned, but also with certificates, containing the several particulars of the cargo, the place whence the ship sailed, that so it may be known whether any forbidden or contraband goods be on board the same; which certificates shall be made out by the officers of the place whence the ships sailed in the accustomed form; and if any one shall think it fit or advisable to express in the said certificates the person to whom the goods on board belong, he may do so; without which requisites they may be sent to one of the ports of the other contracting party, and adjudged by the competent tribunal, according to what is above set forth, that all the circumstances of this omission having been well examined, they shall be adjudged to be legal prizes, unless they shall give legal satisfaction of their property by testimony equally equivalent.

18. If the ships of the said subjects, people or inhabitants of either of the parties, shall be met with, either sailing along the coasts, or on the high seas, by any ships of war of the other, or by any privateer, the said ship of war or privateer, for avoiding any disorder, shall remain out of cannon shot, and may send their boats on board the merchant ship which they shall so meet with, and may enter her to the number of two or three men only, to whom the master or commander of such ship or vessel shall exhibit his passports concerning the property of the ship, made out according

according to the form inserted in this present treaty; and the ship, when she shall have shewn such passport, shall be free and at liberty to pursue her voyage, so as it shall not be lawful to molest or give her chace in any manner, or force her to quit her intended course.

19. Consuls shall be reciprocally established, with the privileges and power which those of the most favoured nations enjoy in the ports where their consuls reside, or are permitted to be.

20. It is also agreed, that the inhabitants of the territories of each party shall respectively have free access to the courts of justice of the other; and they shall be permitted to prosecute suits for the recovery of their property, the payment of their debts, and for obtaining satisfaction for the damages which they may have sustained, whether the persons whom they may sue, be subjects or citizens of the country in which they be found, or any other persons whatever who may have taken refuge therein; and the proceedings and sentences of courts, shall be the same as if the contending parties had been subjects or citizens of the said country.

21. In order to terminate all differences on account of the losses sustained by the citizens of the United States, in consequence of their vessels and cargoes having been taken by the subjects of his Catholic majesty during the late war between Spain and France, it is agreed that all such cases shall be referred to the final decision of commissioners to be appointed in the following manner. His Catholic majesty shall appoint one com-

missioner, and the president of the United States, by and with the advice and consent of the senate, shall appoint another; and the said two commissioners shall agree on the choice of a third, or if they cannot so agree, they shall each propose one person; and of the two names so proposed, one shall be drawn by lot in the presence of the two original commissioners; and the person whose name shall be drawn shall be the third commissioner; and the three commissioners so appointed shall be sworn impartially to examine and decide the claims in question, according to the merit of the several cases, and to justice, equity, and the laws of nations. The said commissioners shall meet and sit at Philadelphia; and in case of the death, sickness, or necessary absence of any such commissioner, his place shall be supplied in the same manner as he was first appointed, and the new commissioner shall take the same oath, and do the same duties.— They shall receive all complaints and applications authorized by this article during eighteen months from the day on which they shall assemble. They shall have power to examine all such persons as come before them, on oath or affirmation, touching the complaints in question, and also to receive in evidence all written testimony, authenticated in such a manner as they shall think proper to require or admit. The award of the said commissioners, or any two of them, shall be final and conclusive, both as to the justice of the claim, and the amount of the sum to be paid to the claimants; and his Catholic majesty undertakes to cause the same

to be paid in specie, without deduction, at such time and places, and under such conditions, as shall be awarded by the same commissioners.

22. The two high contracting parties, hoping that the good correspondence and friendship which happily reigns between them, will be further increased by this treaty, and that it will contribute to augment their prosperity and opulence, will in future give to their mutual commerce all the extension and favour which the advantages of both countries may require.

And in consequence of the stipulations contained in the fourth article, his Catholic majesty will permit the citizens of the United States, for the space of three years from this time, to deposit their merchandizes and effects in the port of New Orleans, and to export them from thence without paying any other duty than a fair price for the hire of the stores; and his majesty promises, either to continue this permission, if he finds, during that time, that it is not prejudicial to the interest of Spain, or if he should not agree to continue, he will assign to them, on another part of the banks of the Mississippi, an equivalent establishment.

23. The present treaty shall not be in force until ratified by the contracting parties, and the ratifications shall be exchanged in six months from that time, or sooner, if possible.

In witness whereof, we the underwritten plenipotentiaries of his Catholic majesty and of the United States of America have signed this present treaty of friendship, limits,

and navigation, and have thereunto affixed our seals respectively.

Done at San Lorenzo et Real,

October 27, 1795.

(L. S.) THOMAS PINCKNEY.

(L. S.) PRINCE DE LA PAZ.

Abstract of the Treaty between Great Britain and the United States of America.

THIS Treaty consists of twenty-eight articles:

The first article establishes peace and friendship between his Britannic majesty and the United States.

In the second, his majesty consents to withdraw all his troops and garrisons from all posts and places within the boundary lines assigned by the treaty of peace to the United States. The evacuation is to take place on or before the 1st of June, 1796.

The third article allows to his majesty's subjects and the citizens of the United States, and to the Indians dwelling on either side of the said boundary line, freely to pass and repass by land or inland navigation into the respective territories of the two parties. The country within the limits of the Hudson's Bay Company is excepted. Vessels belonging to the United States are not to be admitted into the ports of his majesty's said territories, nor British vessels from the sea into the rivers of the United States beyond the highest ports of entry for foreign vessels from the sea. The navigation of Mississippi, however is to be entirely free. Goods and merchandize shall be conveyed into the territories of

of his Britannic majesty by American citizens, and into the territories of the United States by British subjects, subject to the regulations established by both parties.

The fourth article relates to the ascertaining of the extent of the Mississippi to the northward.

The fifth article alludes to the doubts that have arisen relative to the river St. Croix, and agrees to refer these doubts to commissioners.

The sixth article allows British subjects the power of recovering debts due to them by American citizens previously to the peace; which debts have not been recovered hitherto, on account of some legal impediments. The United States agree to make full and complete compensation to the creditors who have suffered by those impediments. The amount of the losses and damages is to be ascertained by five commissioners—two to be appointed by Great Britain, two by the president of the United States, and one by the other four.

When the five commissioners thus appointed shall first meet, they shall, before they proceed to act, respectively take the following oath or affirmation, in the presence of each other, which oath or affirmation being so taken, and duly attested, shall be entered on the record of their proceedings, viz. I, A. B. one of the commissioners appointed in pursuance of the sixth article of the treaty of amity, commerce, and navigation, between his Britannic majesty and the United States of America, do solemnly swear, or affirm, that I will honestly, diligently, impartially, and carefully examine, and so the best of my judgment, accord-

ing to justice and equity, decide all such complaints, as under the said article shall be referred to the said commissioners; and that I will forbear to act as a commissioner in any case in which I may be personally interested.

Three of the said commissioners shall constitute a board, and shall have power to do any act appertaining to the said commission, provided that one of the commissioners named on each side, and the fifth commissioner shall be present, and all decisions shall be made by the majority of the voices of the commissioners then present; eighteen months from the day on which the said commissioners shall form a board, and be ready to proceed to business, are assigned for receiving complaints and applications; but they are nevertheless authorized, in any particular cases, in which it shall appear to them to be reasonable and just, to extend the said term of eighteen months for any term not exceeding six months after the expiration thereof. The said commissioners shall first meet at Philadelphia, but they shall have power to adjourn from place to place as they shall see cause.

The award of the said commissioners, or any three of them as aforesaid, shall in all cases be final and conclusive.

The seventh article allows indemnification, by the British government, to such of the citizens of the United States as have suffered, during the late war, by irregular and illegal captures. The United States also agree to indemnify British subjects for irregular illegal captures taken by American ships during the war.

For the purpose of ascertaining the amount of any such losses and damages, five commissioners shall be appointed and authorized to act in London, exactly in the manner directed with respect to those mentioned in the preceding article, and after having taken the same oath or affirmation (*mutatis mutandis*) the same term of eighteen months is also assigned for the reception of claims, and they are in like manner authorized to extend the same in particular places. They shall receive testimony, books, papers, and evidence in the same latitude, and exercise the like discretion and powers respecting that subject; and shall decide the claims in question according to the merits of the several cases, and to justice, equity, and the laws of nations. The award of the commissioners, or any such three of them as aforesaid, shall in all cases be final and conclusive, both as to the justice of the claim, and the amount of the sum to be paid to the claimant; and his Britannic majesty undertakes to cause the same to be paid to such claimants in specie, without any deduction, at such place or places, and at such time or times, as shall be awarded by the same commissioners, and on condition of such releases or assignments to be given by the claimants, as by the said commissioners may be directed.

The eighth article refers to the two former, and settles the mode of paying the amount of the losses.

The ninth article permits the subjects of each country to hold lands in either country, and to sell and devise them in the same manner as if they were natives.

In the tenth article it is agreed

that in case of a war, no money belonging to individuals shall be sequestered or confiscated.

The eleventh article establishes a perfect liberty of navigation and commerce between the two countries.

The twelfth article allows the citizens of the United States to carry the produce of the United States to the West Indies, in vessels of not more than seventy tons burthen. The citizens are also allowed to carry away the produce of the islands to the territories of the United States alone.—This article is to continue in force for two years after the present war, when farther regulations are to be made.

In the thirteenth article his Britannic majesty consents to admit American vessels into the British ports in the East Indies. This consent, however, is not to extend to the carrying on of the coasting trade in the East Indies.

The citizens of the United States are not to reside or go into the interior parts of the East India settlements. They are not to export, in time of war, stores or rice from the East-Indies; they may touch at St. Helena for refreshment.

The fourteenth article relates to liberty of commerce and navigation between the dominions of his majesty in Europe, and the territories of the United States in America.

The fifteenth article states, that no higher duties shall be paid by the ships or merchandize of the one party in the ports of the other, than the duties paid by other nations. No higher duties shall be paid upon importation or exportation than the duties paid on the importation or exportation of similar

for articles the produce of other nations.

The sixteenth article relates to the appointment of consuls for the protection of trade.

The seventeenth article relates to vessels being captured or detained, on suspicion of having enemy's property on board. Such property alone is to be taken out; such vessels are to be permitted to proceed to sea with the remainder of their cargo.

The eighteenth article decides what articles the term contraband can be applied to.

The nineteenth article provides for the security of the respective subjects and citizens, and for the preventing of injuries by men of war.

The twentieth article relates to the refusal of the respective parties to receive pirates into any harbours or towns, and to the seizure of goods and merchandize taken by pirates.

The twenty-first article provides, that the subjects and citizens of the two nations shall not do any acts of hostility against each other, and shall not accept commissions from foreign states or princes, to commit hostilities.

The twenty-second article prevents acts of reprisal, without due notice.

The twenty-third relates to the treatment of ships, officers, and crews, in the respective ports of the two powers.

The twenty-fourth article provides, that privateers of nations at enmity with either of the two powers, shall not arm their ships in the respective ports of the two powers, or sell what they have taken.

The twenty-fifth allows the ships of war belonging to the said parties, to carry the ships and goods taken from their enemies, whither-soever they please.

In case of war between the two nations, the twenty-sixth article permits the merchants and others, of each of the two nations, to reside in the dominions of the other, and to continue their trade.

The twenty-seventh article agrees that the two powers shall respectively deliver up persons charged with murder and forgery.

The twenty-eighth, alluding to the preceding articles, states, that the first ten articles shall be permanent, and that the subsequent articles (the twelfth excepted) shall be limited in their duration to twelve years. The treaty is to be binding and obligatory as soon as it is ratified.

The treaty is signed

GRENVILLE,
JOHN JAY.

*Official Copy of the Treaty between
the King of Spain and the Re-
public of France.*

THE French republic and his majesty the king of Spain, equally animated with a desire to put a stop to the calamities of the war which now disunites them, strongly convinced that there exist between the two nations respective interests which demand a reciprocal return of friendship and good understanding, and wishing, by a solid and durable peace, to re-establish that desirable harmony which had for a long time been the constant basis of the relations subsisting between the two countries, they have charged

charged with this negotiation, viz. the French republic, citizen Francis Barthelemi, their ambassador in Switzerland; and his Catholic majesty, his minister plenipotentiary and envoy extraordinary to the king and republic of Poland; Don Domingo d'Yriarte; who, after having exchanged their powers, have agreed to the following articles:

Art. 1. There shall be peace, amity, and good understanding between the French republic and the kingdom of Spain.

2. In consequence, all the hostilities between the two contracting powers shall cease from the date of the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty; and none of them shall, from that period, furnish against the other, in any quality, or under any title, any aid, or contingent, either in men, horses, provisions, money, warlike stores, ships, or other articles.

3. Neither of the contracting powers shall grant a passage through their territories to any troops at war with the other.

4. The French republic restores to the king of Spain all the conquests which she has made from him in the course of the present war: the conquered places and territories shall be evacuated by the French troops within fifteen days after the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty.

5. The fortified places, of which mention is made in the preceding article, shall be restored to Spain, with the cannons, warlike stores, and other articles belonging to those places, which shall have been in them at the moment of the signing of this treaty.

6. All sorts of military contri-

butions, requisitions and payments, shall entirely cease from the date of fifteen days after the signing of the present pacification: all the arrears due at that period, even bills and promissory notes, given for these objects, shall be of no effect: what shall have been taken or received after the above-named period, shall be gratuitously restored, or paid for to the amount of its value.

7. There shall immediately be named by both sides commissioners, for the purpose of adjusting a treaty of limits between the two powers: they shall as much as possible take as the basis of this treaty with respect to the territories which were disputed before the present war, the tops of the mountains which are the sources of the rivers of France and Spain.

8. Neither of the contracting powers can, at the expiration of a month after the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty, maintain on their respective frontiers more than the number of troops they had usually been accustomed to have stationed there previous to the present war.

9. In exchange for the places restored by the 4th article, the king of Spain, for himself and his successors, gives up and abandons to the French republic all right of property in the Spanish part of St. Domingo, one of the Antilles: a month after the ratification of the present treaty shall be known in that island, the Spanish troops shall be in readiness to evacuate the places, ports, and establishments which they at present occupy, in order to give them up to the troops of the French republic as soon as they shall arrive to take possession of

of them; the places, ports, and establishments, of which mention is made above, shall be delivered up to the French republic, with the cannons, warlike stores, and articles necessary for their defence, which shall be in them at the moment when the present treaty shall be known at St. Domingo. The inhabitants of the Spanish part of St. Domingo, who, from inducements of interest or other motives, shall prefer removing with their property into the dominions of his Catholic majesty, shall be able to do so within the space of a year from the date of the treaty; the respective generals and commanders of the two nations shall concert the measures necessary to be taken for the execution of the present article.

10. There shall be respectively granted to the individuals of the two nations restitution of the effects, revenues, and property of all forts, detained, seized, or confiscated, on account of the war which has subsisted between the French republic and his Catholic majesty; and likewise the most speedy justice with respect to the particular claims which these individuals may have in the states of the two contracting powers.

11. In the mean time, till there shall be a new treaty of commerce between the contracting parties, all correspondencies and commercial relations shall be re-established between France and Spain on the footing on which they stood before the present war.

All French merchants shall be allowed to pass into Spain, there to resume their commercial establishments. They shall make new ones according to their conveni-

ence, submitting, in common with all other individuals, to the laws and usages of the country.

The Spanish merchants shall enjoy the same privileges, subject to the same conditions, in France.

12. All the prisoners respectively made since the commencement of the war, without regard to the difference of number and rank, comprehending the seamen and marines captured on board French or Spanish vessels, or those of other nations, as well as in general all those imprisoned on either side on account of the war, shall be delivered up within the space of two months at latest, after the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty, without any appeal on either part, discharging, however, the private debts which the prisoners may have contracted during their captivity. The same mode shall be adopted with respect to the sick and wounded, immediately after their recovery or cure.

Commissioners on either side shall be immediately appointed to proceed to the execution of the present article.

13. The Portuguese prisoners making a part of the troops of Portugal, who have served with the armies and on board the ships of his Catholic majesty, shall be in like manner comprehended in the above-mentioned exchange. It shall be the same with respect to the French troops taken by the Portuguese troops in question.

14. The same peace, amity, and good understanding, stipulated by the present treaty between France and the king of Spain, shall take place between the king of Spain and the republic of the United

Pro.

Provinces, allies of the French republic.

15. The French republic, wishing to give a testimony of amity to his Catholic majesty, accepts his mediation in favour of the kingdom of Portugal, the king of Naples, the king of Sardinia, the infant duke of Parma, and the other states of Italy, for the re-establishment of peace between the French republic and each of these princes and states.

16. The French republic, sensible of the interest which his Catholic majesty takes in the general pacification of Europe, consents likewise to accept of his good offices in favour of other belligerent powers, who shall apply to him, in order to enter into negotiation with the French government.

17. The present treaty shall not have effect till after having been ratified by the contracting parties; and the ratifications shall be exchanged within the space of a month, or sooner, from the date of this day.

In witness whereof we the undersigned plenipotentiaries of the French republic, and of his majesty the king of Spain, in virtue of our full powers, have signed this present treaty of peace and amity, and have put to it our respective seals.

Done at Basle the 4th of the month of Thermidor, the third year of the French republic (22d July, 1795.)

(Signed) FRANCOIS BARTHELEMI,
DOMINGO D'YRIARTE.

Houses of Congress, December 8, 1795.

Fellow citizens of the senate, and house of representatives,

I trust I do not deceive myself, while I indulge the persuasion, that I have never met you at any period, when, more than at the present, the situation of our public affairs has afforded just cause of mutual congratulation, and for inviting you to join with me in profound gratitude to the Author of all good, for the numerous and extraordinary blessings we enjoy.

The termination of the long, expensive, and distressing war in which we have been engaged with certain Indians north-west of the Ohio, is placed in the option of the United States, by a treaty which the commander of our army has concluded provisionally, with the hostile tribes in that region.

In the adjustment of the terms, the satisfaction of the Indians was deemed an object worthy no less of the policy than of the liberality of the United States, as the necessary basis of durable tranquillity. This object has been fully attained. The articles agreed upon will immediately be laid before the senate, for their consideration.

The Creek and Cherokee Indians, who alone of the southern tribes had annoyed our frontiers, have lately confirmed their pre-existing treaties with us, and were giving evidence of a sincere disposition to carry them into effect, by the surrender of the prisoners and property they had taken; but we have to lament that the fair prospect in this quarter has been once more clouded by wanton murders, which some citizens of Georgia are represented

sented to have recently perpetrated on hunting parties of the Creeks; which have again subjected that frontier to disquietude and danger, which will be productive of further expence, and may occasion further effusion of blood. Measures are pursuing to prevent or mitigate the usual consequences of such outrages; and with the hope of their succeeding, at least to avert a general hostility.

A letter from the emperor of Morocco announces to me his recognition of our treaty made with his father the late emperor; and consequently the continuance of peace with that power. With peculiar satisfaction I add, that information has been received from an agent deputed on our part to Algiers, importing, that the terms of the treaty with the dey and regency of that country had been adjusted in such a manner, as to authorize the expectation of a speedy peace, and the restoration of our unfortunate fellow citizens from a grievous captivity.

The latest advices from our envoy at the court of Madrid give, moreover, the pleasing information, that he had received assurances of a speedy and satisfactory conclusion of his negotiation. While the event, depending upon unadjusted particulars, cannot be regarded as ascertained, it is agreeable to cherish the expectation of an issue, which securing amicably the very essential interests of the United States, will, at the same time, lay the foundation of lasting harmony with a power, whose friendship we have uniformly and sincerely desired to cultivate.

Though not before officially disclosed to the house of representa-

tives, you, gentlemen, are apprized, that a treaty of amity, commerce, and navigation, has been negotiated with Great Britain; and that the senate have advised and consented to its ratification, upon a condition which excepts part of one article. Agreeably thereto, and to the best judgment I was able to form of the public interest, after full and mature deliberation, I have added my sanction. The result on the part of his Britannic majesty is unknown. When received, the subject will, without delay, be placed before congress.

This interesting summary of our affairs with regard to the foreign powers, between whom and the United States controversies have subsisted, and with regard also to those of our Indian neighbours with whom we have been in a state of enmity and misunderstanding, opens a wide field for consoling and gratifying reflections. If, by prudence and moderation on every side, the extinguishment of all the causes of external discord, which have heretofore menaced our tranquillity, on terms compatible with our national rights and honour, shall be the happy result, how firm and how precious a foundation will have been laid for accelerating, maturing, and establishing the prosperity of our country!

Contemplating the internal situation, as well as the external relations, of the United States, we discover equal cause for contentment and satisfaction. While many of the nations of Europe, with their American dependencies, have been involved in a contest unusually bloody, exhausting, and calamitous; in which the evils of foreign

reign war have been aggravated by domestic convulsions and insurrection; in which many of the arts most useful to society have been exposed to discouragement and decay; in which scarcity of subsistence has embittered other sufferings; while even the anticipations of a return of the blessings of peace and repose are alloyed by the sense of heavy and accumulating burdens, which press upon all the departments of industry, and threaten to clog the future springs of government;—our favoured country, happy in a striking contrast, has enjoyed general tranquillity—the more satisfactory, because maintained at the expence of no duty. Faithful to ourselves, we have violated no obligation to others. Our agriculture, commerce, and manufactures prosper beyond former example; the molestations of our trade (to prevent a continuance of which, however, very pointed remonstrances have been made) being over-balanced by the aggregate benefits which it derives from a neutral position. Our population advances with a celerity which, exceeding the most sanguine expectations, proportionally augments our strength and resources, and guarantees our future security. Every part of the union displays indications of rapid and various improvement, and with burdens so light as scarcely to be perceived; with resources fully adequate to our present exigencies; with governments founded on the genuine principles of rational liberty, and with mild and wholesome laws; is it too much to say, that our country exhibits a spectacle of national happiness never surpassed, if ever before equalled?

Placed in a situation every way so auspicious, motives of commanding force impel us, with sincere acknowledgment to heaven, and pure love to our country, to unite our efforts to preserve, prolong, and improve our immense advantages. To co-operate with you in this desirable work, is a fervent and favourite wish of my heart.

It is a valuable ingredient in the general estimate of our welfare, that the part of our country, which was lately the scene of disorder and insurrection, now enjoys the blessings of quiet and order. The misled have abandoned their errors, and pay the respect to our constitution and laws, which is due from good citizens to the public authorities of the society. These circumstances have induced me to pardon, generally, the offenders here referred to: and to extend forgiveness to those who have been adjudged, to capital punishment. For, although I shall always think it a sacred duty, to exercise with firmness and energy the constitutional powers with which I am vested; yet it appeared to me no less consistent with the public good, than it is with my personal feelings, to mingle in the operations of government every degree of moderation and tenderness, which the national justice, dignity, and safety may permit.

Gentlemen,

Among the objects which will claim your attention in the course of the session, a review of our military establishment is not the least important. It is called for by the events which have changed, and may be expected still further to change, the relative situation of our

our frontiers. In this review; you will doubtless allow due weight to the considerations, that the questions between us and certain foreign powers, are not yet finally adjusted; that the war in Europe is not terminated; and that our western posts, when recovered, will demand provision for garrisoning and securing them. A statement of our present military force will be laid before you by the department of war.

With the review of our army establishment is naturally connected that of the militia. It will merit inquiry, what imperfections in the existing plan, further experience may have unfolded. The subject is of so much moment, in my estimation, as to excite a constant solicitude, that the consideration of it may be renewed until the greatest attainable perfection shall be accomplished. Time is wearing away some advantages for forwarding the object, while none better deserves the persevering attention of the public councils.

While we indulge the satisfaction which the actual condition of our western borders so well authorizes, it is necessary that we should not lose sight of an important truth, which continually receives new confirmations; namely, that the provisions heretofore made, with a view to the protection of the Indians from the violence of the lawless part of the frontier inhabitants, are insufficient. It is demonstrated, that these violences can now be perpetrated with impunity. And it can need no argument to prove, that unless the murdering of Indians can be restrained by bringing the murderers to condign punishment, all the exertions of the go-

vernment to prevent destructive retaliations by the Indians, will prove fruitless, and all our present agreeable prospects illusory. The frequent destruction of innocent women and children, who are chiefly the victims of retaliation, must continue to shock humanity; and an enormous expence to drain the treasury of the union.

To enforce upon the Indians the observance of justice, it is indispensable that there shall be competent means of rendering justice to them. If these means can be devised by the wisdom of congress, and especially if there can be added an adequate provision for supplying the necessities of the Indians, on reasonable terms, (a measure, the mention of which I the more readily repeat, as in all the conferences they urge it with solicitude); I should not hesitate to entertain a strong hope of rendering our tranquillity permanent. I add, with pleasure, that the probability even of their civilization is not diminished by the experiments which have been thus far made under the auspices of government. The accomplishment of this work, if practicable, will reflect undecaying lustre on our national character, and administer the most grateful consolations that virtuous minds can know.

Gentlemen of the house of representatives,

The state of our revenue, with the sums that have been borrowed and reimbursed, pursuant to the different acts of congress, will be submitted from the proper departments; together with an estimate of the appropriations necessary to be

be made for the service of the ensuing year.

Whether measures may not be advisable to reinforce the provision for the redemption of the public debt, will naturally engage your examination.—Congress have demonstrated their sense to be, and it were superfluous to repeat mine, that whatsoever will tend to accelerate the honourable extinction of our public debt, accords as much with the true interests of our country, as with the general sense of our constituents.

Gentlemen of the senate, and house of representatives,

The statement which shall be laid before you, relative to the mint, will shew the situation of that institution, and the necessity of some farther legislative provisions for carrying the business of it more completely into effect, and for checking abuses which appear to be arising in particular quarters.

The progress in providing materials for the frigates; and in building them; the state of the fortifications of our harbours; the measures which have been pursued for obtaining proper sites for arsenals, and for replenishing our magazines with military stores; and the steps which have been taken toward the execution of the law for opening a trade with the Indians, will likewise be presented for the information of congress.

Temperate discussion of the important subjects which may arise in the course of the session; and mutual forbearance; where there is a difference of opinion, are too obvious and necessary for the peace, happiness; and welfare of our country; to need any recommendation of mine.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

United States,
Dec. 8, 1795:

CHARACTERS.

Account of the Reign and Character of Maximilian II. Emperor of Germany; from Wraxall's History of France.

[F Europe has ever seen the throne occupied by a sage and a philosopher, it was in the person of Maximilian II. In benevolence and humanity his contemporaries compared him with Titus; and in the simplicity of his manners, renunciation of pleasure, and severe discharge of every moral obligation, we are reminded of Marcus Antoninus. Formed for peace, he endeavoured to dispense that invaluable possession to all his subjects; and to allay, by his interposition, or authority, the animosities produced by difference of religious belief. Suspected of leaning towards the new opinions, he yet steadily maintained, in his hereditary dominions, and in the empire, the purity of the Catholic faith; nor ever permitted the Protestants to break down the barriers opposed to their farther progress, by his predecessors. His mild and beneficent temper, illuminated by reflection, induced him to regard all violence, in matters of conscience, as equally unjust and impolitic. He stands, in this particular, strikingly opposed to his cousin, Philip II. king of Spain; whose bigotry and intolerance

produced the revolt of the Netherlands, and pursued heresy, throughout Europe, with fire and sword. To render Maximilian one of the most illustrious, as he indisputably was one of the most amiable princes, whom Providence has raised up for the felicity of mankind, a more martial and enterprising disposition was alone wanting. His exposed situation on the Hungarian frontiers, and the perpetual inroads of the Turkish sultans, during the sixteenth century, demanded a sovereign possessed of military talents, and personal activity in war. The operation of this defect, in his character, was, however, confined to Hungary; while his virtues dispensed happiness and tranquillity over all the other people, subjected to his government. He was beloved by the Austrians, idolized by the Bohemians, and regarded, throughout Germany, by the Catholics and Protestants, as the common parent and protector of his subjects, of every denomination.

The restless ambition and pretences of John Sigismund, prince of Transylvania, who had broken the truce, and invaded Upper Hungary, necessitated the emperor, at an early period of his reign, to convocate a diet, and to demand supplies of men and money. They were granted with an alacrity and celebrity

rity little customary in those assemblies; and which was not more the result of the apprehensions excited by the impending war, than due to the general respect and affection borne to Maximilian. Solyman, notwithstanding his age and infirmities, appeared again in the field, as the ally of his Transylvanian vassal; and, at the head of a vast army, laid siege to Sigeth. He expired, in the camp, before the capture of that city was effected; and the count de Serini, to whom its defence had been entrusted, obtained an immortal reputation, by the desperate valour with which he long repulsed the assailants. Reduced, at length, to the necessity of dying, or capitulating with an enemy who violated all compacts, he generously preferred the former alternative; and, rushing on the Turks, with the small remains of his garrison, perished by the scymitars of the Janizaries. The vizier sent his head to Maximilian, with a contemptuous and insulting message, reproaching him for pusillanimity, or inactivity, in not advancing to the relief of Serini. Since the memorable campaign of 1532, when Charles V. had, in person, opposed Solyman, Germany had not sent so numerous a body of forces to combat the Turks, as that which Maximilian commanded. But the timidity, or prudence, of his generals, who were still greatly inferior to the Ottoman army, and the recollection of the many unfortunate battles which the Hungarian princes had fought against those invaders, induced the emperor to remain upon the defensive. Selim II. the son and successor of Solyman, whose views of conquest were directed against the Venetians, consented,

soon after his accession, to renew the truce between the two empires, upon terms favourable to the house of Austria. The Transylvanian prince was not included in the treaty, and continued his hostilities, or depredations, for several years: but they were at length terminated by his renunciation of the title of king of Hungary; which article formed the basis of an amicable agreement, and restored tranquillity to those desolated provinces.

The benign influence of the qualities and virtues, by which Maximilian was peculiarly distinguished, was more sensibly felt in the empire, and in his hereditary German provinces, where he appeared, in his proper and natural character, as the father and legislator of his people. The internal repose of Germany suffered a temporary interruption, from the inflexibility and misguided adherence of John Frederick II. duke of Saxe Gotha, to Grumbach, whose acts of violence had already excited universal indignation, under the reign of Ferdinand. The duke, son to the magnanimous and unfortunate elector of Saxony, deposed by Charles V. after the battle of Muhlberg, persisted, in defiance of the imperial mandate, to afford a retreat and protection to this invader of the public peace. Moved by considerations of compassion and friendship, the emperor warned him of his error, pointed out to him its consequences, and exhorted him to avert the inevitable punishment, by delivering up Grumbach. But John Frederick, who, to a contracted understanding joined the wildest fanaticism, and the most unlimited credulity, persisted to grant him an asylum in his palace and capital.

Maximilian was, therefore, reluctantly necessitated to lay him under the ban of the empire; and Augustus, the reigning elector of Saxony, principally charged with its execution, besieged him in the city of Gotha. He was reduced to a surrender, carried prisoner to Vienna, and, after being exposed to the view of the populace, in a state of ignominy and degradation, he was finally detained in captivity till his death. Grumbach suffered by the hand of the executioner, together with several of his adherents or accomplices. Some slight disturbances, in the electorate of Treves, and in the dutchy of Mecklenburg, were the only circumstances besides, which invaded the profound quiet enjoyed by Germany under Maximilian.

Encouraged by so favourable an aspect of public affairs, and yielding to the benignity of his disposition, he ventured on a step, which places the superiority and expansion of his mind in the most conspicuous point of view. The stipulations contained in his coronation-oath, which elected emperor, as well as the articles constituting "the peace of religion," on which alone the stability and maintenance of the Catholic faith depended, fettered him in his imperial capacity, and permitted him to make no interference whatever on those points. But, as archduke of Austria, he possessed a power of relaxing the severity of the laws which denied liberty of conscience to his Protestant subjects. Notwithstanding the remonstrances of the Spanish ambassador, in the name of his sovereign, Philip II. and in defiance of the threats of Pius V. who filled the papal chair, Maximilian,

gave the first voluntary example of religious toleration to Europe, by permitting the nobility and equestrian order, in Austria, to celebrate publicly the ceremonies of their worship, in their castles and houses, as well as on their estates. This indulgence was, however, strictly limited to the two classes above mentioned; and neither extended to the people at large, nor even to the inhabitants of cities; who vainly endeavoured to shake the emperor's determination on the subject, or to elude his vigilance.

In the present century, when the minds of men, enlarged and humanized by philosophy, are become familiar with toleration; and when the most bigotted European nations admit some species of religious freedom; a permission so circumscribed in its operation, as that granted by Maximilian, may not appear to merit any extravagant eulogiums. But, the actions of men are not only to be appreciated by the eternal laws of rectitude and justice; they must be, in some measure, likewise, referable to the modes of thinking, received by their contemporaries, and generally adopted. On every side, Maximilian saw only the most intolerant bigotry. The Netherlands, and France, were desolated by their respective sovereigns, in order to extinguish heresy, and to spread the unity of the Catholic faith. Even among the Protestants themselves, the most rancorous and sanguinary animosities prevailed, to the subversion of all mutual good offices. Servetus was committed to the flames at Geneva, by Calvin, for some speculative difference of opinion on abstruse points of theology; and the Lutherans regarded with horror the doctrines

inculcated by that reformer, and Zuinglius. Maximilian, in an age of persecution, declared publicly his repugnance to all religious violence, and his unalterable opinion, that "to the supreme being alone, it belonged to judge the conscience." Nor did he content himself with only asserting this principle; his active benevolence impelled him to make every exertion, to stop the destructive influence of bigotry, in other countries. Touched with the cries and complaints of the Flemings, he dispatched his brother, the archduke Charles, to Philip II. with directions to remonstrate with him on his violation of their privileges, civil and religious; though this humane interposition was ineffectual. He did not conceal his detestation of the massacre of St. Bartholomew, for which Rome and Madrid made public demonstrations of joy; and when Henry III. king of France, passed through Vienna, in his flight from Poland to his own country, the emperor strongly exhorted him to commence his reign, by maxims and principles of toleration. It would have been happy for Henry, and his people, if he had been capable of profiting by the advice.

Account of the Convent of Nuns of Clarisse, at Cologne; from Mrs. Radcliffe's Journey through Holland and the Western Frontier of Germany.

OUR inn had formerly been a convent, and was in a part of the town where such societies are more numerous than elsewhere. At five o'clock, on the Sunday after our arrival, the bells of churches and convents began to sound on all

sides, and there was scarcely any entire intermission of them till evening. The places of public amusement, chiefly a sort of tea-gardens, were then set open, and, in many streets, the sounds of music and dancing, were heard almost as plainly as that of the bells had been before; a disgusting excess of licentiousness, which appeared in other instances, for we heard, at the same time, the voices of a choir on one side of the street, and the noise of a billiard-table on the other. Near the inn, this contrast was more observable. While the strains of revelry arose from an adjoining garden, into which our windows opened, a pause in the music allowed us to catch some notes of the vesper service, performing in a convent of the order of Clarisse, only three or four doors beyond. Of the severe rules of the society we had been told in the morning. The members take a vow, not only to renounce the world, but their dearest friends, and are never permitted to see even their fathers or mothers, though they may sometimes converse with the latter from behind a curtain. And, lest some lingering remains of filial affection should tempt an unhappy nun to lift the veil of separation between herself and her mother, she is not allowed to speak even with her, but in the presence of the abbess. Accounts of such horrible perversions of human reason make the blood chill. To their fathers they can never speak to, for no man is suffered to be in any part of the convent used by the sisterhood, nor, indeed, is admitted beyond the gate, except when there is a necessity for repairs, when all the votaries of the order are previously secluded. It is not easily that a cautious mind becomes convinced of

the existence of such severe orders; when it does, astonishment at the artificial miseries, which the ingenuity of human beings forms for themselves by seclusion, is as boundless as at the other miseries, with which the most trivial vanity and envy so frequently pollute the intercourses of social life. The poor nuns, thus nearly entombed during their lives, are, after death, tied upon a board, in the clothes they died in, and, with only their veils thrown over their face, are buried in the garden of the convent.

Observations on the distinct Characters of Modern Whigs and Tories; from Belsham's Memoirs of the Reign of George III.

THE established appellations of whig and tory, as descriptive of the two grand political parties which, under these or equivalent terms of distinction, will doubtless subsist so long as the present constitution of government shall remain, though greatly changed from their original signification, it would nevertheless be fastidious to reject. The gradations of sentiment and principle which mark their progress it is however of indispensable importance occasionally to specify. The principles of whiggism may indeed, in this respect, be said to have gained a complete triumph over those of the ancient tories, inasmuch as the once favourite maxims of toryism—passive obedience, non-resistance, and the divine and infeasible right of monarchy—have fallen into general contempt. Nor can any doctrines bearing the most distant analogy to these monstrous

absurdities be now maintained, without the use of such artificial and ambiguous phraseology as, however magnificent in sound and show, shall vanish from the touch of reason as mists and vapours from the noon-day sun.

Agreeably then to the vicissitudes which have, in a long series of eventful years, taken place in the views and sentiments of the opposing parties of the state, a whig must now be understood to mean a man who, in addition to the speculative principles of liberty, civil and religious, which have descended to him from his ancestors, entertains a lively and well-founded jealousy lest the prerogative of the crown should, in consequence of the prodigious increase of its influence, ultimately absorb the whole power and authority of the other branches of the government, and with them the liberties of the nation at large, in its vast and tremendous vortex. A modern whig acknowledges and deeply regrets the improvidence of his ancestors in contributing, by the facility of their compliances, to the accumulation of an immense public debt, and the establishment of a standing army, both of which are yet in a state alarmingly progressive. He can scarcely forgive those extravagant ebullitions of loyalty which could sacrifice the most sacred principles of the constitution to the interest or ambition of the reigning family, in prolonging, by a most unjustifiable stretch of power, the existence of parliaments to a term of dangerous duration, and in furnishing to a minister, little scrupulous of expedients, and regardless of consequences, the means of universal and unbounded corruption. Whatever palliations of the fatal

system

system then adopted, the peculiarity of that minister's situation, and the situation of the country at large, in a political view, might then afford, had, it was affirmed, been long since entirely at an end; but the same system is nevertheless resolutely and uninterruptedly pursued, recovering, Antæus-like, from every apparent or accidental fall with renewed and redoubled vigour.

On the other hand, the modern tories, although the descendants of those who long entertained a most inveterate enmity against the family upon the throne, and who, from motives not of the purest patriotism, vehemently opposed, in the former reigns, the unconstitutional measures of the whigs, having at length entirely shaken off their old attachments, and being taken into favour and invested with power under the marked and too partial protection of the court, suddenly became its open and zealous advocates—combining, as far as the spirit of the times would admit, the speculative errors of one party with the practical errors of the other. The necessity of strengthening the prerogative of the monarch, and of supporting the dignity of the crown, was from this time the incessant theme of their argument and declamation. Concessions and indulgencies were, in their estimation, things incompatible with the majesty of the regal character. The high, harsh, and peremptory tone of authority uniformly marked every act of government under the almost constant predominance of this dangerous faction during the present reign, from the commitment of a printer, or the prosecution of a libeller, to those measures of provocation and oppression, terminating in a war which rent in twain

and had well nigh subverted the empire.

This party, now grown strong and confident, by an unexpected return of prosperity, assumed, with ostentatious audacity, the appellation of the king's friends, in which novel capacity they hesitated not to give their eager and ardent support to those measures of court policy, which had been ever reprobated by the tories of elder days, as in the highest degree pernicious and unconstitutional. The standing army, so long the theme of their invective and reproach, was now affirmed to be necessary for the preservation of the national tranquillity; the public debt was pronounced a public benefit; the connection with Hanover was honourable and useful; the influence of the crown was the happy means of consolidating the harmony of the different branches of government; a long parliament was said to be attended with no such inconvenient consequences as had been previously and erroneously apprehended: and every attempt to restore that equality in the representation, or rather to remove those glaring inequalities so inconsistent with the spirit of the constitution and the practice of former ages, was opposed and rejected by them in terms of unbounded obloquy and detestation, as leading to nothing less than the absolute subversion of government. They professed, on all occasions, their dread of innovation and novelty—not adverting to the constant declaration of the ancient tories, that the things to which they objected were themselves innovations wholly extraneous to the constitution—and that they who merely wished to restore were most unjustly accused of a fondness

fondness for innovation, or a dangerous propensity to tamper with the constitution, by trying new and hazardous experiments.

Although the high and preposterous notions once prevalent respecting the authority of the church had, in common with the old opinions relative to civil government, gradually fallen into disrepute, the torries of the present reign have been invariably characterized by the strength of their attachment to the ecclesiastical establishment, which they are delighted to applaud and extol as a model of purity and perfection. Any suggestion of the expediency of a reform in the church, whether in relation to the irregularities of its discipline, or the errors of its doctrine, as exhibited in a set of obsolete and unintelligible articles of faith, are received by this class of men with a sort of horror, as leading to foul suspicions of sectarian heresy, or atheistical profaneness; while the dissenters of all denominations are, on the contrary, viewed by them with eyes of jealousy and hatred, and assiduously held up on all occasions as the inveterate enemies of at least one part of the constitution, and as the doubtful friends at best of the other: and every idea of enlarging the limits of the toleration allowed them by law, and much more of extending to them the common privileges of citizens, they have uniformly exclaimed against with affected terror and real malignity.

ALBERT DURER.

THE indiscriminate use of the words genius and ingenuity has, perhaps, nowhere caused more confusion than in the classification of artists. Albert Durer was a man of great ingenuity without being a genius. He studied, and, as far as his penetration reached, established certain proportions of the human frame, but he did not create a style. He copied, rather than imitated, the forms that surrounded him without remorse, and tacked deformity and meagerness to fullness and beauty. He sometimes had a glimpse of the sublime, but it was only a glimpse. The expanded agony of Christ on the Mount of Olives, and the mystic mass of his figure of Melancholy, have much sublimity, though the expression of the last is weakened by the rubbish he had thrown about her. His Knight attended by Death and the Fiend is more capricious than terrible; and his Adam and Eve are two common models shut up in a rocky dungeon. Every work of his is a proof that he wanted the power of imitation, of concluding from what he saw to what he did not see. Copious without taste, anxiously precise in parts, and unmindful of the whole, he has rather shown us what to avoid, than what we are to follow. Though called the father of the German school, he neither reared scholars, nor was imitated by the German artists of his or the succeeding century. That the importation of his works into Italy should have effected a temporary change in the principles of some Tuscans, who had studied Michael Angelo, is a fact which proves, that minds at certain periods may be subject to epidemic influence

Description of the several Merits of Albert Durer, Michael Angelo and Leonardo da Vinci; by Mr. Fuseli; from Seward's Anecdotes.

influence as well as bodies. That M. Angelo, when a boy, copied with a pen Michael Wolgemuth's print of the Temptation of St. Antony, and bought fish in the market to colour the devils, may be believed; but it requires the credulity of Wagenseil to suppose that he could want any thing of Albert Durer, when he was a man. The legend contradicts itself; for who ever before heard of the bronzes of Albert Durer?

MICHAEL ANGELO.

M. Angelo, punctilious and haughty to princes, was gentle and even submissive to inferior artists. Gulielmo Bugiardini, a man of tiny talents and much conceit, had been applied to by Messer Ottaviano de Medici to paint the portrait of M. Angelo for him. Bugiardini, familiar with M. Angelo, obtained his consent. He sat to him: desired to rise after a sitting of two hours; and perceiving at the first glance the incorrectness of the outline, What the devil, said he, have you been doing? You have shoved one of the eyes into the temples; pray look at it. Gulielmo, after repeatedly looking at the picture and the original, at last replied, with much gravity, I cannot see it; but pray sit down and let us examine again. M. Angelo, who knew where the cause of the blunder lay, sat down again, and patiently submitting to a long second inspection, was at last peremptorily told that the copy was correct. If that be the case, said he, nature has committed a mistake; go you on, and follow the dictates of your art.

There exists now at Holkham, among the pictures collected by the late lord Leicester, and in the pos-

session of Mr. Coke, of Norfolk, the only copy ever made of the whole composition of the celebrated Cartoon of Pisa. It is a small oil-picture in chiaroscuro, and the performance of Bastiano de St. Gallo, surnamed Aristotile, from his learned or verbose descants on that surprising work. It was painted at the desire of Vasari, and transmitted to Francis I. by Paolo Giovio, bishop of Nocera. How it could escape the eyes of the French and English connoisseurs or artists, who had access to the collections, of which it constituted the chief ornament, is a mystery, which, for the honour of the art, none can wish to unravel.

Nothing is trifling in the history of genius. The following strange incident, extracted from the life of M. Angelo, written by his pupil, or rather attendant, Ascanio Condivi, deserves notice, because it is related from the mouth of M. Angelo himself.

Some time after the death of Lorenzo de Medici, Cardiere, a young improvisatore, entertained by his son Piero, secretly informed M. Angelo, with whom he lived in habits of friendship, that Lorenzo de Medici had appeared to him in a ragged pall of black over his naked body, and commanded him to announce to his son, that in a short time he should be driven into exile and return no more. M. Angelo exhorted him to execute the commands of the vision; but Cardiere, aware of the haughty insolent temper of Piero, forbore to follow his advice. Some morning after this, whilst M. Angelo was busy in the cortile of the palace, Cardiere, terrified and pale, comes again, and relates, that the night before, when yet awake, Lorenzo

renzo, in the same garb, appeared to him again, and had enforced his orders with a violent blow on the cheek. M. Angelo now, with great earnestness, insisting on his immediate compliance with the commands of the vision, Cardiere set off directly for Careggi, a villa of the family, about three miles distance from Florence; but having scarcely got half way, met Piero with his suite returning to town, and instantly acquainted him with what he had seen, heard, and suffered. He was laughed at by Piero, and ridiculed by his attendants, one of whom, Divizio, afterwards cardinal di Bibiena, told him he was mad to fancy Lorenzo would charge a stranger with a message he might deliver himself to his son. Dismissed in this manner, he returned to M. Angelo, and prevailed on him to quit Florence and go to Bologna, where he had scarcely settled in the house of Gian Francesco Aldrovandi, before the predicted revolution took place, and the expulsion of the whole family of the Medici with all their party confirmed the vision of Cardiere, whether 'fancy-bred,' or communicated by 'spirit blest or goblin damned.'

LEONARDO DA VINCI.

Leonardo da Vinci, made up of all the elements, without the preponderance of any one, gave universal hints, and wasted life insatiate in experiment; now on the wing after beauty, then grovelling on the ground after deformity; now look-

ing full in the face of terror, then decking it with shards, * and shells, and masks: equally attracted by character and caricature, by style and common nature, he has drawn rudiments of all, but, like a stream, lost in ramification, vanished without a trace.

Want of perseverance alone could make him abandon his cartoon of the celebrated group of horsemen, destined for the great council chamber at Florence, without painting the picture. For to him who could organize the limbs of that composition, Michael Angelo himself could be no object of fear. And that he was able to organize it, we may be certain from the sketch that remains of it, however pitiful in the 'Etruria Pitricé,' lately published, but still more from the admirable print of Edelinck, after a drawing of Rubens, who was his great admirer, and has said much to impress us with the beauties of his Last Supper at Milan, which he abandoned likewise without finishing the head of Christ, exhausted by a wild chase after models for the heads and hands of the apostles. Had he been able to conceive the centre, the radii must have followed of course. Whether he considered that magic of light and shade, which he possessed in an unparalleled degree in his smaller pictures, as an inferior principle in a work of such dignity, or was unable to diffuse it over numerous groups, cannot now be determined; but he left his fresco flat, and without that solemnity of twilight, which

* Shells of beetles. This requires some explanation: Leonardo was employed to paint a head of Medusa. A beautiful woman sat to him for the face. The adjuncts of horror he sought for in the fields, bringing home for them occasionally in his walks, nettles, thorns, beetles, spiders, toads, adders, &c.

is more than an equivalent for those contrasts of Chiaroscuro that Giorgione is said to have learnt from him. The legend which makes Leonardo go to Rome with Giuliano di Medici at the election of Leo X. to accept employment in the Vatican, whether sufficiently authentic or not, furnishes a characteristic trait of the man. The pope passing through the room allotted for the pictures, and instead of designs and cartoons, finding nothing but an apparatus of distillery of oils and varnishes, exclaimed, 'Ah me! he means to do nothing; for he thinks of the end before he has made a beginning.' From a sonnet of Leonardo, preserved by Lomazzo, he appears to have been sensible of the inconstancy of his own temper, and full of wishes at least to correct it.

Much has been said of the honour he received, by expiring in the arms of Francis I. It was indeed an honour, by which destiny in some degree atoned to Francis for his disaster at Pavia.

Account of the Harem, or Apartments for the Ladies; from Russell's Natural History of Aleppo.

WHEN the ladies visit one another in a forenoon, they do not immediately unveil on coming into the harem, lest some of the men should happen to be still at home, and might see them as they pass; but, as soon as they enter the apartment of the lady to whom the visit is intended, either one of the young ladies, or a slave, assists in taking off the veil, which, being carefully folded up, is laid aside. It is a sign that the visitant intends

only a short stay, when instead of resigning the veil, she only uncovers her head, permitting the veil to hang carelessly down on the shoulders. This generally produces a friendly contest between the parties: one insisting upon taking the veil away, the other refusing to surrender it. A like contest takes place at the close of the visit. When entreaty cannot prevail on the visitant to stay longer, the veil is hidden, the slaves, instructed before hand, pretend to search for it every where in vain, and when she urges the absolute necessity of her going, she is assured that the aga, or master of the house, is not yet gone abroad, and is then jocosely dared to depart without it.

In their manner of receiving one another, the ladies are less formal than the men; their complimentary speeches, though in a high strain, are more rapidly and familiarly expressed.

The common salutation is performed by laying the right hand on the left breast, and gently inclining the head. They sometimes salute by kissing the cheek; and the young ladies kiss the hands of their senior relations. They entertain with coffee and tobacco, but the sherbet and perfume are only produced on particular occasions.

The great men are attended in the harem, by the female slaves, in the same manner as, in the outer apartments, by the pages. They remain standing in the humble attitude of attendance, their hands crossed before them on their cincture, and their eyes fixed on the ground. The other ladies, as well as the daughters of the family, occasionally bring the pipe and coffee, but do not remain standing; they either
are

are desired to sit down, or they retire. This, however, is to be understood of the *grandees*; for in ordinary life, both wives and daughters minister servilely to the men: the two sexes never sitting at table together.

It is seldom that all the ladies of a Harem are, by the great man, seen assembled, unless they happen, in the summer, to be surprised sitting in the *divan*, where they meet to enjoy the cool air. At his approach, they all rise up, but, if desired, resume their places, (some of the slaves excepted) and return to their work. However loquacious they may have been before he entered, a respectful silence ensues the moment he appears: a restraint which they feel the less, from their being accustomed to it almost from their infancy. It is surprising how suddenly the clamour of children is hushed on the approach of the father; but the women often lament their want of power, in his absence, of quieting the children either by threats or soothing.

Though the presence of the great man may impose silence on the younger ladies, he always finds some of the elderly matrons ready enough to entertain him, should he be disposed for conversation. In this manner he learns the domestic news of the town, which, though rarely a topic of discourse among the men, being in great request at the public baths, is circulated by the female pedlars, and the *Bidween* women attached to the harem. The former, who are chiefly Jewish or Christian women of a certain age, supply the ladies with gauzes, muslins, embroidery, and trinkets, and moreover have the art of collecting and embellishing all kinds of

private history; the latter are not less talkative, nor more secret, but possess also a licensed privilege of speaking freely to the men, which they perfectly know how to exercise. Their licence is derived from being often retained as nurses, by which they gain a permanent establishment in the family; the foster sister remaining attached to the harem, and in time succeeding her mother. The *grandees*, in these indolent hours, converse also on their own domestic affairs, and amuse themselves with their children. When they wish to be more retired, they withdraw to another apartment, into which no person, except the lady to whom it belongs, presumes to enter uncalled.

The Turks, in presence of their women, appear to affect a more haughty, reserved air, than usual, and in their manner of speaking to them, are less courteous, and more abrupt, than they are to one another, or even to men who are much their inferiors. As this was frequently observed in persons remarkable for an affable deportment to men, it may be considered rather as their usual manner than ascribed to the accidental preference of an European; and is farther confirmed by the ordinary behaviour of the boys, who talk to the women in an imperious manner, which they could only have learned from example. The men perhaps judge it politic to assume this demeanour, in a situation where dominion may be supposed to be maintained with more difficulty, than among their male dependants; and therefore venture only, in hours of retirement, to avow that gentleness, which, as if derogatory from their dignity, they think prudent, in their general conduct, to conceal, from persons whose obedience they believe

believe can alone be secured, by an air of stern authority.

The ladies, especially those of rank, appear reserved in regard to their husbands, while they shew an engaging, affectionate fondness for their brothers, though it is often returned with little more than frigid complaisance: as if their tender endearments were a tribute due to male superiority. There are times, however, when natural affection gets the better of this cold indifference of the young men. The sight of a sister in distress, or languishing in a fit of severe illness, often produces emotion, of which, judging from general appearances, they would seem to be insusceptible. The affectation of apathy, is a remarkable trait in the character of the Turks. They are led by it, under misfortunes, to assume an appearance of tranquillity, more than they possess in reality; and, on other occasions, they strive to hide that sensibility which other nations think it honourable to indulge. Their exterior manners are universally marked by this affectation: their real feelings, influenced by the common springs of humanity, are more remote from the eye of observation.

Persons of distinction, who are in office, leave the harem early in the morning, and, two hours after noon excepted, pass most of their time in the outer apartments. But others, who have little business, and the luxurious young men of all denominations, lounge many hours in their

harem. Some allowance, in this respect, is made to youth, for some weeks after marriage; but an effeminate character, which is by no means respectable among the men, is far from being acceptable to the women. The presence of the men, at unusual hours in the day time, lays the whole harem under restraint, and however some particular favourite may be gratified by the particular attention of her lord, the rest of the women are apt to lament the liberty they are deprived of, by his remaining too much at home.

The grandees, if slightly indisposed, continue to see company in the outer apartments; but when the disorder becomes serious, they retreat into the harem, to be nursed by their women: and in this situation, besides their medical attendants, and very near relations, no person whatever can have access, except on very urgent business. They make choice of the females they wish to have more immediately about their person, and one in particular is appointed to give an account to the physician, of what happens in the intervals of his visits, to receive his directions, and to see them duly obeyed.

Medical people, whether Europeans or natives, have access to the harem, at all times when their attendance is requisite. The physician, after being announced, is obliged to wait at the door till the way be cleared;* that is, till his

* When it is known that the physician is about to enter, the slave, who undertakes to clear the way, gives notice by calling *Amel Dirb! Amel Dirb! make way, make way;* and returning after some time, says, *si Dirb, the way is clear.*

patient, when a female, her company, and attendants, and others who might happen to be in the courts through which he must pass, have either veiled, or retired out of sight. He is then conducted to the chamber of the sick lady by a slave, who continues, in a loud voice, to give warning of his approach, by exclaiming, Dirb, Dirb, al Hakeem Gia-y. Way! Way! the doctor is coming: a precaution which does not always prevent the unveiled ladies, who have not been apprized, from accidentally crossing the court, in which case it becomes the well-bred physician to turn his eyes another way.

Upon entering the chamber, he finds his patient covered with a loose veil, and, it being a vulgar notion that the malady may be discovered from the pulse,* he is no sooner seated, than the naked wrist is presented for his examination.† She then describes her complaints, and, if it be necessary to look at the tongue, the veil is for that purpose removed, while the assistants keep the rest of the face, and especially the crown of the head, carefully covered. The women do not hesitate to expose the neck, the bosom, or the stomach, when the case requires those parts to be inspected, but, never without extreme reluctance consent to uncover the head. Ladies whom I had known very young, and who, from long acquaintance, were careless in con-

cealing their face from me, never appeared without a handkerchief or some other slight covering thrown over the head. So far as I could judge, from general practice, it seemed to be considered, in point of decorum, of more consequence to veil the head, than the face.

The physician is usually entertained with tobacco and coffee, which, being intended as a mark of respect, cannot in civility be declined, though the compliance leads to an intemperate use of both. After he has examined, and given directions concerning his patient, he requests leave to retire, but is seldom allowed to escape without hearing the incurable complaints of as many valetudinary visitants, as happen to be present, who either sit ready veiled, or talk from behind a curtain occasionally suspended in the chamber. These ladies always consider themselves entitled to verbal advice, or at least to an opinion of such remedies, as have been recommended by others; and a principal part of the medical art, among the native practitioners, consists in being able to acquit themselves dexterously in such incidental consultations.

In families which the European physician has been accustomed to attend, and when his patient is on the recovery, he is sometimes induced to protract the visit, and to gratify the curiosity of the ladies, who ask numberless questions con-

* The native practioners give a sanction to this foolish notion. I followed, in that respect, the example of my brother, who, except in fevers, always insisted on the sick giving an account of their complaints, before he would feel the pulse.

† I have been offered, sometimes, the wrist covered with thin muslin, but the Aleppo ladies in general ridicule that punctilio, and I always refused compliance with a piece of prudery not sanctioned by custom.

Tournefort found the practice different in the harems he visited. Voyage, tom. ii. p. 17.

cerning his country. They are particularly inquisitive about the Frank women, their dress, employments, marriages, treatment of children, and amusements. In return they are ingenuously communicative, and display talents, which, being little indebted to artificial cultivation, appear, as it were, to expand naturally, under a clear sky, and the influence of a delicious climate. Their questions are generally pertinent, and the remarks they occasionally make, on manners differing so widely from their own, are often sprightly and judicious.

When the visit is at length concluded, notice being given to clear the way, the physician sets out, preceded as before by the slave. But it rarely happens that he is not more than once stopped, to give advice to some of the domestics, who wait his return; for however slightly they may be indisposed, the temptation of telling their complaints to a doctor is irresistible. These damsels seldom have any other veil, than a handkerchief thrown over the head, one corner of which is held in the mouth; but, in order to avoid even that trouble, they frequently place themselves behind a door, or a window shutter, half open, in which situation, thrusting out one arm, they insist on having the pulse examined. It sometimes happens, in the great harems, that another obstacle must be encountered before regaining the gate. This arises from some of the younger ladies, or slaves, who are at work in the court, refusing peremptorily either to veil, or retire; which is done merely in sport, to vex the conductress who is obliged of course to make a halt. In vain she bawls *Dirb!* and makes use by turns of

entreaty, threat, and reproach; till, finding all in vain, she gives fair warning, and has recourse to a never failing stratagem. She marches on, and bids the doctor follow. A complete route ensues; the damsels scamper different ways, catch hold of what ever offers first by way of veil, or attempt to conceal themselves behind one another. It is only when none of the men are in the harem, that this scene of romping can take place. When the physician is conducted by the aga himself, every thing passes in orderly silence, and, in the chamber of the sick, none besides the elderly or married relations offer to join in the conversation: but it is seldom that the aga himself takes the trouble, after the few first visits, except the doctor be a stranger to the family.

Account of the Turkish Ladies; from the same.

THE women, in their persons are rather engaging than handsome. It was remarked before, that they were pretty in infancy, but changed for the worse as they grew up: yet they retain for ever the fine piercing eye, and many to the last possess their exquisite features, though not their complexion. They do not wear stays, and are at little pains to preserve their shape. In general they are low in stature, and such as are tall, for the most part, stoop. The women of condition affect a stately gait, but walk inelegantly, and the carriage of their body is devoid of that ease and air to which an European eye has been accustomed. The dress in which they appear abroad is not calculated to set off the person; the veil

veil shews their shape to disadvantage, the legs are awkwardly concealed by the boots, and even without them, their movement is not so elegantly easy as that of their arms: which may be the reason that they appear to most advantage when sitting on the divan.

The transient manner in which the Turkish women can only be seen by a stranger renders it difficult, if not impossible, to speak decidedly of their beauty, in comparison with that of the women of other countries, who are seen with more familiarity. Their dress and veil, which are so disadvantageous to their shape, may perhaps (the latter particularly) be of advantage to their looks. I have had occasion to see great numbers, and thought them, in general, handsomer than the Christian and Jewish ladies; but I was sometimes inclined to doubt whether that opinion might not, in some degree, be ascribed to seeing them partially, or when revealed in such a manner, as to give relief to their beauty: it is certain that many, whose faces I had at first thought exquisitely fine from under a loose veil, lost considerably when more exposed.

Account of the Republic of San Marino. By Dr. Gillies, Author of the History of Greece; from Se-

ward's Anecdotes of distinguished Persons, &c.

AT the distance of twelve miles from Rimini and the Adriatic Sea, we beheld a cloud-capt mountain, steep, rugged, and inhospitable, yet to Britons, whose affection for their own happy island cherished even the faintest image of congenial liberty, more attractive and more engaging than all the gay luxuriance of Tuscan* plains. A black expansion of vapour partly concealed from our view, the territory of what the Greeks would have called a nation, seldom visited by strangers, though, assuredly most deserving of that honour. Liberty brightens and fertilizes the craggy rocks of St. Marino; and instead of paradises inhabited by devils (for thus the recollection or supposition of better times indignantly characterizes the countries through which we had just travelled,) this little state, we were told, would exhibit rugged hills and savage precipices cultivated and adorned by the stubborn industry of free men, who labour with alacrity, because they reap with security. We panted at the thoughts of taking a nearer survey of this political wonder, and were impatient to leave Rimini; but the country adjacent to that city was deluged with rain; the rivers continued to overflow; horses could not safely

* The epithet, Tuscan, is justified by the authority of Polybius, l. ii. c. 14, and c. 17. He describes that extensive plain bounded by the Alps, the Appenines, and the Adriatic, and also the plains about Mola and Capua, called the Phlegrean Fields, as anciently inhabited by the Tuscans. The territory of this people, he says, formed incomparably the finest portion of Europe. Before Polybius wrote his history, the dominion of the Tuscans had contracted to a narrow span; and, according to the saying of the modern Italians, while the Pope possesses the marrow, the great duke of Tuscany has only the bones of Italy.

clamber over rocks; and Rimini could not furnish us with mules. But they are delicate travellers whom such puny difficulties could restrain from visiting this illustrious mountain, where liberty, herself a mountain-goddess, has upwards of fourteen centuries fixed her rural throne. Careless of mules, or horses, or carriages, to which last the republic of St. Marino is at all times inaccessible, we adopted a mode of travelling, which, in a country where pomp is immoderately studied, because wealth is too indiscriminately prized, might possibly have excluded unknown wanderers from the proud mansions of nobles and princes, the palaces of bishops, and the villas of cardinals, but which, we rightly conjectured, would recommend us as welcome guests to the citizens of St. Marino, whose own manliness of character must approve the congenial hardness of humble pedestrians.

The distance from Rimini to the Borgo, or suburbs of St. Marino, for the città, or city, stands half a mile higher on the hill, is computed at only ten Italian miles. But the badness of the weather and of the roads would have increased the tediousness of our fatiguing journey, had not our fancies been amused by the appearance and conversation of several persons whom we occasionally met or overtook, and who, notwithstanding that hardness of features, which characterizes mountaineers, displayed in their words and looks a certain candour and sincerity, with an undiscussed mixture of humanity and firmness, which we had rarely seen portrayed on the face of an Italian. Such virtues, perhaps, many Italians may possess; such virtues, Raphael and Guido

probably discerned in their contemporaries; unless it be supposed that the antique not only ennobled and exalted, but originally inspired their conceptions. Yet whatever might be the pre-eminence of Roman beauty, during the splendour of the *Cinque Cento*, it must be confessed of the Italians of our days, that the expression indicating virtues of the mild or generous cast seldom breaks through the dark gloom and sullen cares which contract their brows and cloud their countenances.

At the distance of five miles from Rimini, a small rivulet, decorated by a disproportionably large stone bridge, which at another season of the year would have exemplified the Spanish proverb of a bridge without water, separates the territory of St. Marino from those of the pope. Proceeding forward, we found the road extremely narrow, much worn by the rain, alternately rough and slippery, and always so bad, that we congratulated each other on rejecting the use of the miserable rips that were offered to us at Rimini. In the midst of a heavy shower we clambered to the Borgo, situated on the side of the hill, and distant (as already said) half a mile from the città, on its summit. The former is destined for the habitation of peasants, artisans, and strangers; the honour of inhabiting the latter is reserved for the nobles, the citizens, and those who, in the language of antiquity, would be styled the public guests of the commonwealth. In the whole territory there is but one inn; and that, of course, in the Borgo; for lone houses are rare in all parts of the continent; the British dominions alone, by their native strength, and the excellence of their government, being

being happily exempted from the terror of banditti, in time of peace, and marauders in time of war. We discovered the inn at St. Marino, as is usual in Italy, by the crowd before the door. Having entered, we were civilly received by the landlord, seated by the fire-side in company with several other strangers, and speedily presented with a bottle of sparkling white wine, the best we had tasted in Italy, and resembling Champagne in the characteristic excellencies of that sprightly liquor.

We had not remained long in this caravansera (for such is the proper name for the place of hospitality in which we were received) when the dress, manners, and conversation of our fellow-travellers strongly excited our attention, and afforded scope for boundless speculation. They were the most savage-looking men that I had ever beheld; covered with thick capottas* of coarse dark-brown woollen, lined with black sheepskin. Their hats, which they kept on their heads, were of an enormous size, swelling to the circumference of an ordinary umbrella. With their dress and appearance, their words and gestures bore too faithful a correspondence. *Schioppi* and *coltellate* (gun-shots and dagger-thrusts) were frequently in their mouths. As the wine went briskly round, the conversation became still more animated, and took a turn more decidedly terrible. They now talked of nothing but fierce encounters, hair-breadth escapes, and hideous lurking places. From their whole behaviour, there

was reason to apprehend that we had unwarily fallen into company with Rinaldo's party: but a few hints that dropped from him who was most intoxicated, finally undeceived us, and discovered, to our satisfaction and shame, that, instead of a band of robbers, we had only met with a party of smugglers. Their massy capottas and broad-brimmed hats formed their defensive armour against custom-house officers and Sbirri;† and the narratives, which they heard or related with such ardour and delight, contained the acts of prowess by which they had repelled the bravery of the Romans, and the arts of stratagem by which they had deceived the cunning of the Tuscans. From the intermediate situation of St. Marino between the dominions of Tuscany and those of the pope, its territory is continually infested by visits from those unlicensed traffickers, who, being enemies by trade to those who administer the laws and collect the revenues of their country, naturally degenerate into daring and disorderly ruffians, the terror of peaceful men, and both the disgrace and the bane of civilized society.

From the company of the smugglers we longed to separate, the more because they eagerly solicited our stay, promising to conduct us safely across the mountains, and to defend our persons and properties against robbers and assassins; but we thought it a piece of good fortune, that our most valuable property, as we shewed to them, consisted in our swords and pistols. Having called our St. Marino host,

* Great coats.

† Those who execute the orders of civil magistrates.

we paid him for his wine and his sausage (*prosciutti*), and were pleased to find, that, contrary to our universal experience of Italian landlords, he was uncommonly thankful for a very moderate gratification; a singularity, which, though it probably proceeded from his being little conversant with English and other opulent travellers, we treasured with delight, as a conspicuous proof of republican * virtue that had escaped pure and unsullied from the contagion of these worthless guests with whom the nature of his trade condemned him often to associate.

About two o' clock in the afternoon, we left the Borgo to climb up the Città, carrying our swords in our right hands, a precaution which the company we had just left warranted in this modern republic, but which, as Thucydides informs us in his proem, would have exposed us to be branded with the appellation of barbarians in the republics of Ancient Greece. Before we had reached the summit of the hill, the cloud had dispersed, the sun shone bright, we had breathed a purer air, and the clear light, which displayed the city and territory of St. Marino, was heightened by contrast with the thick gloom which involved the circumjacent plains.

Transported with the contemplation of a landscape which seemed so admirably to accord with the political state of the mountain, a bright gem of liberty amidst the darkness of Italian servitude, we clambered cheerfully over the precipices, never reflecting, that, as there was not any place of reception for strangers in the Città, we might possibly be exposed to the alternative of sleeping in the streets, or returning to the caravansera, crowded with smugglers, whose intoxication might exasperate their natural ferocity. From all our past remarks, we had concluded, that the vice of drunkenness was abominated even by the lowest classes of the Italians. We dreaded their fury and their knives in this unusual state of mind; but amidst all our terrors could not forbear philosophising† on what we had seen, and conjecturing, from the tumultuous merriment and drunken debauchery of the smugglers, that the famed sobriety of the Italian nation is an artificial virtue arising from situation and accident, not depending on temperament, or resulting from character. Drinking is the vice of men whose lives are chequered by vicissitudes of toil and ease, of danger and security. It is the vice of soldiers, mariners, and huntsmen; of

* The words, 'republican virtue' must sound harsh to modern ears, so shamefully has a wild democracy abused and profaned the name of republic. Yet, according to Machiavelli and Montesquieu, and their master Aristotle, republics require more virtue than monarchies, because in republics the citizens make laws to govern themselves, whereas, in monarchies, the subjects are compelled to obey the laws made by the prince. In republican governments, therefore, the citizens ought, in the words of Aristotle, and of a still higher authority, 'to be a law unto themselves.' How few nations, therefore, are qualified in modern times, for living happily under a republic; and least of all, that nation which has shewn itself the least virtuous of all.

† This word requires an apology; for the sacred name of philosophy has been as shamefully polluted in modern times, by sophists and sceptics, as the word republic by madmen and levellers. The present generation must pass away, before either of these terms can resume its pristine and native honours.

those who exercise boisterous occupations, or pursue dangerous amusements; and if the modern Italians are less addicted to excess in wine than the Greeks and Romans in ancient, or the English and Germans in modern times, their temperance may fairly be ascribed to the indolent monotony of their listless lives; which, being never exhausted by fatigue, can never be gladdened by repose; and being never agitated by the terrors of danger, can never be transported by the joys of deliverance.

From these airy speculations, by which we fancied that we stripped Italy of what some travellers have too hastily concluded to be the only virtue which she has left, we were awakened by the appearance of a venerable person, in a bag wig and sword, cautiously leading his Bourrique* down the precipice. He returned our salute with an air of courtesy bespeaking such affability, that we quickly entered into conversation with him, and discovered to our surprise and joy that we were in company with a very respectable personage, and one whom Mr. Addison has dignified with the appellation of the "fourth man in the state." The stipendiary physician of St Marino (for this was the person with whom we were conversing) told us, that we might be accommodated with good lodging in the convent of Capuchins; and as we were strangers, that he would return, shew us the house, and present us to father Bonelli. We expressed our unwillingness to give him the trouble of again ascending the hill; but of this trouble the deeply-wrinkled mountaineer made

light, and we yielded to his proposal with only apparent reluctance; since, to the indelicacy of introducing ourselves, we preferred the introduction of a man whom we had even casually met with on the road. To the convent, we were admitted by a *frate servente*, or lay friar, and conducted to the *Padre Maestro*, the Prior Bonelli, a man sixty years old, and, as we were told by the physician, descended from one of the noblest families in the commonwealth. Having received and returned such compliments as are held indispensable in this ceremonious country, the prior conducted us above stairs, and shewed us two clean and comfortable chambers, which, he said, we might command, while we deigned to honour the republic (such were his expressions) with the favour of our residence. As to our entertainment, he said, we might, as best pleased us, either sup apart by ourselves, or in company with him and his monks. We told him our happiness would be complete, were we permitted to enjoy the advantage of his company and conversation. My conversation! You shall soon enjoy better than mine; since, within half an hour, I shall have the honour of conducting you to the house of a charming young lady, so I must call her, though my own kinswoman, whose *Conversazione* assembles this evening. During this dialogue a servant arrived, bringing our portmanteau from Rimini, and thereby enabling us, with more decency of appearance, to pay our respects to the lady, in company with the prior, her uncle. The signora P——received us politely in an inner apartment, after

[*B 2]

we had passed through two outer rooms, in each of which there was a servant in waiting. Above a dozen gentlemen, well dressed and polite, after the fashion of Italy, with six other ladies, formed this agreeable party. Coffee and Sorbettis being served, cards were introduced; and, in quality of strangers, we had the honour of losing a few sequins at Ombre with the mistress of the house. The other ladies present took up, each of them, two gentlemen; for Ombre is the universal game, because, in Italian assemblies, the number of men commonly triples that of women: the latter, when unmarried, seldom going abroad; and when married, being ambitious of appearing to receive company every evening at home. During the intervals of play, we endeavoured to turn the conversation on the history and present state of St. Marino, but found this subject to be too grave for the company. In this little state, as well as in other parts of Italy, the social amusements of life, consisting chiefly in what are called *Conversazioni*, have widely deviated from the *Symposia* of the Greeks, and the *Convivia* of the Romans. Instead of philosophic dialogues and epideiktic orations; and instead of those animated rehearsals of approved works of history and poetry, which formed the entertainment and delight of antiquity, the modern Italian *Conversazioni* exhibit a very different scene: a scene, in which play is the business; gallantry the amusement; and of which avarice, vanity, and mere sensual pleasure, form the sole connecting principle and chief ultimate end. Such insipid and such mercenary assemblies are sometimes enlivened by the

jokes of the buffoon; the *Improvisatore* sometimes displays in them the powers of his memory rather than the elegance of his fancy; and every entertainment in Italy, whether gay or serious, is always seasoned with music; but chiefly that soft voluptuous music which was banished by Lycurgus, proscribed by Plato, and prohibited by other legislators, under severe penalties, as unfriendly to virtue and destructive of manhood. The great amusements of life are commonly nothing more than images of its necessary occupations; and where the latter, therefore, are different, so also must be the former. Is it because the occupations of the ancients were less softened than those of the moderns, that women are found to have acted, among different nations such different parts in society? and that the contrast is so striking between the wife of a citizen of St. Marino, surrounded with her card-tables, her music, and her admirers, and the Roman *Lucretia nocte scra deditam laux intè: lucubrantes ancillus*, (Tit. liv. i. 17.) or the more copious description of female modesty and industry given by Ischomachus in Xenophon's Treatise on domestic Economy? In modern Italy this contrast of manners displays its greatest force. Though less beautiful and less accomplished than the English and French, the Italian women expect superior attention, and exact greater assiduities. To be well with the ladies is the highest ambition of the men. Upon this principle their manners are formed; by this their behaviour is regulated; and the art of conversation, in its utmost sprightliness and highest perfection, is reduced to that playful wantonness, which, touching

touching slightly on what is felt most sensibly, amuses with perpetual shadows of desired realities.

To the honour of St. Marino, it must be observed, that neither the prior Bonelli, nor two counsellors who were present, took any considerable part in this too sportive conversation; and the gentlemen at the signora P——'s were chiefly Romans and Florentines; men, we were told, whom sometimes misfortune, and sometimes inclination, but more frequently extravagance and necessity, drive from their respective countries, and who, having relations or friends in St. Marino, establish themselves in that cheap city, where they subsist on the wreck of their fortunes, and elude the pursuit of their creditors.

Next morning, Bonelli having invited several of his fellow-citizens to drink chocolate, we learned, from them, that the morality and piety which had long distinguished St. Marino, daily suffered decline through the contagious influence of those intruders, whom good policy ought never to have admitted within the territory, but whom the indulgence of humanity could not be prevailed on to expel.

After breakfast, our good-natured landlord kindly proposed a walk, that his English guests might view the city and adjacent country. The main street is well paved, but narrow and steep. The similarity of the houses indicates a happy mediocrity of fortune. There is a fine cistern of pure water; and we admired the coolness and dryness of the wine-cellars, ventilated by communications with caverns in the rock. To this circumstance, as much as to the quality of the soil and careful culture of the grape,

the wine of St. Marino is indebted for its peculiar excellence.

The whole territory of the republic extends about thirty miles in circumference. It is of an irregular oval form, and its mean diameter may be estimated at six English miles. The soil naturally craggy and barren, and hardly fit for goats, yet actually maintains (such are the attractions of liberty) upwards of seven thousand persons; and, being every where adorned by mulberry-trees, vines, and olives, supplies the materials of an advantageous trade, particularly in silk, with Rome, Florence, and other cities of Italy.

In extent of territory, St. Marino, inconsiderable as it seems, equals many republics that have performed mighty achievements, and purchased immortal renown. The independent states of Thespiæ and Plataea were respectively less extensive; and the boundaries of the modern republic exceed those of Ægina and Megara; the former of which was distinguished by its commerce and its colonies, in Egypt and the East; and the latter, as Lysias and Xenophon inform us, could bring into the field, besides proportional bodies of light troops, 3000 hardy pikemen, who, with the service of Mars, united that of Ceres and of Bacchus; extracting from bleak hills and rugged mountains rich harvests and teeming vintages.

The remembrance of our beloved republics of Greece, ennobled by the inestimable gifts of unrivaled genius, endeared to us St. Marino even by its littleness. In this literary enthusiasm, we could willingly have traversed every inch of its diminutive territory; but politeness

[*B 3]

required

required that we should not subject Bonelli and his friends to such unnecessary fatigue; and the changeableness of the weather, a continual variation of sun-shine and cloudiness, the solemnity of dark magnifying vapours, together with the velocity of drizzly or gleamy showers, produced such unusual accidents of light and shade, in this mountain scene, as often suspended the motion of our limbs, and fixed our eyes in astonishment. From the highest top of St. Marino we beheld the bright submit of another and far loftier mountain, towering above and beyond a dark cloud, which by contrast threw the conical top of the hill to such a distance, that it seemed to rise from another world. The height of St. Marino (we were told) had been accurately measured by father Boscovich, and found to be nearly half a mile above the level of the neighbouring sea.

Almost immediately after returning from our walk, dinner was served at the convent; for the politeness of father Bonelli had prolonged his stay abroad far beyond his usual hour of repast. Speedily after dinner we were conducted, by the good father, to the *conversazione* of another lady, also his relation, where we had the honour of meeting the *capitaneos*, or consuls, the *commissareo*, or chief judge, and several distinguished members of the senate. Recommended only by our youth and curiosity, we spent the evening most agreeably with those respectable magistrates, who were as communicative in answering as inquisitive in asking questions. The company continually increasing, and father Bonelli carefully addressing all new comers by the titles of their respective offices, we were surprised

towards the close of the evening, and the usual hour of retirement, that we had not yet seen *il signor dottore* and *il pædagogo publico*, the physician and schoolmaster, whom Mr. Addison represents as two of the most distinguished dignitaries in the commonwealth. A short acquaintance is sufficient to inspire confidence between congenial minds. We frankly testified our surprise to the father. He laughed heartily at our simplicity, and thought the joke too good not to be communicated to the company. When their vociferous mirth had subsided, an old gentleman, who had been repeatedly invested with the highest honours of his country, observed that he well knew Mr. Addison's account of St. Marino, which had been translated more than once into the French and Italian languages. Remote and inconsiderable as they were, his ancestors were highly honoured by the notice of that illustrious traveller, who, he understood, was not only a classic author in English, but an author who had uniformly and most successfully employed his pen in the cause of virtue and liberty. Yet, as must often happen to travellers, Mr. Addison, he continued, has, in speaking of this little republic, been deceived by first appearances. Neither our schoolmaster nor physician enjoy any pre-eminence in the state. They are maintained indeed by public salaries, as in several other cities of Italy; and there is nothing peculiar in their condition here except that the schoolmaster has more, and the physician less, to do than in most other places, because our diseases are few, and our children are many. This sally having been received with approbation

probation by the company, the veteran proceeded to explain the real distinction of ranks in St. Marino, consisting in the *nobili, cittadini*, and *stipendiate*, nobles, citizens, and stipendiaries. The nobles, he told us, exceeded not twenty families, of which several enjoyed estates, without the territory, worth from three to eight hundred pounds a year sterling: that, from respect to the holy see, under whose protection the republic had long subsisted quietly and happily, many persons of distinction in the pope's territories had been admitted *cittadini honorati*, honorary citizens of St. Marino, particularly several illustrious houses of Rimini, and the forty noble families of Bologna. Even of the Venetian nobles themselves, ancient as they certainly were, and invested, as they still continued to be, with the whole sovereignty of their country, many disdained not to be associated to the diminutive honours of St. Marino, and to increase the numbers of its citizens; and that this aggregation of illustrious foreigners, far from being considered as dangerous to public liberty, was deemed essential, in so small a commonwealth, to national safety.

Lest the conversation might take another turn, I drew from my

pocket Mr. Addison's account of St. Marino, which, being exceedingly short, I begged leave to read, that his errors, if he had committed any, might be corrected, and the alterations noted which the country had undergone in the space of seventy years, from 1703 to 1773.

The proposal being obligingly accepted, I read in Mr. Addison, "They have, at St. Marino, five churches, and reckon above five thousand souls in their community." Instead of which, I was desirous to say, "They have, in St. Marino, ten parishes, ten churches, and reckon above seven thousand souls in their community." Again, Mr. Addison says, "The council of sixty, notwithstanding its name, consists but of forty persons." That was the case, when this illustrious author visited the republic; but the council has, since that time, been augmented by twenty members, and the number now agrees with the name. These circumstances are important: for from them it appears, that while the neighbouring territory of Rome is impoverished and gloomed by the dominion of ecclesiastics, of which, in the words of Dr. Robertson, "to squeeze and to amass, not to meliorate, is the object;" * and while the neighbouring cities of Tuscany

[*B 4]

are

* See Robertson's Charles V. vol. I. sect. iii p. 157. The doctor adds, "the patrimony of St. Peter was worse governed than any other part of Europe; and though a generous pontiff might suspend for a little, or counteract, the effect of those vices, which are peculiar to the government of ecclesiastics, the disease not only remained incurable, but has gone on increasing from age to age, and the decline of the state has kept pace with its progress." On reading over this passage, a doubt arises whether it ought not to be expunged, as unjustly severe. Considered in one view, the dominion of the popes was naturally prejudicial to society; but an evil becomes a good, which prevents evils greater than itself. The authority of popes restrained the alternate tyranny of paramount kings, and feudal barons. Religion, in its least perfect form, was a check to headstrong passions and a restraint on ruffian violence: and should it be admitted, that the temporal government of ecclesiastics had tended to depress the industry and populousness of their immediate dominions (a position which

are accused of shamefully abandoning their privileges and their wealth to the grand duke, who, parsimonious, in the extreme, as to his own person and government, is thought solicitous of seconding, by his heavy purse, the wild projects of his brother the emperor Joseph, the little republic of St. Marino, on the contrary, has been increasing its populousness, confirming its strength, and extending the basis of its government. For these advantages it is indebted to its mountainous situation, virtuous manners, and total want of ambition; which last-mentioned qualities, as ancient history teaches us, are far from being characteristic of republican government; though a republic that is without them can neither subsist happily itself, nor allow happiness to its neighbours.

In the republics of Italy (St. Marino alone excepted) the people, at large, are excluded, by the circumstance of their birth, from any principal share in the sovereignty. Instead of one royal master, they are subjects of 600 * petty princes; and their condition is far less eligible than that of the subjects of monarchies; because the latter cannot be collectively degraded by the rank of a monarch, which excluding comparison, is superior to envy; and are individually entitled to aspire, by their talents and merits, to the exercise of every magistracy, and to the enjoyment of every preferment and every

honour which their king and country can bestow. The republic of St. Marino, on the other hand, like several commonwealths of antiquity, and like some lesser cantons of Switzerland, for the greater are universally moulded after the rigid Italian model, contains, what is found by experience to be, a due mixture of popular government among so simple a people, and in so small a state. The council of sixty is equally composed of *nobili* and *cittadini*, patricians and plebeians. This council, which may be called the senate, conducts the ordinary branches of public administration; but the *arengo*, or assembly of the people, containing a representative from every house or family, is summoned for the purpose of elections and on other important emergencies: it has always approved the decisions of the senate. In chusing senators and magistrates, the respect of the citizens for hereditary worth commonly raises the son to the dignity before held by his father. Indeed most professions and employments descend in lineal succession among this simple people: a circumstance which explains a very extraordinary fact, mentioned by Mr. Addison, that in two purchases, made respectively in the years 1100 and 1170, the names of the commissioners or agents, on the part of the republic, should be the same in both transactions; though the deeds were executed at the

which would require a very complex and elaborate investigation to substantiate), yet this local depression would be compensated and overbalanced by the distinguished merit of the popes, in the preservation, advancement, and diffusion, of learning, civility, and elegant airs; to which Rome, in barbarous ages offered the only, or the safest, asylum; and of which she still exhibits the most inestimable models.

* In the shop of an eminent bookseller and publisher, of an ancient and celebrated republic of Italy, I was explaining to a young patrician the nature of an English circulating library. Why don't you, said he, turning to the bookseller, introduce such an institution? the other replied, *sono troppo principi*—we have too many princes.

distance of seventy years from each other.

Notwithstanding the natural and proper influence of wealth, and birth, and merit, the liberties and properties of individuals are incomparably more safe in St. Marino than they can ever possibly be under the capricious tyranny of a levelling democracy; and the people, at large, have the firmest security, that their superiors will not abuse their just pre-eminence, since all the plebeians of full age are trained to arms, and commanded by a sort of military tribune of their own choosing, whose employment is inferior in dignity to that of the *capitanos*, or consuls, yet altogether distinct from the jurisdiction of those patrician magistrates. This important military officer is overlooked by Mr. Addison, who has also omitted to mention the treasurer of the republic. The business of the latter consists in collecting and administering the public contributions, and in paying the *stipendiati*, or pensionaries, whose salaries, as may be imagined, are extremely moderate; that of the *commissareo*, or chief judge, amounting only to sixty pounds a year. His income is considerably augmented by the *sportulæ*, or fees, paid by the litigant parties; so that his whole appointments fall little short of one hundred pounds per annum; a sum, which, in this primitive commonwealth, is found sufficient to support the dignity of a chief justice.

The laws of St. Marino are contained in a thin folio, printed at Rimini, entitled, "*Statuta Illustrissimæ Reipublicæ*;" and the whole history of this happy and truly illustrious, because virtuous and peaceable, community is comprised in

the account of war, in which the commonwealth assisted pope Pius II. against Malatesta, prince of Rimini; in the records of the purchase of two castles, with their dependent districts, in the years 1100 and 1170; and in the well-authenticated narrative of the foundation of the state above fourteen hundred years ago by St. Marino, a Dalmatian architect, who, having finished, with much honour, the repairs of Rimini, retired to this solitary mountain, practised the austerities of a hermit, wrought miracles, and, with the assistance of a few admirers, built a church, and founded a city, which his reputation for sanctity speedily reared, extended, and filled with inhabitants. In the principal church, which, as well as that of the Franciscans, contains some good pictures, the statue of this saint and law-giver is erected near the high altar. He holds a mountain in his hand, and is crowned with three castles; emblems which, from what has been above said, appear fitly chosen for the arms of the republic.

Mr. Addison observes, that the origin of St. Marino must be acknowledged to be far nobler than that of Rome, which was an asylum for robbers and murderers, whereas St. Marino was the resort of persons eminent for their piety and devotion. This observation appears to me to be erroneous in two respects, decorating with unfair honours the one republic, and heaping unmerited disgrace on the other. If piety founded St. Marino, with this piety much superstition was intermixed; a superstition unfriendly to the best principles of society, and hostile to the favourite ends of nature; preaching celibacy, and exacting mortification

cation, the hideous offspring of ignorance and terror, detesting men as criminals, and trembling at God as a tyrant. But Rome, according to the only historian* who has circumstantially and authentically described its early transactions, was an expansion of Alba Longa, itself a Grecian colony, which, according to the immemorial and sacred custom of its mother-country, diffused into new settlements the exuberance of a flourishing population, produced by the wisest and most liberal institutions. According to the same admirable historian, the manly discernment of Romulus offered an asylum not merely for robbers and murderers, but for those who were threatened with murder or robbery, who spurned subjection, or fled from oppression; for, amidst the lawless turbulence of ancient Italy, the weak needed protectors against the strong, the few against the many; and Rome, at her earliest age, already systematically assisted the weakest party; thus adopting, in her infancy, that politic heroism that was destined, by firm and majestic steps to conduct her manhood and maturity to the fair sovereignty of consenting nations.

Both in their origin and in their progress, Rome and St. Marino form the natural objects, not, indeed, of a comparison, but, of a striking contrast; and compressed as is the latter republic between the dominions of the pope and those of the grand duke, to whose subjects St. Marino is bound to allow a free passage through its territory, its citizens would deserve ridicule or pity did they affect the character, or imitate the maxims, of those mag-

nanimous senators, who, for the space of more than two centuries, swayed the politics and controlled the revolutions of the world. Convinced that their independence results from their insignificance, the senators of St. Marino smiled, when we read in Mr. Addison, "These republicans would sell their liberties dear to any that attacked them." We had not the indelicacy to desire them to interpret this smile; or to make, ourselves, any comment upon it, being persuaded, that, precarious and shadowy as their liberty is, their rational knowledge and their virtues have enabled them to extract from it both substantial and permanent enjoyment, and make them live happier here, amidst rocks and snows, than are their Tuscan and Roman neighbours in rich plains and warm vallies.

To the inhabitants of this little state, the *arengo*, the council, the different offices of magistracy, innocent rural labours, and military exercises, equally useful and innocent, supply a continual succession of manly engagements. Hopes and fears respecting the safety of their country awaken curiosity and excite inquiry. They read the gazettes of Europe with interest; they study history with improvement; in conversation, their questions are pertinent and their answers satisfactory. Contrary to what has been observed by travellers of other Italians, the citizens of St. Marino delight in literary conversation; and Mr. Addison remarks, that he hardly met with an unlettered man in their republic. In speaking of Beccaria's book on style, then recently published, one of the senators said, that

* Dionysius of Halicarnassus.

it was a treatise on style, in a very bad style, abounding in false ornaments and epigrammatic gallicism. Another observed, he wished that fashionable writer, who had been commented on by Voltaire, an author still more fashionable and pernicious than himself, would confine himself to such harmless topics as rhetoric and style; for his book on Crimes and Punishments was calculated to do much serious mischief, at least to prevent much positive good: because in that popular work he had declaimed very persuasively against capital punishments, in a country long disgraced by capital crimes, which were scarcely ever capitally punished.

The love of letters which distinguishes the people of St. Marino makes them regret that they are seldom visited by literary travellers. Of our own countrymen, belonging to this description, they mentioned with much respect Mr. Addison and Il Signor Giovanni Symonds, now professor of history in the university of Cambridge. We were proud of being classed with such men by the honest simplicity of these virtuous mountaineers, whom we left with regret, most heartily wishing to them the continuance of their liberties, which, to men of their character, and theirs only, are real and solid blessings.

Account of the celebrated Conspiracy of the Pazzi at Florence; from Roscoe's Life of Lorenzo de' Medici.

A Transaction, in which a pope, a cardinal, an archbishop, and several other ecclesiastics, associated themselves with a band of ruffians, to destroy two men who were

to honour to their age and country; and purposed to perpetrate their crime at a season of hospitality, in the sanctuary of a Christian church, and at the very moment of the elevation of the host, when the audience bowed down before it, and the assassins were presumed to be in the immediate presence of their God.

At the head of this conspiracy were Sixtus IV. and his nephew Girolamo Riario. Raffaello Riario, the nephew of this Girolamo, who, although a young man then pursuing his studies, had lately been raised to the dignity of cardinal, was rather an instrument than an accomplice in the scheme. The enmity of Sixtus to Lorenzo had for some time been apparent, and if not occasioned by the assistance which Lorenzo had afforded to Nicolo Vitelli, and other independent nobles, whose dominions Sixtus had either threatened or attacked, was certainly increased by it. The destruction of the Medici appeared therefore to Sixtus as the removal of an obstacle that thwarted all his views; and by the accomplishment of which the small surrounding states would become an easy prey. There is, however, great reason to believe that the pope did not confine his ambition to these subordinate governments, but that, if the conspiracy had succeeded to his wish, he meant to have grasped at the dominion of Florence itself. The alliance lately formed between the Florentines, the Venetians, and the duke of Milan, which was principally effected by Lorenzo de' Medici, and by which the pope found himself prevented from disturbing the peace of Italy, was an additional and powerful motive of resentment. One of the first proofs of the displeasure of the pope was his depriving Lorenzo

Lorenzo of the office of treasurer of the papal see, which he gave to the Pazzi, a Florentine family, who as well as the Medici had a public bank at Rome, and who afterwards became the coadjutors of Sixtus in the execution of his treacherous purpose.

This family was one of the noblest and most respectable in Florence; numerous in its members, and possessed of great wealth and influence. Of three brothers, two of whom had filled the office of gonsaloniere, only one was then living —

This conspiracy, of which Sixtus and his nephew were the real instigators, was first agitated at Rome, where the intercourse between the count Girolamo Riario and Francesco de' Pazzi, in consequence of the office held by the latter, afforded them an opportunity of communicating to each other their mutual jealousy of the power of the Medici, and their desire of depriving them of their influence in Florence; in which event, it is highly probable, the Pazzi were to have exercised the chief authority in the city, under the patronage if not under the avowed dominion of the papal see. The principal agent engaged in the undertaking was Francesco Salviati, archbishop of Pisa, to which rank he had lately been promoted by Sixtus, in opposition to the wishes of the Medici, who had for some time endeavoured to prevent him from exercising his episcopal functions. If it be allowed that the unfavourable character given of him by Politian is exaggerated, it is generally agreed that his qualities were the reverse of those which ought to have been the recommendations to such high preferment. The other conspira-

tors were Giacopo Salviati, brother of the archbishop, Giacopo Poggio, one of the sons of the celebrated Poggio Bracciolini, and who, like all the other sons of that eminent scholar, had obtained no small share of literary reputation; Bernardo Bandini, a daring libertine, rendered desperate by the consequences of his excesses; Giovan Battista Montesicco, who had distinguished himself by his military talents as one of the *Condottieri* of the armies of the pope; Antonio Maffei, a priest of Volterra; and Stefano da Bagnone, one of the Apostolic scribes; with several others of inferior note.

In the arrangement of their plan, which appears to have been concerted with great precaution and secrecy, the conspirators soon discovered that the dangers, which they had to encounter were not so likely to arise from the difficulty of the attempt, as from the subsequent resentment of the Florentines, a great majority of whom were strongly attached to the Medici. Hence it became necessary to provide a military force, the assistance of which might be equally requisite, whether the enterprize proved abortive or successful. By the influence of the pope, the king of Naples, who was then in alliance with him, and on one of whose sons he had recently bestowed a cardinal's hat, was also induced to countenance the attempt.

These preliminaries being adjusted, Girolamo wrote to his nephew cardinal Riario, then at Pisa, ordering him to obey whatever directions he might receive from the archbishop. A body of two thousand men were destined to approach by different routes to-

wards Florence, so as to be in readiness at the time appointed for striking the blow.

Shortly afterwards, the archbishop requested the presence of the cardinal at Florence, where he immediately repaired, and took up his residence at a seat of the Pazzi, about a mile from the city. It seems to have been the intention of the conspirators to have effected their purpose at Fiesole, where Lorenzo then had his country residence, to which they supposed he would invite the cardinal and his attendants. Nor were they deceived in this conjecture, for Lorenzo prepared a magnificent entertainment on this occasion; but the absence of Giuliano, (the brother of Lorenzo,) on account of indisposition, obliged the conspirators to postpone the attempt. Disappointed in their hopes, another plan was now to be adopted; and on farther deliberation it was resolved, that the assassination should take place on the succeeding Sunday, in the church of the Reparata, since called Santa Maria del Fiore, and that the signal for execution should be the elevation of the host. at the same moment the archbishop, and others of the conspirators, were to sieze on the palace, or residence of the magistrates, whilst the office of Giacompo de' Pazzi was to endeavour, by the cry of liberty, to incite the citizens to revolt. The immediate assassination of Giuliano was committed to Francesco de' Pazzi, and Bernardo Bandini, and that of Lorenzo had been entrusted to the sole hand of Montesicco. This office he had willingly undertaken while he understood that it was to be executed in a private dwelling, but he shrunk from the idea of polluting the house of God

with so heinous a crime. Two *ecclesiastics* were therefore selected for the commission of a deed, from which the *soldier* was deterred by *conscientious* motives. There were Stefano da Bagnone, the apostolic scribe, and Antonio Maffei.

The young cardinal having expressed a desire to attend divine service in the church of the Reparata, on the ensuing Sunday, being the 26th day of April, 1478, Lorenzo invited him and his suite to his house in Florence. He accordingly came with a large retinue, supporting the united characters of cardinal and apostolic legate, and was received by Lorenzo with that splendour and hospitality with which he was always accustomed to entertain men of high rank and consequence. Giuliano did not appear, a circumstance which alarmed the conspirators, whose arrangements would not admit of longer delay. They soon, however, learned that he intended to be present at the church. The service was already begun, and the cardinal had taken his seat, when Francesco de' Pazzi and Bandini, observing that Giuliano was not yet arrived, left the church, and went to his house, in order to insure and hasten his attendance. Giuliano accompanied them, and, as he walked between them, they threw their arms round him with the familiarity of intimate friends, but in fact to discover whether he had any armour under his dress; possibly conjecturing, from his long delay, that he had suspected their purpose. At the same time, by their freedom and jocularity, they endeavoured to obviate any apprehensions which he might entertain from such a proceeding. The conspirators having taken their stations

stations near their intended victims, waited with impatience for the appointed signal. The bell rang—the priest raised the consecrated water—the people bowed before it—and at the same instant Bandini plunged a short dagger into the breast of Giuliano. On receiving the wound, he took a few hasty steps, and fell, when Francesco de' Pazzi rushed on him with incredible fury, and stabbed him in different parts of his body, continuing to repeat his strokes even after the was apparently dead. Such was the violence of his rage, that he wounded himself deeply in the thigh. The priests, who had undertaken the murder of Lorenzo, were not equally successful. An ill-directed blow from Maffei, which was aimed at the throat, but took place behind the neck, rather roused him to his defence than disabled him. He immediately threw off his cloak, and holding it up as a shield in his left hand, with his right he drew his sword, and repelled his assailants. Perceiving that their purpose was defeated, the two ecclesiastics, after having wounded one of Lorenzo's attendants, who had interposed to defend him, endeavoured to save themselves by flight. At the same moment, Bandini, his dagger streaming with the blood of Giuliano, rushed towards Lorenzo; but meeting in his way with Francesco Nori, a person in the service of the Medici, and in whom they placed great confidence, he stabbed him with a wound instantaneously mortal. At the approach of Bandini, the friends of Lorenzo encircled him, and hurried him into the Sacristy, where Politiano and others closed the doors, which were of brass. Apprehen-

sions being entertained that the weapon which had wounded him was poisoned, a young man, attached to Lorenzo, sucked the wound. A general alarm and consternation took place in the church; and such was the tumult which ensued, that it was at first believed by the audience, that the building was falling in; but no sooner was it understood that Lorenzo was in danger, than several of the youth of Florence formed themselves into a body, and receiving him into the midst of them, conducted him to his house, making a circuitous turn from the church, lest he should meet with the dead body of his brother.

*Poetical Character of Politiano;
from the same.*

OF all these authors, though some possess a considerable share of merit, not one of them can contend, in point of poetical excellence, with Politiano, who, in his composition, approaches nearer to the standard of the ancients than any man of his time; yet whilst he emulates the dignity of Virgil, or reminds us of the elegance of Horace, he suggests not to our minds the idea of servile imitation. Of the character of his writings various opinions have indeed been entertained, which have been detailed at large by Baillet, and still more copiously by Menckenius. It may therefore be sufficient, on this occasion, to caution the reader against an implicit acquiescence in the opinions of two eminent living authors, who have either obliquely censured, or too cautiously approved his poetical works. In the attempt made by Politiano, to restore a just taste

for the literature of the ancients, it is not to be denied, that he had powerful coadjutors in Pontano, and Sanazaro, whose labours have given to the delightful vicinity of Naples new pretensions to the appellation of classic ground. Nor will it diminish his reputation, if we admit that the empire which he had founded, was in the next century extended and secured by the exertions of Fracastoro, Vida, Naugerio, and Flaminio,* in whom the great poets of the Augustan age seem once more to be revived.

Character of the celebrated Girolamo Savonarola; from the same.

ALTHOUGH the citizens of Florence admired the talents, and respected the virtues of Mariano, their attention was much more forcibly excited by a preacher of a very different character, who possessed himself of their confidence, and entitled himself to their homage,

by foretelling their destruction. This was the famous Girolamo Savonarola, who afterwards acted so conspicuous a part in the popular commotions at Florence, and contributed so essentially to the accomplishment of his own predictions. Savonarola was a native of Ferrara, but the reputation which he had acquired as a preacher, induced Lorenzo de' Medici to invite him to Florence, where he took up his residence in the year 1488,† and was appointed prior of the monastery of St. Marco. By pretensions to superior sanctity, and by a fervid and over-powering elocution, he soon acquired an astonishing ascendancy over the minds of the people, and in proportion as his popularity increased, his disregard of his patron became more apparent, and was soon converted into the most vindictive animosity. It had been the custom of those who had preceded Savonarola in this office, to pay particular respect to Lorenzo de' Medici, as the supporter of the

* I cannot mention these names without regretting the limits to which I am necessarily confined. The rivals of Virgil, of Ovid, and of Catullus, ought not, in a work that touches on the rise of letters, to be commemorated at the foot of a page. The *Syphilis* of Fracastoro, *sive de Morbo Gallico*, though an unpromising subject, is beyond comparison the finest Latin poem that has appeared since the times of the ancients. The writings of Vida are more generally known, and would be entitled to higher applause, if they did not frequently discover to the classical reader, an imitation of the ancients that borders on servility. Naugerio was a noble Venetian, who died young on an embassy from the republic. In his last moments he destroyed all his writings then in his possession, as not being sufficiently correct for the public eye; but the few that had been previously distributed among his friends, were collected and published by them after his death, and breathed the true spirit of poetry. In Flaminio we have the simplicity and tenderness of Catullus, without his licentiousness. To those who are acquainted with his writings, it will not be thought extravagant to assert, that many of them, in the species of composition to which they are confined, were never excelled. The question addressed by him to a friend, respecting the writings of Catullus, "Quando leggerete—non vi sentite voi liquefare il cuore di dolcezza?" may, with confidence be repeated to all those who are conversant with his works.

† In 1489, according to Tiraboschi, *Storia della Lett. Ital. v. vi. par. 2. p. 377*, but Savonarola himself, in his *Trattato della Rivoluzione della reformatione della Chiesa. Ven. 1536*, (if indeed the work be his,) assigns an earlier period. In this work the fanatic assumes the credit of having foretold the death of Innocent VIII. of Lorenzo de' Medici, the irruption of the French into Italy, &c.

institution.

institution. Savonarola, however, not only rejected this ceremony, as founded in adulation, but as often as Lorenzo frequented the gardens of the monastery, retired from his presence, pretending that his intercourse was with God, and not with man. At the same time, in his public discourses, he omitted no opportunity of attacking the reputation, and diminishing the credit, of Lorenzo, by prognosticating the speedy termination of his authority, and his banishment from his native place. The divine word, from the lips of Savonarola, descended not amongst his audience like the dews of heaven; it was the piercing hail, the destroying sword, the herald of destruction. The friends of Lorenzo frequently remonstrated with him, on his suffering the monk to proceed to such an extreme of arrogance: but Lorenzo had either more indulgence, or more discretion than to adopt hostile measures against a man, who, though morose and insolent, he probably considered as sincere. On the contrary, he displayed his usual prudence and moderation, by declaring that, whilst the preacher exerted himself to reform the citizens of Florence, he should readily excuse his incivility to himself. This extraordinary degree of lenity, if it had no influence on the mind of the fanatic, prevented, in a great degree, the ill effects of his harangues, and it was not till after the death of Lorenzo, that Savonarola excited those disturbances in Florence, which led to his own destruction, and terminated in the ruin of the republic.

Life of the late James Boswell, esq. from the Gentleman's Magazine.

MR. Boswell was born, in 1740, of an ancient and honourable family. His father was then at the Scotch bar, and was afterwards raised to the dignity of judge; which station he filled with acknowledged learning, probity, and honour. His title was lord Auchinleck, taken from his family inheritance; and he died in 1782: on which occasion Dr. Johnson wrote an elegant and instructive letter to the subject of this memorial; of which article we will extract a passage that alludes to some slight domestic differences, which did not happen in vain, since they gave rise to such salutary advice:

“Your father’s death had every circumstance that could enable you to bear it. It was at a mature age, and it was expected; and, as his general life had been pious, his thoughts had, doubtless, for many years past, been turned upon eternity. That you did not find him sensible must doubtless grieve you; his disposition towards you was undoubtedly that of a kind, though not of a fond father. Kindness, at least actual, is in our own power, but fondness is not; and if by negligence or imprudence you had extinguished his fondness, he could not at will rekindle it. Nothing then remained between you but mutual forgiveness of each one’s faults, and mutual desire of each other’s happiness.”

In 1763, Mr. Boswell came to London. In 1769 he published his account of Corsica, with the “Journal of a Tour to that Island.” This work gained him some distinction

tion in the world. Dr. Johnson says of it :

“ Your history is like all other histories, but your journal is in a very high degree curious and delightful. There is between the history and the journal that difference which there will always be found between notions borrowed from without, and notions generated within. Your history was copied from books; your journal rose out of your own experience, and observation. You express images which operated strongly upon yourself, and you have impressed them with great force upon your readers. I know not whether I could name any narrative by which curiosity is better excited or better gratified.

In 1770, Mr. Boswell was married. The issue of his marriage are two sons and three daughters. Mrs. Boswell died a few years ago. At this time, likewise, he was in good practice at the Scotch bar, and, among others, took a very active part in the celebrated Douglas cause; concerning which we find a very interesting correspondence betwixt him and Dr. Johnson, published in his *Life of the latter*.

In 1784, he published a “ Letter to the people of Scotland, on the present state of the Nation,” against Mr. Fox’s India Bill. Dr. Johnson writes to him his approbation of it : “ I am very much of your opinion ; and, like you, feel great indignation at the indecency with which the king is every day treated. Your paper contains very considerable knowledge of the history and of the constitution, very properly produced and applied.”

In 1785, he quitted the Scotch bar, and came to reside entirely in

London. The same year he published his “ *Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides* ;” a work of which it might have been said, that it was one of the most entertaining in our language, if it had not been followed by his *magnum opus*, his “ *Life of Dr. Johnson*,” * of which, however, it was a pleasing earnest.

Soon after his return from a visit to Auchinleck, he was seized with a disorder, which proved fatal, on Tuesday, the 19th of May, in this year.

Such are the brief chronological items of his life.

Of his character it would be difficult to say much more than he has said himself in his “ *Journal to the Hebrides* ;” and which may, with some propriety, be copied here :

“ I have given a sketch of Dr. Johnson. My readers may wish to know a little of his fellow-traveller. Think, then, of a gentleman of ancient blood ; the pride of which was his predominant passion. He was then in his 32d year, and had been about four years happily married. His inclination was to be a soldier ; but his father, a respectable judge, had pressed him into the profession of the law. He had travelled a good deal, and seen many varieties of human life. He had thought more than any body supposed, and had a pretty good stock of general learning and knowledge. He had all Dr. Johnson’s principles, with some degree of relaxation. He had rather too little than too much prudence ; and, his imagination being lively, he often said things of which the effect was very different from the intention. He resembled, sometimes,

‘ The best good man, with the worst natur’d muse.’

* For an account of which, see our Register for 1791.

"He cannot deny himself the vanity of finishing with the encomium of Dr. Johnson, whose friendly partiality to the companion of this tour represents him as one 'whose acuteness would help any inquiry, and whose gaiety of conversation, and civility of manners, are sufficient to counteract the inconveniences of travel, in countries less hospitable than we have passed.'

Few of Mr. Boswell's friends can, I believe, add much to this honest and candid confession. His enemies are welcome, if they please, to dwell upon his failings. Of these he had not many, and they were injurious to no person. Good-nature was highly predominant in his character. He appeared to entertain sentiments of benevolence to all mankind; and it does not seem that he ever did, or could, injure any human being *intentionally*. His conversation-talents were always pleasing, and often fascinating. But can we wonder at this in him who, with a capacity to learn, had been the companion of Johnson for more than twenty years? He was a Johnsonian in every thing but the *manner*; and there were few of Dr. Johnson's friends that were not very ready to dispense with *that*. His attachment to the doctor for so long a period was a meritorious perseverance in the desire of knowledge. To it the world is indebted for the most finished picture of an eminent man that ever was executed.

Vanity has been imputed to our author. But let it be remembered that he enjoyed advantages which rendered that conspicuous in him from which no man can claim an exemption. There is never a man who would not have been vain to possess so much of Dr. Johnson's conversa-

tion, and proud to give it to the world, in hopes that he who venerated Johnson would not be unthankful to his biographer.

From the doctor, however, he appears to have imbibed a portion of constitutional melancholy. Of late years, he has often complained of this; and he flew for relief where, perhaps, it is best to be found, to the society of the learned and the gay. Here, as he confesses, "he had rather too little than too much prudence;" and, with more attachment to the activity of rural life, he might, probably, have lengthened his days. But, as his "belief in Revelation was unshaken," and his religious impressions deep and recurring frequently, let us hope that he has now attained that state from which imperfection and calamity are alike excluded.

*The Life of Patrick Browne, M. D.
Author of the History of Jamaica;
from the European Magazine.*

DR. BROWNE was the fourth son of Edward Browne, esq. a gentleman of respectable family and handsome estate. He was born at Woodstock, the paternal inheritance, in the parish of Crossboyne, and county of Mayo, about the year 1720. After receiving the best education that country could afford, he was sent to a near relation in the island of Antigua, in 1737; but the climate at that time disagreeing very much with his constitution, he returned in about a year to Europe, and landing in France, went directly to Paris, where he speedily recovered his health; and with the approbation of his parents, applied

applied himself closely to the study of physic, and particularly to the science of botany, for which he always had a particular predilection.

After five years spent at Paris he removed to Leyden, where he studied near two years more, and from that university obtained his degree of M. D.—Here he formed an intimacy with Gronovius and Muschenbroeck, and commenced a correspondence with Linnæus and other eminent botanists and learned men. From Holland he proceeded to London, where he practised near two years, most of which time he attended St. Thomas's hospital, with the celebrated Doctor Letherland, physician formerly to queen Caroline, his warm and affectionate friend. From thence he went out again to the West Indies, and after spending some months in Antigua and some others of the sugar-islands, he proceeded to Jamaica, where he spent his time in collecting and preserving specimens of the plants, birds, shells, &c. of those luxuriant soils, with a view to the improvement of natural history.

Whilst in Jamaica, his residence was chiefly in Kingston, and it was he who first pointed out the absurdity of continuing Spanish town the port and capital, whilst reason plainly pointed out Kingston, or in his own words "the defects of a port of clearance to leeward;" and by his writings the governor and council represented the matter so strikingly to earl Granville, president of the council, 1756, that the measure was immediately adopted, and Kingston made the port of clearance, to the very great benefit of commerce in general, as, before that, when ships were clearing out of

Kingston, and ready to weigh anchor, they were obliged to send near seven miles to Spanish-town, by which they often suffered great inconvenience and delay.

At this time also he collected materials and made the necessary observations (being a very good mathematician and astronomer) for a new map of Jamaica, which he published in London, in August, 1755, engraved by Bailey, on two sheets, by which the doctor cleared four hundred guineas.

Soon after this, (March, 1756) he published his Civil and Natural History of Jamaica, in folio, ornamented with forty-nine engravings of natural history, a whole sheet map of the island, and another of the harbour of Port-Royal, Kingston-town, &c. Of this work there were but two hundred and fifty copies printed by subscription, at the very low price of one guinea, but a few were sold at two pounds two shillings in sheets by the printer. Most unfortunately all the copper-plates, as well as the original drawings, were consumed by the great fire in Cornhill, November 7, 1765.

This alone prevented in his lifetime a second edition of that work, for which he made considerable preparations, by many additional plants, and a few corrections in his several voyages to these islands, for he was six different times in the West Indies; in one of those trips he lived above twelve months in the island of Antigua: however, these observations will, we trust, not be lost to the public, as he lately sent to sir Joseph Banks, P.R.S. "A catalogue of the plants growing in the sugar-islands," &c. classed and described according to the Linnæan

system, in quarto, containing about eighty pages.

Dr. Browne long and regularly kept up a correspondence with the celebrated Linnæus, which continued to his death.

In Exshaw's Gentleman's and London Magazine for June, 1774, he published "A Catalogue of the Birds of Ireland," and in Exshaw's August Magazine following, "A Catalogue of its Fish."

In 1788, he got ready for the press a very curious and useful Catalogue of the Plants of the north-west counties of Ireland, classed with great care and accuracy according to the Linnæan system, containing above seven hundred plants, mostly observed by himself, having trusted very few to the descriptions of others. This little tract, written in Latin with the English and Irish names, might be of considerable use in assisting to compile a *Flora Hibernica*, a work every botanist will allow to be much wanting.

The doctor was a tall, comely man, of good address and gentle manners, naturally cheerful, very temperate, and in general healthy; but of late years had violent periodical fits of the gout, by which he suffered greatly; in the intervals of these unwelcome fits, he formed the Catalogue of Plants, and was always, when in health, doing something in natural history, or mathematics. At a very early period he married in Antigua a native of that island, but had no issue. His circumstances were moderate but easy, and the poor found ample benefit from his liberality as well as professional skill. This worthy member of society paid the debt of nature at Rushbrook, county of Mayo, on Sunday, August 29, 1790, and

was interred in the family burial-place at Crossboyne. In his will he desired the following inscription to be placed on his monument, viz.

"Hanc opponi jussit Patri Matri Fratribusque Piissimis & sibi; Patricius Browne olim Medicus Jamaicensis, qui nunc insita humiliter pro tum inter mortuos enumerandum deprecetur præcis fidelium pro se illisque offerri; ut cum Domino Deo Requiescant in pace. Amen."

His publications are,

"The Civil and Natural History of Jamaica, containing, 1. An accurate Description of that Island, its Situation and Soil; with a brief Account of its former and present State, Government, Revenues, Produce, and Trade. 2. A History of the Natural Productions, including the various Sorts of Native Fossils; Perfect and Imperfect Vegetables; Quadrupeds, Birds, Fishes, Reptiles, and Insects; with their Properties and Uses in Mechanics, Diet, and Physic.

"By Patrick Browne, M. D.

"Illustrated with forty-nine copperplates, in which the most curious productions are represented of their natural sizes, and delineated immediately from the objects, by George Dionysius Ehret."

In this work, Dr. Browne observes "Sir Hans Sloane hath not collected above 800 species of plants in all his travels: in Jamaica alone I have examined and described about 1200, besides fossils, insects, and other productions, many of which he makes no mention of. It must be owned, nevertheless, to his praise, that his works, inaccurate as they are, upon the whole,

whole, have done both the author and his country credit.

The doctor hints at three Dissertations, and one on Worm Fevers, intended to be published (but they never were.)

His next work was a short Essay, intitled—"A Catalogue of the Birds of Ireland, whether Natives, Casual Visitors, or Birds of Passage, taken from Observation; classed and disposed according to Linnæus." This was published in Exshaw's Magazine, June, 1774.

"A Catalogue of Fishes, observed on our Coasts, and in our Lakes and Rivers, classed and disposed according to Linnæus."—In Exshaw's Magazine for August, 1774.

His MSS. are,

"A Catalogue of the Plants growing in the Sugar-Islands, &c. classed and described according to the Linnæan System;" sent to sir Joseph Banks. 4to. about 80 pages MS.

"Fasciculus Plantarum Hiberniæ: or, a Catalogue of such Irish Plants as have been observed by the Author, chiefly those of the Counties of Mayo and Galway; to which he has added such as have been mentioned by other Authors worthy of credit, the produce of any other parts of the kingdom.

By Patrick Browne, M. D. Author of the History of Jamaica."

This contains 110 pages 8vo. written in Latin, with the English and Irish names.

Particulars of the Life and Character of Adam Smith, LL. D.; from the Third Volume of the Transactions of the Royal Society of Edinburgh.

ADAM Smith, author of the Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations, was the son of Adam Smith, comptroller of the customs at Kirkaldy, and of Margaret Douglas, daughter of Mr. Douglas, of Strathenry. He was the only child of the marriage, and was born at Kirkaldy on the 5th of June, 1723, a few months after the death of his father.

His constitution during infancy was infirm and sickly, and required all the tender solicitude of his surviving parent. She was blamed for treating him with an unlimited indulgence: but it produced no unfavourable effects on his temper or his dispositions; and he enjoyed the rare satisfaction of being able to repay her affection, by every attention that filial gratitude could dictate, during the long period of sixty years.

An accident, which happened to him when he was about three years old, is of too interesting a nature to be omitted in the account of so valuable a life. He had been carried by his mother to Strathenry on a visit to his uncle, Mr. Douglas, and was one day amusing himself alone at the door of the house, when he was stolen by a party of that set of vagrants who are known in Scotland by the name of tinkers. Luckily he was soon missed by his uncle, who hearing that some vagrants had passed, pursued them, with what assistance he could find, till he overtook them in Leslie wood; and was the happy instrument of preserving to the world a genius, which was destined, not only to extend the boundaries of science, but to enlighten and reform the commercial policy of Europe.

The school of Kirkaldy, where Mr. Smith received the first rudiments

ments of his education, was then taught by Mr. David Miller, a teacher, in his day, of considerable reputation, and whose name deserves to be recorded, on account of the eminent men whom that very obscure seminary produced, while under his direction. Mr. Oswald, of Dunkeir, whose profound knowledge of finances raised him afterwards to important employments in the state, and to a distinguished rank as a parliamentary speaker; his brother, Dr. John Oswald, afterwards bishop of Raphoe; and Dr. John Drysdale, whose talents and worth are well known to this society, were among the number of Mr. Smith's contemporaries.—One of his school-fellows is still alive; and to his kindness I am principally indebted for the scanty materials, which form the first part of this narrative.

Among these companions of his earliest years, Mr. Smith soon attracted notice, by his passion for books, and by the extraordinary powers of his memory. The weakness of his bodily constitution prevented him from partaking in their more active amusements; but he was much beloved by them on account of his temper, which, though warm, was to an uncommon degree friendly and generous. Even then he was remarkable for those habits which remained with him through life, of speaking to himself when alone, and of absence in company.

From the grammar-school of Kirkaldy he was sent, in 1737, to the university of Glasgow, where he remained till 1740, when he went to Baliol College, Oxford, as an exhibitor on Snell's foundation.

Dr. Maclaine, of the Hague, who

was a fellow-student of Mr. Smith's, at Glasgow, told me, some years ago, that his favourite pursuits, while at that university, were mathematics and natural philosophy; and I remember to have heard my father remind him of a geometrical problem of considerable difficulty, about which he was occupied at the time when their acquaintance commenced, and which had been proposed to him as an exercise by the celebrated Dr. Simpson.

These, however, were certainly not the sciences in which he was formed to excel; nor did they long divert him from pursuits more congenial to his mind. What lord Bacon says of Plato may be justly applied to him: "*Illum, licet ad rempublicam non accessisset, tamen naturâ et inclinatione omnino ad res civiles propensum, vires eo præcipue intendisse; neque de philosophia naturali admodum sollicitum esse; nisi quatenus ad philosophia nomen et celibritatem tuendam, et ad majestatem quandam moralibus et civilibus doctrinis adendam et aspergendam sufficeret.*" The study of human nature in all its branches, more particularly of the political history of mankind, opened a boundless field to his curiosity and ambition; and, while it afforded scope to all the various powers of his versatile and comprehensive genius, gratified his ruling passion, of contributing to the happiness and the improvement of society. To this study, diversified at his leisure hours by the less severe occupations of polite literature, he seems to have devoted himself almost entirely from the time of his removal to Oxford; but he still retained, and retained even in advanced years, a recollection of his early

early acquisitions, which not only added to the splendor of his conversation, but enabled him to exemplify some of his favourite theories concerning the natural progress of the mind in the investigation of truth, by the history of those sciences in which the connection and succession of discoveries may be traced with the greatest advantage. If I am not mistaken too, the influence of his early taste for the Greek geometry may be remarked in the elementary clearness and fulness, bordering sometimes upon prolixity, with which he frequently states his political reasonings.—The lectures of the profound and eloquent Dr. Hutcheson, which he had attended previous to his departure from Glasgow, and of which he always spoke in terms of the warmest admiration, had, it may be reasonably presumed, a considerable effect in directing his talents to their proper objects.

I have not been able to collect any information with respect to that part of his youth which was spent in England. I have heard him say, that he employed himself frequently in the practice of translation, (particularly from the French), with a view to the improvement of his own style: and he used often to express a favourable opinion of the utility of such exercises, to all who cultivate the art of composition. It is much to be regretted, that none of his juvenile attempts in this way have been preserved; as the few specimens, which his writings contain of his skill as a translator, are sufficient to shew the eminence he had attained in a walk of literature, which, in our country, has been so little frequented by men of genius.

It was probably also at this period of his life, that he cultivated with the greatest care the study of languages. The knowledge he possessed of these, both ancient and modern, was uncommonly extensive and accurate; and, in him, was subservient, not to a vain parade of tasteless erudition, but to a familiar acquaintance with every thing that could illustrate the institutions, the manners, and the ideas of different ages and nations. How intimately he had once been conversant with the more ornamental branches of learning; in particular, with the works of the Roman, Greek, French, and Italian poets, appeared sufficiently from the hold which they kept of his memory, after all the different occupations and enquiries in which his maturer faculties had been employed. In the English language, the variety of poetical passages which he was not only accustomed to refer to occasionally, but which he was able to repeat with correctness, appeared surprising even to those, whose attention had never been directed to more important acquisitions.

After a residence at Oxford of seven years, he returned to Kirkcaldy, and lived two years with his mother; engaged in study, but without any fixed plan for his future life. He had been originally destined for the Church of England, and with that view had been sent to Oxford; but not finding the ecclesiastical profession suitable to his taste, he chose to consult, in this instance, his own inclination, in preference to the wishes of his friends; and abandoning at once all the schemes which their prudence had formed for him, he resolved

solved to return to his own country, and to limit his ambition to the uncertain prospect of obtaining, in time, some one of those moderate preferments, to which literary attainments lead in Scotland.

In the year 1748, he fixed his residence at Edinburgh, and, during that and the following years, read lectures on rhetoric and belles lettres, under the patronage of lord Kaimes. About this time, too, he contracted a very intimate friendship, which continued, without interruption, till his death, with Mr. Alexander Wedderburn, now lord Loughborough, and with Mr. William Johnstone, now Mr. Pulteney.

At what particular period his acquaintance with Mr. David Hume commenced, does not appear from any information that I have received; but from some papers, now in the possession of Mr. Hume's nephew, and which he has been so obliging as to allow me to peruse, their acquaintance seems to have grown into friendship before the year 1752. It was a friendship on both sides founded on the admiration of genius, and the love of simplicity; and which forms an interesting circumstance in the history of each of these eminent men, from the ambition which both have shewn to record it to posterity.

In 1751, he was elected professor of logic in the university of Glasgow; and, the year following, he was removed to the professorship of moral philosophy in the same university, upon the death of Mr. Thomas Craigie, the immediate successor of Dr. Hutcheson. In this situation, he remained thirteen years; a period he used frequently to look back to, as the most useful and hap-

py of his life. It was indeed a situation in which he was eminently fitted to excel, and in which the daily labours of his profession were constantly recalling his attention to his favourite pursuits, and familiarising his mind to those important speculations he was afterwards to communicate to the world. In this view, though it afforded, in the mean time, but a very narrow scene for his ambition, it was probably instrumental, in no inconsiderable degree, to the future eminence of his literary character.

Of Mr. Smith's lectures, while a professor at Glasgow, no part has been preserved, excepting what he himself published in the *Theory of Moral Sentiments* and in the *Wealth of Nations*. The society therefore, I am persuaded, will listen with pleasure to the following short account of them, for which I am indebted to a gentleman who was formerly one of Mr. Smith's pupils, and who continued to his death to be one of his most intimate and valued friends.

In the professorship of logic, to which Mr. Smith was appointed on his first introduction into this university, he soon saw the necessity of departing widely from the plan that had been followed by his predecessors, and of directing the attention of his pupils to studies of a more interesting and useful nature than the logic and metaphysics of the schools. Accordingly, after exhibiting a general view of the powers of the mind, and explaining so much of the ancient logic as was requisite to gratify curiosity, with respect to an artificial method of reasoning, which had once occupied the universal attention of the learned, he dedicated all the rest of his

his time to the delivery of a system of rhetoric and belles lettres. The best method of explaining and illustrating the various powers of the human mind, the most useful part of metaphysics, arises from an examination of the several ways of communicating our thoughts by speech, and from an attention to the principles of those literary compositions, which contribute to persuasion or entertainment. By these arts, every thing that we perceive or feel, every operation of our minds, is expressed and delineated in such a manner, that it may be clearly distinguished and remembered. There is, at the same time, no branch of literature more suited to youth, at their first entrance upon philosophy, than this, which lays hold of their taste and their feelings.

It is much to be regretted, that the manuscript containing Mr. Smith's lectures on this subject was destroyed before his death. The first part, in point of composition, was highly finished; and the whole discovered strong marks of taste and original genius. From the permission given to students of taking notes, many observations and opinions, contained in these lectures, have either been detailed in separate dissertations, or ingrossed in general collections, which have since been given to the public. But these, as might be expected, have lost the air of originality and the distinctive character which they received from their first author, and are often obscured by that multiplicity of common-place matter in which they are sunk and involved.

About a year after his appointment to the professorship of logic, Mr. Smith was elected to the chair of moral philosophy. His course of

lectures on this subject was divided into four parts. The first contained natural theology; in which he considered the proofs of the being and attributes of God, and those principles of the human mind upon which religion is founded. The second comprehended Ethics, strictly so called, and consisted chiefly of the doctrines which he afterwards published in his Theory of Moral Sentiments. In the third part, he treated at more length of that branch of morality which relates to justice, and which, being susceptible of precise and accurate rules, is, for that reason, capable of a full and particular explanation.

Upon this subject, he followed the plan that seems to be suggested by Montesquieu; endeavouring to trace the gradual progress of jurisprudence, both public and private, from the rudest to the most refined ages, and to point out the effects of those arts which contribute to subsistence, and to the accumulation of property, in producing correspondent improvements or alterations in law and government. This important branch of his labours he also intended to give to the public, but this intention, which is mentioned in the conclusion of the Theory of Moral Sentiments, he did not live to fulfil.

In the last part of his lectures, he examined those political regulations which are founded, not upon the principle of justice, but that of expediency, and which are calculated to increase the riches, the power and the prosperity of a state. Under this view, he considered the political institutions relating to commerce, to finances, to ecclesiastical and military establishments. What he delivered on these subjects contained

tained the substance of the work he afterwards published under the title of *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*.

There was no situation in which the abilities of Mr. Smith appeared to greater advantage than as a professor. In delivering his lectures, he trusted almost entirely to extemporary elocution. His manner, though not graceful, was plain and unaffected; and as he seemed to be always interested in the subject, he never failed to interest his hearers. Each discourse consisted commonly of several distinct propositions, which he successively endeavoured to prove and illustrate. These propositions, when announced in general terms, had, from their extent, not unfrequently, something of the air of a paradox. In his attempts to explain them, he often appeared, at first, not to be sufficiently possessed of the subject, and spoke with some hesitation. As he advanced, however, the matter seemed to crowd upon him, his manner became warm and animated, and his expression easy and fluent. In points susceptible of controversy, you could easily discern, that he secretly conceived an opposition to his opinions, and that he was led, upon this account, to support them with greater energy and vehemence. By the fullness and variety of his illustrations, the subject gradually swelled in his hands, and acquired a dimension which, without a tedious repetition of the same views, was calculated to seize the attention of his audience, and to afford them pleasure, as well as instruction, in following the same object, through all the diversity of shades and aspects in which it was presented; and afterwards in tracing it backwards to

that original proposition or general truth, from which this beautiful train of speculation had proceeded.

His reputation as a professor was accordingly raised very high, and a multitude of students from a great distance resorted to the university, merely upon his account. Those branches of science which he taught became fashionable at this place, and his opinions were the chief topics of discussion in clubs and literary societies. Even the small peculiarities in his pronunciation or manner of speaking became frequently the objects of imitation.

While Mr. Smith was thus distinguishing himself by his zeal and ability, as a public teacher, he was gradually laying the foundation of a more extensive reputation, by preparing for the press his system of morals. The first edition of this work appeared in 1759; under the title of "*The Theory of Moral Sentiments*."

Hitherto Mr. Smith had remained unknown to the world as an author; nor have I heard that he had made a trial of his powers in any anonymous publications, except in a periodical work called the *Edinburgh Review*, which was begun in the year 1755, by some gentlemen of distinguished abilities, but which they were prevented by other engagements from carrying farther than the two first numbers. To this work Mr. Smith contributed a review of Dr. Johnson's dictionary of the English language, and also a letter, addressed to the editors, containing some general observations on the state of literature in the different countries of Europe. In the former of these papers, he points out some defects in Dr. Johnson's plan, which he censures as not sufficiently grammatical.

matical. "The different significations of a word (he observes) are indeed collected; but they are seldom digested into general classes, or ranged under the meaning which the word principally expresses: and sufficient care is not taken to distinguish the words apparently synonymous." To illustrate this criticism, he copies from Dr. Johnson the articles *but* and *humour*, and opposes to them the same articles digested agreeably to his own ideas. The various significations of the word *but* are very nicely and happily discriminated. The other article does not seem to have been executed with equal care.

The observations on the state of learning in Europe are written with ingenuity and elegance; but are chiefly interesting, as they shew the attention which the author had given to the philosophy and literature of the continent, at a period when they were not much studied in this island.

In the same volume with the *Theory of Moral Sentiments*, Mr. Smith published a dissertation "on the Origin of Languages, and on the different Genius of those which are original and compounded."

I shall subjoin an original letter of Mr. Hume's addressed to Mr. Smith soon after the publication of his *Theory*. It is strongly marked with that easy and affectionate pleasantry which distinguished Mr. Hume's epistolary correspondence, and is entitled to a place in this memoir, on account of its connexion with an important event of Mr. Smith's life, which soon after removed him into a new scene, and influenced, to a considerable degree, the subsequent source of his studies.

The letter is dated from London, 12th April, 1759.

"I give you thanks for the agreeable present of your *Theory*. Wedderburn and I made presents of our copies to such of our acquaintances as we thought good judges, and proper to spread the reputation of the book. I sent one to the duke of Argyle to lord Lyttleton, Horace Walpole, Soame Jennyns, and Burke, an Irish gentleman, who wrote lately a very pretty treatise on the Sublime. Millar desired my permission to send one in your name to Dr. Warburton. I have delayed writing to you till I could tell you something of the success of the book, and could prognosticate with some probability, whether it should be finally damned to oblivion, or should be registered in the temple of immortality. Though it has been published only a few weeks, I think there appear already such strong symptoms, that I can almost venture to foretell its fate. It is in short this; but I have been interrupted in my letter by a foolish impertinent visit of one who has lately come from Scotland. He tells me that the university of Glasgow intend to declare Rouet's office vacant, upon his going abroad with lord Hope. I question not but you will have our friend Ferguson in your eye, in case another project for procuring him a place in the university of Edinburgh should fail. Ferguson has very much polished and improved his *Treatise on Refinement*, and with some amendments it will make an admirable book, and discovers an elegant and a singular genius. The *Epigoniad*, I hope, will do: but it is somewhat up-hill work. As I doubt not but you consult the reviews sometimes

sometimes at present, you will see in the Critical Review a letter upon that poem; and I desire you to employ your conjectures in finding out the author. Let me see a sample of your skill in knowing hands by your guessing at the person. I am afraid of lord Kaime's Law Tracts. A man might as well think of making a fine sauce by a mixture of wormwood and aloes, as an agreeable composition by joining metaphysics and Scotch law. However, the book, I believe, has merit; though few people will take the pains of diving into it. But, to return to your book, and its success in this town, I must tell you. A plague of interruption! I ordered myself to be denied; and yet here is one that has broke in upon me again. He is a man of letters, and we have had a good deal of literary conversation. You told me that you was curious of literary anecdotes, and therefore I shall inform you of a few that have come to my knowledge. I believe I have mentioned to you already Helvetius's book *De l'Esprit*. It is worth your reading, not for its philosophy, which I do not highly value; but for its agreeable composition. I had a letter from him a few days ago, wherein he tells me that my name was much oftener in the manuscript, but that the censor of books at Paris obliged him to strike it out. Voltaire has lately published a small work called *Candide*, ou *l'Optimisme*. I shall give you a detail of it; but what is all this to my book? say you. My dear Mr. Smith, have patience: compose yourself to tranquillity: shew yourself a philosopher in practice as well as profession: think on the emptiness, and rashness, and futility of the com-

mon judgments of men: how little they are regulated by reason in any subject, much more in philosophical subjects, which so far exceed the comprehension of the vulgar.

—Non si quid turbida Roma
Elevet, accedas: examenve improbum in
illa

Castiges trutina: nec te quassiveris extra.

A wise man's kingdom is his own breast; or, if he ever looks farther, it will only be to the judgment of a select few, who are free from prejudices, and capable of examining his work. Nothing indeed can be a stronger presumption of falsehood than the approbation of the multitude; and Phocion, you know, always suspected himself of some blunder, when he was attended with the applauses of the populace.

“Supposing, therefore, that you have duly prepared yourself for the worst by all these reflections, I proceed to tell you the melancholy news that your book has been very unfortunate; for the public seem disposed to applaud it extremely. It was looked for by the foolish people with some impatience; and the mob of literati are beginning already to be very loud in its praises. Three Bishops called yesterday at Millar's shop in order to buy copies, and to ask questions about the author. The bishop of Peterborough said he had passed the evening in a company where he heard it extolled above all books in the world. The duke of Argyle is more decisive than he uses to be in its favour. I suppose he either considers it as an exotic, or thinks the author will be serviceable to him in the Glasgow elections. Lord Lyttleton says, that Robertson, and Smith, and Bower, are the glories of English literature.

literatruē. Oswald protests he does not know whether he has reaped more instruction or entertainment from it. But you may easily judge what reliance can be put on his judgment, who has been engaged all his life in public business, and who never sees any faults in his friends. Millar exults and brags, that two-thirds of the edition are already sold, and that he is now sure of success. You see what a son of the earth that is, to value books only by the profit they bring him. In that view, I believe it may prove a very good book.

“Charles Townsend, who passes for the cleverest fellow in England, is so taken with the performance, that he said to Oswald, he would put the duke of Buccleugh under the author’s care, and would make it worth his while to accept of that charge. As soon as I heard this, I called on him twice, with a view of talking with him about the matter, and of convincing him of the propriety of sending that young nobleman to Glasgow: for I could not hope, that he could offer you any terms which would tempt you to renounce your professorship. But I missed him. Mr. Townsend passes for being a little uncertain in his resolutions; so perhaps you need not build much on his sally.

“In recompense for so many mortifying things, which nothing but truth could have extorted from me, and which I could easily have multiplied to a greater number, I doubt not but you are so good a Christian as to return good for evil; and to flatter my vanity by telling me, that all the godly in Scotland abuse me for my account of John Knox and the Reformation. I suppose you are glad

to see my paper end, and that I am obliged to conclude with

Your humble servant,

DAVID HUME.”

After the publication of the *Theory of Moral Sentiments*, Mr. Smith remained four years at Glasgow, discharging his official duties with unabated vigour, and with increasing reputation. During that time, the plan of his lectures underwent a considerable change. His ethical doctrines, of which he had now published so valuable a part, occupied a much smaller portion of the course than formerly; and, accordingly, his attention was naturally directed to a more complete illustration of the principles of jurisprudence and of political economy.

To this last subject, his thoughts appear to have been occasionally turned from a very early period of life. It is probable, that the uninterrupted friendship he had always maintained with his old companion, Mr. Oswald, had some tendency to encourage him in prosecuting this branch of his studies; and the publication of Mr. Hume’s political discourses, in the year 1752, could not fail to confirm him in those liberal views of commercial policy which had already opened to him in the course of his own enquiries. His long residence in one of the most enlightened mercantile towns in this island, and the habits of intimacy in which he lived with the most respectable of its inhabitants, afforded him an opportunity of deriving what commercial information he stood in need of, from the best sources; and it is a circumstance, no less honourable to their liberality than to his talents,

talents, that, notwithstanding the reluctance, so common among men of business, to listen to the conclusions of mere speculation, and the direct opposition of his leading principles to all the old maxims of trade, he was able, before he quitted his situation in the university, to rank some very eminent merchants in the number of his proselytes.

Among the students who attended his lectures, and whose minds were not previously warped by prejudice, the progress of his opinions, it may be reasonably supposed, was much more rapid. It was this class of his friends, accordingly, that first adopted his system with eagerness, and diffused a knowledge of its fundamental principles over this part of the kingdom.

Towards the end of 1763, Mr. Smith received an invitation from Mr. Charles Townsend, to accompany the duke of Buccleugh on his travels; and the liberal terms in which the proposal was made to him, added to the strong desire he had felt of visiting the continent of Europe, induced him to resign his office at Glasgow. With the connection which he was led to form, in consequence of this change in his situation, he had reason to be satisfied in an uncommon degree, and he always spoke of it with pleasure and gratitude. To the public, it was not perhaps a change equally fortunate; as it interrupted that studious leisure for which nature seems to have destined him, and in which alone he could have hoped to accomplish those literary projects which had flattered the ambition of his youthful genius.

The alteration, however, which

from this period took place in his habits, was not without its advantages. He had hitherto lived chiefly within the walls of an university; and although, to a mind like his, the observation of human nature on the smallest scale is sufficient to convey a tolerably just conception of what passes on the great theatre of the world, yet it is not to be doubted, that the variety of scenes, through which he afterwards passed, must have enriched his mind with many new ideas, and corrected many of those misapprehensions of life and manners which the best descriptions of them can scarcely fail to convey.—But whatever were the lights that his travels afforded to him, as a student of human nature, they were probably useful in a still greater degree, in enabling him to perfect that system of political œconomy, of which he had already delivered the principles in his lectures at Glasgow, and which it was now the leading object of his studies to prepare for the public. The coincidence between some of these principles and the distinguishing tenets of the French œconomists, who were at that very time in the height of their reputation, and the intimacy in which he lived with some of the leaders of that sect, could not fail to assist him in methodizing and digesting his speculations; while the valuable collection of facts, accumulated by the zealous industry of their numerous adherents, furnished him with ample materials for illustrating and confirming his theoretical conclusions.

After leaving Glasgow, Mr. Smith joined the duke of Buccleugh, at London, early in the year 1764, and set out with him for the continent,

continent in the month of March following. At Dover, they were met by sir James Macdonald, who accompanied them to Paris, and with whom Mr. Smith laid the foundation of a friendship, which he always mentioned with great sensibility, and of which he often lamented the short duration. The panegyrics with which the memory of this accomplished and amiable person has been honoured, by so many distinguished characters, in the different countries of Europe, are a proof how well fitted his talents were to command general admiration. The esteem in which his abilities and learning were held by Mr. Smith, is a testimony to his extraordinary merit of still superior value. Mr. Hume too, seems, in this instance, to have partaken of his friend's enthusiasm. "Were you and I together, (says he, in a letter to Mr. Smith) we should shed tears at present for the death of poor sir James Macdonald. We could not possibly have suffered a greater loss than in that valuable young man."

In this first visit to Paris, the duke of Buccleugh and Mr. Smith employed only ten or twelve days; after which, they proceeded to Thoulouse, where they fixed their residence for eighteen months; and where, in addition to the pleasure of an agreeable society, Mr. Smith had an opportunity of correcting and extending his information concerning the internal policy of France, by the intimacy in which he lived with some of the principal persons of the parliament.

From Thoulouse they went, by a pretty extensive tour, through the south of France, to Geneva. Here they passed two months. The late earl Stanhope, for whose learning

and worth Mr. Smith entertained a sincere respect, was then an inhabitant of that republic.

About Christmas, 1765, they returned to Paris, and remained there till October following. The society in which Mr. Smith spent these ten months, may be conceived from the advantages he enjoyed, in consequence of the recommendations of Mr. Hume. Turgot, Quesnai, Necker, D'Alembert, Helvetius, Marmontel, madame Riccoboni, were among the number of his acquaintances; and some of them he continued ever afterwards to reckon among his friends. From madame d'Anville, the respectable mother of the late excellent and much lamented duke of Rochefaucault, he received many attentions, which he always recollected with particular gratitude.

It is much to be regretted, that he preserved no journal of this very interesting period of his history; and such was his aversion to write letters, that I scarcely suppose any memorial of it exists in his correspondence with his friends. The extent and accuracy of his memory, in which he was equalled by few, made it of little consequence to himself, to record in writing what he heard or saw; and from his anxiety before his death to destroy all the papers in his possession, he seems to have wished, that no materials should remain for his biographers, but what were furnished by the lasting monuments of his genius, and the exemplary worth of his private life.

The satisfaction he enjoyed in the conversation of Turgot may be easily imagined. Their opinions on the most essential points of political œconomy, were the same; and they

were

were both animated by the same zeal for the best interests of mankind. The favourite studies, too, of both had directed their enquiries to subjects on which the understandings of the ablest and the best informed are liable to be warped, to a great degree, by prejudice and passion; and on which, of consequence, a coincidence of judgment is peculiarly gratifying.

We are told, by one of the biographers of Turgot, that, after his retreat from the ministry, he occupied his leisure in a philosophical correspondence with some of his old friends; and, in particular, that various letters on important subjects passed between him and Mr. Smith. I take notice of this anecdote chiefly as a proof of the intimacy which was understood to have subsisted between them: for, in other respects, the anecdote seems to me to be somewhat doubtful. It is scarcely to be supposed that Mr. Smith would destroy the letters of such a correspondent as Turgot; and still less probable that such an intercourse was carried on between them without the knowledge of any of Mr. Smith's friends. From some inquiries that have been made at Paris, by a gentleman of this society, since Mr. Smith's death, I have reason to believe, that no evidence of the correspondence exists among the papers of M. Turgot, and that the whole story has taken its rise from a report suggested by the knowledge of their former intimacy. This circumstance I think it of importance to mention, because a good deal of curiosity has been excited by the passage in question, with respect to the fate of the supposed letters.

Mr. Smith was also well known

to M. Quesnai, the profound and original author of the economical table; a man (according to Mr. Smith's account of him) "of the greatest modesty and simplicity;" and whose system of political economy he has pronounced, "with all its imperfections," to be "the nearest approximation to the truth that has yet been published on the principles of that very important science." If he had not been prevented by Quesnai's death, Mr. Smith had once an intention (as he told me himself) to have inscribed to him his "Wealth of Nations."

It was not, however, merely the distinguished men, who, about this period, fixed so splendid an æra in the literary history of France, that excited Mr. Smith's curiosity while he remained in Paris. His acquaintance with the polite literature, both of ancient and modern times, was extensive; and, amidst his various other occupations, he had never neglected to cultivate a taste for the fine arts;—less, it is probable, with a view to the peculiar enjoyments they convey, (though he was by no means without sensibility to their beauties) than on account of their connection with the general principles of the human mind; to an examination of which they afford the most pleasing of all avenues. To those who speculate on this very delicate subject, a comparison of the modes of taste, that prevail among different nations, affords a valuable collection of facts; and Mr. Smith, who was always disposed to ascribe to custom and fashion their full share in regulating the opinions of mankind, with respect to beauty, may naturally be supposed to have availed himself of every opportunity which a foreign country af-
forded

forded him of illustrating his former theories.

Some of his peculiar notions, too, with respect to the imitative arts, seem to have been much confirmed, by his observations while abroad. In accounting for the pleasure we receive from these arts, it had early occurred to him as a fundamental principle, that a very great part of it arises from the difficulty of the imitation; a principle which was probably suggested to him by that of the *difficulté surmontée*, by which some French critics had attempted to explain the effect of versification and of rhyme. This principle Mr. Smith pushed to the greatest possible length, and referred to it, with singular ingenuity, a great variety of phenomena in all the different fine arts. It led him, however, to some conclusions, which appear, at first view at least, not a little paradoxical; and I cannot help thinking, that it warped his judgment in many of the opinions which he was accustomed to give on the subject of poetry.

The principles of dramatic composition had more particularly attracted his attention; and the history of the theatre, both in ancient and modern times, had furnished him with some of the most remarkable facts on which his theory of the imitative arts was founded. From this theory it seemed to follow as a consequence, that the same circumstances which, in tragedy, give to blank verse an advantage over prose, should give to rhyme an advantage over blank verse; and Mr. Smith had always inclined to that opinion. Nay, he had gone so far as to extend the same doctrine to comedy; and to regret, that those excellent pictures of life and manners which

the English stage affords, had not been executed after the model of the French school. The admiration with which he regarded the great dramatic authors of France tended to confirm him in these opinions; and this admiration (resulting originally from the general character of his taste, which delighted more to remark that pliancy of genius, which accommodates itself to established rules, than to wonder at the bolder flights of an undisciplined imagination) was increased, to a great degree, when he saw the beauties that had struck him in the closet, heightened by the utmost perfection of theatrical exhibition. In the last years of his life, he sometimes amused himself, at a leisure hour, in supporting his theoretical conclusions on these subjects, by the facts which his subsequent studies and observations had suggested; and he intended, if he had lived, to have prepared the result of these labours for the press. Of this work he has left for publication a short fragment; the first part of which is, in my judgment, more finished in point of style than any of his compositions; but he had not proceeded far enough to apply his doctrine to versification and to the theatre. As his notions, however, with respect to these, were a favourite topic of his conversation, and were intimately connected with his general principles of criticism, it would have been improper to pass them over in this sketch of his life; and I even thought it proper to detail them at greater length than the comparative importance of the subject would have justified, if he had carried his plans into execution. Whether his love of system, added to his partiality for the French drama, may

not have led him, in this instance, to generalize a little too much his conclusions, and to overlook some peculiarities in the language and versification of that country, I shall not take upon me to determine.

In October, 1766, the duke of Buccleugh returned to London. His grace, to whom I am indebted for several particulars in the foregoing narrative, will, I hope, forgive the liberty I take in transcribing one paragraph in his own words: "In October, 1766, we returned to London, after having spent near three years together, without the slightest disagreement or coolness; on my part, with every advantage that could be expected from the society of such a man. We continued to live in friendship till the hour of his death; and I shall always remain with the impression of having lost a friend whom I loved and respected, not only for his great talents, but for every private virtue."

The retirement in which Mr. Smith passed his next ten years, formed a striking contrast to the unsettled mode of life he had been or some time accustomed to, but was so congenial to his natural disposition, and to his first habits, that it was with the utmost difficulty he was ever persuaded to leave it. During the whole of this period, (with the exception of a few visits to Edinburgh and London) he remained with his mother at Kirkaldy; occupied habitually in intense study, but unbending his mind, at times, in the company of some of his old school-fellows, whose "sober wishes" had attached them to the place of their birth. In the society of such men, Mr. Smith delighted; and to them he was endeared, not only by his simple and unassuming

manners, but by the perfect knowledge they all possessed of those domestic virtues which had distinguished him from his infancy.

Mr. Hume, who (as he tells us himself) considered, "a town as the true scene for a man of letters," made many attempts to seduce him from his retirement. In a letter, dated in 1772, he urges him to pass some time with him in Edinburgh. "I shall not take any excuse from your state of health, which I suppose only a subterfuge invented by indolence and love of solitude. Indeed, my dear Smith, if you continue to hearken to complaints of this nature, you will cut yourself out entirely from human society, to the great loss of both parties." In another letter, dated in 1769, from his house in James's court, (which commanded a prospect of the frith of Forth, and of the opposite coast of Fife) "I am glad (says he) to have come within sight of you; but as I would also be within speaking-terms of you, I wish we could concert measures for that purpose. I am mortally sick at sea, and regard with horror and a kind of hydrophobia the great gulph that lies between us. I am also tired of travelling, as much as you ought naturally to be of staying at home. I therefore propose to you to come hither, and pass some days with me in this solitude. I want to know what you have been doing, and propose to exact a rigorous account of the method in which you have employed yourself during your retreat. I am positive you are in the wrong in many of your speculations, especially where you have the misfortune to differ from me. All these are reasons for our meeting; and I wish you would make me some reasonable

reasonable proposal for that purpose. There is no habitation on the island of Inchkeith, otherwise I should challenge you to meet me on that spot; and neither of us ever to leave the place, till we were fully agreed on all points of controversy. I expect general Conway here to-morrow, whom I shall attend to Roseneath, and I shall remain there a few days. On my return, I hope to find a letter from you, containing a bold acceptance of this defiance."

At length (in the beginning of the year 1776) Mr. Smith accounted to the world for his long retreat, by the publication of his "Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations." A letter of congratulation, on this event, from Mr. Hume, is now before me. It is dated 1st April, 1776, (about six months before Mr. Hume's death); and discovers an amiable solicitude about his friend's literary fame. "Euge! Belle! dear Mr. Smith: I am much pleased with your performance, and the perusal of it has taken me from a state of great anxiety. It was a work of so much expectation, by yourself, by your friends, and by the public, that I trembled for its appearance; but am now much relieved. Not but that the reading of it necessarily requires so much attention, and the public is disposed to give so little, that I shall still doubt for some time of its being at first very popular. But it has depth, and solidity, and acuteness, and is so much illustrated by curious facts, that it must at last take the public attention. It is probably much improved by your last abode in London. If you were here, at my fire-side, I should dispute some of your principles. . . . But these, and a hundred other

points, are fit only to be discussed in conversation. I hope it will be soon; for I am in a very bad state of health, and cannot afford a long delay."

About two years after the publication of "the Wealth of Nations," Mr. Smith was appointed one of the commissioners of his majesty's customs in Scotland; a preferment which, in his estimation, derived an additional value from its being bestowed on him at the request of the duke of Buccleugh. The greater part of these two years he passed at London, in a society too extensive and varied to afford him any opportunity of indulging his taste for study: His time, however, was not lost to himself; for much of it was spent with some of the first names in English literature. Of these no unfavourable specimen is preserved by Dr. Barnard, in his well known "Verses addressed to sir Joshua Reynolds and his friends:"

If I have thoughts, and can't express 'em,
Gibbon shall teach me how to dress 'em

In words select and terse:
Jones teach me modesty and Greek,
Smith how to think, Burke how to speak,
And Beauclerc to converse.

In consequence of Mr. Smith's appointment to the board of customs, he removed, in 1778, to Edinburgh, where he spent the last twelve years of his life; enjoying an affluence which was more than equal to all his wants: and, what was to him of still greater value, the prospect of passing the remainder of his days among the companions of his youth.

His mother, who, though now in extreme old age, still possessed a considerable degree of health, and retained all her faculties unimpaired, accompanied him to town; and his

cousin, Miss Jane Douglas, (who had formerly been a member of his family at Glasgow, and for whom he had always felt the affection of a brother), while she divided with him those tender attentions which her aunt's infirmities required, relieved him of a charge for which he was peculiarly ill qualified, by her friendly superintendence of his domestic economy.

The accession to his income, which his new office brought him, enabled him to gratify, to a much greater extent than his former circumstances admitted of, the natural generosity of his disposition; and the state of his funds at the time of his death, compared with his very moderate establishment, confirmed, beyond a doubt, what his intimate acquaintances had often suspected, that a large proportion of his annual savings was allotted to offices of secret charity. A small, but excellent library, which he had gradually formed with great judgment in the selection; and a simple though hospitable table, where, without the formality of an invitation, he was always happy to receive his friends, were the only expences that could be considered as his own.

The change in his habits, which his removal to Edinburgh produced, was not equally favourable to his literary pursuits. The duties of his office, though they required but little exertion of thought, were yet sufficient to waste his spirits, and to dissipate his attention; and now that his career is closed, it is impossible to reflect on the time they consumed, without lamenting that it had not been employed in labours

more profitable to the world, and more equal to his mind.

During the first years of his residence in this city, his studies seemed to be entirely suspended; and his passion for letters served only to amuse his leisure, and to animate his conversation. The infirmities of age, of which he very early began to feel the approaches, reminded him at last, when it was too late, of what he yet owed to the public, and to his own fame. The principal materials of the works which he had announced, had been long ago collected; and little probably was wanting, but a few years of health and retirement, to bestow on them that systematical arrangement in which he delighted; and the ornaments of that flowing, and apparently artless style, which he had studiously cultivated, but which, after all his experience in composition, he adjusted, with extreme difficulty, to his own taste.

The death of his mother in 1784, which was followed by that of Miss Douglas in 1788, contributed, it is probable, to frustrate these projects. They had been the objects of his affection for more than sixty years; and in their society he had enjoyed, from his infancy, all that he ever knew of the endearments of a family. He was now alone, and helpless; and, though he bore his loss with equanimity, and regained apparently his former cheerfulness, yet his health and strength gradually declined till the period of his death, which happened in July, 1790, about two years after that of his cousin, and six after that of his mother. His last illness, which arose from a chronic obstruction in

his

his bowels, was lingering and painful; but had every consolation to sooth it which he could derive from the tenderest sympathy of his friends, and from the complete resignation of his own mind.

A few days before his death, finding his end approach rapidly, he gave orders to destroy all his manuscripts, excepting some detached essays, which he entrusted to the care of his executors; and they were accordingly committed to the flames. What were the particular contents of these papers is not known, even to his most intimate friends; but there can be no doubt that they consisted, in part, of the lectures on rhetoric, which he read at Edinburgh in the year 1748, and of the lectures on natural religion and on jurisprudence, which formed part of his course at Glasgow. That this irreparable injury to letters proceeded, in some degree, from an excessive solicitude in the author about his posthumous reputation, may perhaps be true: but with respect to some of his manuscripts, may we not suppose, that he was influenced by higher motives? It is but seldom that a philosopher, who has been occupied from his youth with moral or with political enquiries, succeeds completely to his wish in stating to others, the grounds upon which his own opinions are founded; and hence it is, that the known principles of an individual, who has approved to the public his candour, his liberality, and his judgment, are entitled to a weight and an authority, independent of the evidence which he is able, upon any particular occasion, to produce in their support. A secret consciousness of this circumstance, and an appre-

hension, that by not doing justice to an important argument, the progress of truth may be rather retarded than advanced, have probably induced many authors to withhold from the world the unfinished results of their most valuable labours; and to content themselves with giving the general sanction of their suffrages to truths which they regarded as peculiarly interesting to the human race.

The additions to the Theory of Moral Sentiments, most of which were composed under severe disease, had fortunately been sent to the press in the beginning of the preceding winter; and the author lived to see the publication of the work. The moral and serious strain that prevails through these additions, when connected with the circumstance of his declining health, adds a peculiar charm to his pathetic eloquence; and communicates a new interest, if possible, to those sublime truths, which, in the academical retirement of his youth, awakened the first ardours of his genius, and on which the last efforts of his mind reposed.

In a letter addressed, in the year 1787, to the principal of the university of Glasgow, in consequence of his being elected rector of that learned body, a pleasing memorial remains of the satisfaction with which he always recollected that period of his literary career, which had been more peculiarly consecrated to these important studies. "No preferment (says he) could have given me so much real satisfaction. No man can owe greater obligations to a society than I do to the university of Glasgow. They educated me; they sent me to Oxford. Soon after my return to Scotland,

Scotland, they elected me one of their own members; and afterwards preferred me to another office, to which the abilities and virtues of the never to be forgotten Dr. Hutcheson had given a superior degree of illustration. The period of thirteen years which I spent as a member of that society, I remember as by far the most useful, and therefore, as by far the happiest and most honourable period of my life; and now, after three and twenty years absence, to be remembered in so very agreeable a manner by my old friends and protectors, gives me a heart-felt joy which I cannot easily express to you."

The short narrative which I have now finished, however barren of incident, may convey a general idea of the genius and character of this illustrious man. Of the intellectual gifts and attainments by which he was so eminently distinguished;—of the originality and comprehensiveness of his views; the extent, the variety, and the correctness of his information; the inexhaustible fertility of his invention; and the ornaments which his rich and beautiful imagination had borrowed from classical culture;—he has left behind him lasting monuments. To his private worth the most certain of all testimonies may be found in that confidence, respect and attachment, which followed him through all the various relations of life. The serenity and gaiety he enjoyed under the pressure of his growing infirmities, and the warm interest he felt to the last, in every thing connected with the welfare of his friends, will be long remembered by a small circle, with whom, as long as his strength permitted, he regularly spent an evening in the week; and

to whom the recollection of his worth still forms a pleasing, though melancholy bond of union.

The more delicate and characteristic features of his mind, it is, perhaps, impossible to trace. That there were many peculiarities, both in his manners, and in his intellectual habits, was manifest to the most superficial observer; but, although to those who knew him, these peculiarities detracted nothing from the respect which his abilities commanded; and, although to his intimate friends, they added an inexpressible charm to his conversation, while they displayed, in the most interesting light, the artless simplicity of his heart; yet it would require a very skilful pencil to present them to the public eye. He was certainly not fitted for the general commerce of the world, or for the business of active life. The comprehensive speculations with which he had been occupied from his youth, and the variety of materials which his own invention continually supplied to his thoughts, rendered him habitually inattentive to familiar objects, and to common occurrences; and he frequently exhibited instances of absence, which have scarcely been surpassed by the fancy of Bruyere. Even in company he was apt to be engrossed with his studies; and appeared, at times, by the motion of his lips, as well as by his looks and gestures, to be in the fervour of composition. I have often, however, been struck, at the distance of years, with his accurate memory of the most trifling particulars; and am inclined to believe, from this and some other circumstances, that he possessed a power not perhaps uncommon among absent men, of recollecting, in consequence

sequence of subsequent efforts of reflection, many occurrences which, at the time when they happened, did not seem to have sensibly attracted his notice.

To the defect now mentioned, it was probably owing, in part, that he did not fall in easily with the common dialogue of conversation, and that he was somewhat apt to convey his own ideas in the form of a lecture. When he did so, however, it never proceeded from a wish to engross the discourse, or to gratify his vanity. His own inclination disposed him so strongly to enjoy in silence the gaiety of those around him, that his friends were often led to concert little schemes, in order to bring him on the subjects most likely to interest him. Nor do I think I shall be accused of going too far, when I say, that he was scarcely ever known to start a new topic himself, or to appear unprepared upon those topics that were introduced by others. Indeed, his conversation was never more amusing than when he gave a loose to his genius; upon the very few branches of knowledge of which he only possessed the outlines.

The opinions he formed of men, upon a slight acquaintance, were frequently erroneous; but the tendency of his nature inclined him much more to blind partiality, than to ill-founded prejudice. The enlarged views of human affairs, on which his mind habitually dwelt, left him neither time nor inclination to study in detail, the uninteresting peculiarities of ordinary characters; and accordingly, though intimately acquainted with the capacities of the intellect, and the workings of the heart; and accustomed, in his theories, to mark, with the most deli-

cate hand, the nicest shades, both of genius and of the passions; yet, in judging of individuals, it sometimes happened, that his estimates were, in a surprising degree, wide of the truth.

The opinions too, which in the thoughtlessness and confidence of his social hours, he was accustomed to hazard on books, and on questions of speculation, were not uniformly such as might have been expected from the superiority of his understanding, and the singular consistency of his philosophical principles. They were liable to be influenced by accidental circumstances, and by the humour of the moment; and when retailed by those who only saw him occasionally, suggested false and contradictory ideas of his real sentiments. On these, however, as on most other occasions, there was always much truth, as well as ingenuity, in his remarks: and if the different opinions which, at different times, he pronounced upon the same subject, had been all combined together, so as to modify and limit each other, they would probably have afforded materials for a decision, equally comprehensive and just. But, in the society of his friends, he had no disposition to form those qualified conclusions that we admire in his writings; and he generally contented himself with a bold and masterly sketch of the object, from the first point of view in which his temper, or his fancy, presented. Something of the same kind might be remarked, when he attempted, in the flow of his spirits, to delineate those characters which, from long intimacy, he might have been supposed to understand thoroughly. The picture was always lively and expressive; and commonly bore a

strong and amusing resemblance to the original, when viewed under one particular aspect; but seldom, perhaps, conveyed a just and complete conception of it in all its dimensions and proportions. In a word, it was the fault of his unpremeditated judgments, to be too systematical, and too much in extremes.

But, in whatever way these trifling peculiarities in his manners may be explained, there can be no doubt, that they were intimately connected with the genuine artlessness of his mind. In this amiable quality, he often recalled to his friends the accounts that are given of good La Fontaine; a quality which in him derived a peculiar grace from the singularity of its combination with those powers of reason and of eloquence, which, in his political and moral writings, have long engaged the admiration of Europe.

In his external form and appearance, there was nothing uncommon. When perfectly at ease, and when warmed with conversation, his gestures were animated, and not ungraceful; and, in the society of those he loved, his features were often brightened with a smile of inexpressible benignity. In the company of strangers, his tendency to absence, and perhaps still more his consciousness of this tendency, rendered his manner somewhat embarrassed;—an effect which was probably not a little heightened by those speculative ideas of propriety, which his recluse habits tended at once to perfect in his conception, and to diminish his power of realizing. He never sat for his picture; but the medallion of Tassie conveys an exact idea of his profile, and of

the general expression of his countenance.

Anecdotes of Mr. Robert Bakewell, of Dishley; from the Gentleman's Magazine.

MR. Robert Bakewell, the most successful and celebrated experimental farmer ever known in England, was born at Dishley, in Leicestershire, about 1725 or '6. His grandfather and father had resided on the same estate since the beginning of this century; and his father, who died about 1760, had always the reputation of being one of the most ingenious and able farmers of his neighbourhood. Mr. Bakewell having conducted the Dishley farm several years before the decease of his father, began, about 40 years since, that course of experiments which has procured him such extensive fame. He originally adopted a principle, *à priori*, of which all the experience of his future life evinced the propriety. Having remarked that domestic animals, in general, produced others, possessing qualities nearly similar to their own, he conceived he had only to select from the most valuable breeds such as promised to return the greatest possible emolument to the breeder; and that he should then be able, by careful attention to progressive improvement, to produce a race of sheep, or rather animals, possessing a maximum of advantage. Under the influence of this excellent notion, Mr. Bakewell made excursions into different parts of England, to inspect the various breeds, and to ascertain those which were best adapted to his purposes, and the most valuable of their kinds.

His

His next step was to select and purchase the best of all the sorts wherever they could be found; and this selection, the result of several years experience, was the original stock from which he afterwards propagated his own. This excellent ground-work was alone fostered to its present unrivalled perfection by the persevering industry of Mr. Bakewell. Like the immortal Newton, what his genius had conceived, he happily possessed the patient industry to execute. About 1760, Mr. Bakewell sold his sheep, by private contract, at not more than two or three guineas each. Some time afterwards, he began to let out some of his rams, and for a few seasons received only 15s. and a guinea a piece for them; but, as the fame of his breed extended itself, he advanced his prices; and, by the year 1770, was enabled to let some of his rams for the season for 25 guineas. Since that time, the prices and credit of his stock have been progressively increasing; and, of late years, single rams have been let for the season, for the enormous sum of 400 guineas and upwards. It is a fact, which has no former example, that one ram, called "The Two-Pounder," produced in one season, the sum of 800 guineas, independent of ewes of Mr. Bakewell's own stock, which, at the same rate, would have made a total, the produce of a single ram, of 1200 guineas! Every branch of the Agricultural Art is more or less indebted to the fortunate genius and original mind of Mr. Bakewell. He directed his attention, however, the most successfully, to the improvement of the sheep known by the name of "The Dishley," or, "New-Leicestershire," to long-horned

cattle; and to strong horses of the black breed, suitable for the harness and the army. The improvement of pigs, and the cultivation of the best winter food for cattle, had latterly engaged his attention; and he had proved himself useful to the public by introducing into practice the flooding of meadows. The race of Dishley sheep are known by the fineness of their bones and flesh, the lightness of the offal, the disposition to quietness, and, consequently, to mature and fatten with less food than other sheep of equal weight and value. Mr. Bakewell improved his black horses by an attention to the form which is best adapted to their use. His stallions have been let for the season for 100 guineas and upwards. About ten years since, he exhibited his famous black horse to the king and many of the nobility in the court-yard at St. James's. His long-horned cattle have been characterised by properties similar to those of his sheep, for the fineness of the bone and flesh, the lightness of the offal, and the disposition to fatten. In a word, no competitor ever had the temerity to vie with him in his horses and cattle; and his sheep continue as universally unrivalled, notwithstanding the competitions excited at various times by motives of interest or envy. In this place it may be worth while to insert the following statement of the prices given at two leading auctions of stock, bred from Mr. Bakewell's. These great prices, as well as the prices which these articles always maintain, are the most indubitable proofs of the high opinion which the best and most interested judges entertain of Mr. Bakewell's merit. The first sale which we advert to was that of Mr.

Fowler,

Fowler, of Rollright, in Oxfordshire. This gentleman had commenced his breeding-speculations with a couple of cows, and a bull which he had hired of Mr. Bakewell. After his death; one article of his live-stock, the horned cattle, sold for a value equal to that of the fee-simple of his farm! Fifteen head alone of bulls and cows sold for 2464 pounds, or at the rate of 164 pounds each! The other auction was that of Mr. Paget at Ibstock. Mr. Paget had been many years the intimate friend, and, in the Breeding-society, a very eminent and successful colleague of Mr. Bakewell. The sale of his stock was therefore looked up to with much eagerness by the public. At this sale, one bull sold for the sum of 400 guineas (and a sixth share of the same has since been sold for 100) and a two-year old heifer for 84! 211 ewes and theaves fetched 3315 guineas, on the average 17 guineas each; and one lot of five ewes was sold for 310 guineas! Such was the respect paid to Mr. Bakewell, in his life time. To conclude that he was sufficiently rewarded, would be to withhold his due, if we consider the money and honours that are bestowed on projects far less beneficial than his. Perhaps, at some future period, the civic crown and public monuments will be awarded to such characters in preference to the more doubtful claims of the warrior and the statesman. Mr. Bakewell died the 1st of October, 1795, in his 70th year. As he had never

been married, his business devolved to Mr. Honeyborn, his nephew; and it is a fortunate circumstance for the public, that this gentleman is possessed of genius and enterprize similar to that of his predecessor. In person, Mr. Bakewell was tall, broad-set, and, in his latter years, rather inclined to corpulency. His countenance bespoke intelligence, activity, and a high degree of benevolence. His manners were frank and pleasing, and well calculated to maintain the extensive popularity he had acquired. His domestic arrangements at Dishley were formed on a scale of hospitality to strangers, that gained him universal esteem; of the numerous visitants induced by curiosity to call at his house, none ever left it without having reason to extol the liberality of its owner. Many interesting anecdotes are related of his humanity towards the various orders of animals; he continually deprecated the atrocious barbarities practised by butchers and drovers; shewing, by examples on his own farm, the most pleasing instances of docility in the animals under his care. In fine, without the introduction of unmeaning panegyric, Mr. Bakewell was exactly such a character as every well-meaning man would wish to be. His vices were few, and without name; his virtue such as most men ought to imitate; and his utility was of such extensive consequence, as to be a proper object of emulation to all men.

NATURAL HISTORY.

Observations on the Structure of the Eyes of Birds, by Mr. Pierce Smith, Student of Physic; from the Philosophical Transactions.

WHILE examining the eyes of Birds, I observed in them a singular structure, which I believe has not been hitherto noticed; and though not the object I had in view, in the examination, it will perhaps elucidate several remarkable circumstances in the natural history of these animals; and may ultimately be applied to the eyes of other animals and add one additional discovery to those already made on this beautifully constructed organ.

In March, 1792, I observed, while dissecting the eyes of birds, an irregular appearance of the sclerotica, in that part of it which immediately surrounds the cornea; and which in them is generally flat. On a more minute examination, it appeared to be scales lying over each other, and which appeared capable of motion on each other. These appearances I shewed to Dr. Fowler, of London, and likewise to Mr. Thomson, surgeon, Edinburgh. In June, this paper was copied out, at my request, by Mr. Irving, who resided in the same house with me. On investigating this singular structure, the scales were found to be of tony hard-

ness, at least much more so than any other part of the sclerotica. On the inside of the sclerotic coat of the eye there was no appearance of these scales, that part of it being similar to the rest of the sclerotica. Tendinous fibres were detected spreading over the scales, and terminating at last in forming the four recti muscles belonging to the eye, so that, upon the contraction of these muscles, motion of the scales would be produced. This imbricated appearance of part of the sclerotica, and the destruction of the tendinous fibres spreading over scales, terminating at last in the four recti muscles, led me to consider the use of this structure, what would be the effect of motion of the scales upon the vision of birds, and how far this can be applied to other animals.

It is a fact so well known to persons acquainted with optics, that it is almost unnecessary to mention it, that the rays of light, passing through a lens, will be refracted to a point or focus beyond the lens, and this focus will be less distant, in proportion as the lens approaches to a sphere in shape. Now this principle is very naturally applied to the explanation of the use of this apparatus. These scales lying each partly over the next, so as to allow of motion, will, on the contraction

traction of the recti muscles, inserted into and covering them, move over each other, and thus the circle of the sclerotica will be diminished, and of course the cornea, which is immediately within the circle made by these scales, will be pressed forwards, or, in other words, rendered more convex, and thus the focus of the eye becomes altered, its axis being elongated. This construction, and consequent convexity of the cornea, must render small objects near the animal very distinct.

On these muscles relaxing, the elasticity of the sclerotic coat will restore the cornea to its original flatness; it thus becomes fitted for viewing objects placed at a greater distance from the eye, and this will be in proportion to the degree of relaxation.

There seems to exist in nature an economy of motion, to prevent fatigue and exhaustion of the animal powers by continued voluntary muscular action. If two opposite actions of the same frequency occur in two muscles, the one being antagonist to the other, the action of one ceasing, the action of the other must take place previously to farther motion of the part; for instance, on the biceps flexor of the arm acting, the arm will be bent, but on discontinuing its action the arm will remain in the same state, unless it was straightened by the action of the biceps exterior, its antagonist; but where one action in a part is required to take place almost constantly, and the opposite action but seldom, to save the animal from fatigue necessarily induced by muscular contraction, she gives an elastic ligament, which from its elasticity may be said to be in continual action, without exhausting the animal. Thus, when

the opposite action, which is of less frequent occurrence, is required, it is performed by overcoming the resistance, or elasticity of this elastic ligament, which, on the muscle giving over its action again, resumes its former state. The elastic cartilages of the ribs performing, in some degree, the functions of a muscle, are of use in respiration; likewise the elastic ligaments which support the claws of all the feline genus, keeping them from friction against the ground. These claws, at the volition of the animal, by muscles appropriated for that purpose, are brought into action or extended. From the abovementioned structure, the same thing appears to take place in the eyes of animals. When an animal is desirous of seeing minute objects, the recti muscles act, and thus, by rendering the eye more convex, enlarge the angle under which the object is seen. How necessary is this structure to these animals in particular; for without it a bird would be continually exposed to have its head dashed against a tree when flying in a thick forest, its motions being too rapid for the common structure of the eye. The eagle, when soaring high in the air, observes small objects on the earth below him, inconceivable to us, and darts upon them instantaneously. Here we must allow that there must be an extraordinary alteration in the focus in this eye, in almost an instant of time. How could this be performed unless the animal had this apparatus? The eyes of quadrupeds, as I shall afterwards shew, can perform this alteration, though not in the same degree, as it is not necessary, their modes of life being different. A swallow, sailing through the air, pursues a
great

great or small fly to almost certain destruction. This apparatus is very distinct in all these birds. Whenever we find the subsistence or safety of an animal entrusted to, or depending more particularly upon, one sense than the rest, we are sure to find that sense proportionably perfect; as in quadrupeds; the organ of smelling is remarkably perfect, and leads them to their prey; so the eyes of birds are proportionably perfect, being the means, not only of their support, but from them they receive the first intimation of approaching danger.

The eyes of birds, like those of other animals, consist of three coats, the sclerotica, choroides, and retina. The human eye, as well as those of quadrupeds, is nearly spherical; in birds the sphere is more oblate, the sclerotica, as it approaches the cornea, becoming suddenly flat. The cornea, though small, when compared with the size of the whole eye is more convex, as it forms the segment of a smaller circle added to the larger formed by the sclerotica. The reason or advantage of this flatness is not very evident. It prevents them, perhaps, from projecting so far as to expose them to danger from the trees and grass amongst which these animals live.

After having examined the eyes of birds, and seeing this curious apparatus, I was next led to the examination of the eyes of quadrupeds, that I might see in what manner they resemble the eyes of birds, and if I could account for their being able to accommodate their eyes to objects at different distances.

This was a subject I found involved in much difficulty, as the eyes of quadrupeds appeared on examination not to have these im-

bricated scales which are so obvious in birds, but all this difficulty vanished on taking hold of one of the four recti muscles of the eye of a sheep; and by tearing and dissecting, I found that it terminated in, and with the other parts composed, the cornea; so that on the first volition of the mind, the recti muscles on contracting will have the power of fixing the eye, and keeping it steady, and at the same time by contracting more or less, will adapt the focus of the eye to the distance of the object, but in a less degree than in birds. On these muscles giving over acting, the eye will be restored to its former state by the elasticity of the sclerotic coat.

From a knowledge of these circumstances, we may, from rational principles, explain, why people, by being long accustomed to view small objects, obtain, in time, a sort of microscopic power, if it may be so called; that is, the muscles which contract the cornea, will, by custom, increase their power of action, and grow stronger, like the other muscles of the body; other phenomena of vision on these principles may be explained.

Observations on the Influence which incites the Muscles of Animals to contract, in Mr. Galvani's Experiments, by W. C. Wells, M. D. F. R. S. from the same.

MR. Volta, in his letters to Mr. Cavallo, which have been read to this society, not only has shewn that the conclusions, which Mr. Galvani drew from his experiments on the application of metals to the nerves and muscles of animals, are in various respects erroneous,

erroneous, but has also made known several important facts, in addition to those which had been discovered by that author. As he appears, however, from these letters, to have fallen into some mistakes himself, and has certainly not exhausted the subject which he has treated in them, I shall venture to communicate to this learned body a few observations I have made respecting it, which may contribute both to correct his errors, and to increase our knowledge of the cause of those motions, which have been attributed by Mr. Galvani and others to an animal electricity. These observations will be so arranged, as to furnish answers, more or less satisfactory, to the following questions: does the incitement of the influence which, in Mr. Galvani's experiments, occasions the muscles of animals to contract, either wholly, or in part, depend upon any peculiar property of living bodies? What are the conditions necessary for the excitement of this influence? Is it electrical?

When a muscle contracts upon a connection being formed, by means of one or more metals, between its external surface and the nerve which penetrates it, Mr. Galvani, contends that, previously to this effect, the inner and outer parts of the muscle contain different quantities of the electric fluid; that the nerve is consequently in the same state, with respect to that fluid, as the internal substance of the muscle; and that, upon the application of one or more metals between its outer surface and the nerve, an electrical discharge takes place, which is the cause of the contraction of the muscle. In short, he supposes a complete similarity to

exist between a muscle, in a proper condition to exhibit this appearance, and a charged Leyden phial; the nerve of the former answering, as far as his experiments are concerned, the same purpose as the wire, which is connected with the internal surface of the latter.

Now, if this were just, such a muscle ought to contract, whenever a communication is formed between its internal surface and the nerve, by means of *any* conductor of electricity; and accordingly Mr. Volta, who to a certain extent adopts Mr. Galvani's theory, asserts this to be the case, as often as the experiment is made upon an animal which has been newly killed. But I am inclined to believe that he rests this assertion upon some general principle, which he thinks established, and not upon particular facts; for he gives none in proof of it, and I have often held a nerve of an animal newly killed in one hand, while with the other I touched the muscle to which the nerve belonged, but never saw contractions by this means excited. I have also frequently taken hold of a nerve of an animal, which was recently killed, with a non-conductor of electricity, and have in this way applied its loose end to the external surface of the muscle which it entered, without ever observing motion to follow. I think, therefore, I am entitled to conclude, not only that the theory advanced by Mr. Galvani, respecting the cause of the muscular motions in his experiments, is erroneous; but also, that the influence, whatever its nature may be, by which they are excited, does not exist in a disengaged state in the muscles and nerves, previously to the application of metals. Should it be urged

urged against this conclusion, that, since metals are much better conductors of electricity than moist substances, the charge of a muscle may be too weak to force its way through the latter, though it may be able to pass along the former; my answer is, that, in all Mr. Galvani's experiments, the nerve makes a part of the connecting medium between the two surfaces of the muscle, and that the power of no compound conductor can be greater than that of the worst conducting substance, which constitutes a part of it.

It may be said, however, that, although there is no proof that any influence naturally resides in the nerves or muscles, capable of producing the effects mentioned by Mr. Galvani, these substances may still, by some power independent of the properties they possess in common with dead matter, *contribute* to the excitement of the influence, which is so well known to exist in them, after a certain application of metals. Before I enter upon the discussion of this supposition, I must observe, that there are two cases of such an application of metals; the first is, when we employ only one metal; the second, when we employ two or more. With respect to the first case, a late author, Dr. Fowler, who seems to have made many experiments relative to this point, positively asserts, that he never saw a fair instance of motion being produced by the mere application of a single metal to a muscle and its nerve. I shall, therefore, defer treating this case, till I speak of the conditions which are necessary for the excitement of the influence. Nor will the present subject suffer from this delay; for if it be shewn, as I

expect it will, that, when two or more metals are used, the muscle and its nerve do not furnish any thing but what every other moist substance is equally capable of doing, it will, I think, be readily granted, that they can give nothing more, when only one metal is applied to them.

In regard to the second case, Mr. Volta has affirmed, or has said at least, what I regard as equivalent to affirming, that, when two metals are employed, the influence in question is excited by their action upon the mere moisture of the parts which they touch. The proofs, however, of this assertion were reserved for some future communication. But as more than two years have now elapsed since they were promised, and none have been given to this society, or have appeared, as far as I can learn, in any other way, I hope I shall not be thought precipitate, if, at this distance of time, I offer one of the same point, which seems to me both plain and decisive.

It is known, that, if a muscle and its nerve be covered with two pieces of the same metal, no motion will take place upon connecting those pieces, by means of one or more different metals. After making this experiment one day, I accidentally applied the metal I had used as the connector, and which I still held in one hand, to the coating of the muscle only, while with the other hand I touched the similar coating of the nerve, and was surprised to find that the muscle was immediately thrown into contraction. Having produced motions in this way sufficiently often to place the fact beyond doubt, I next began to consider its relations to other facts formerly known. I very soon perceived, that
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the immediate exciting cause of these motions could not be derived from the action of the metals upon the muscle and nerve, to which they were applied; otherwise it must have been admitted, that my body and a metal formed together a better conductor of the exciting influence than a metal alone, the contrary of which I had known, from many experiments, to be the case. The only source, therefore, to which it could possibly be referred, was the action of the metals upon my own body. It then occurred to me that a proper opportunity now offered itself of determining, whether animals contribute to the production of this influence by means of any other property than their moisture. With this view, I employed various moist substances, in which there could be no suspicion of life, to constitute, with one or more metals, different from that of the coatings of the muscle and nerve, a connecting medium between those coatings, and found that they produced the same effect as my body. A single drop of water was even sufficient for this purpose; though, in general, the greater the quantity of the moisture which was used, the more readily and powerfully were contractions of the muscle excited. But, if the mutual operation of metals and moisture be fully adequate to the excitement of an influence capable of occasioning muscles to contract, it follows, as an immediate consequence, that animals act by their moisture alone in giving origin to the same influence in Mr. Galvani's experiments, unless we are to admit more causes of an effect than what are sufficient for its production.

Before I dismiss this part of my

subject I may mention, that, being in possession of a method to determine what substances are capable, along with metals, of exciting the influence, I made several experiments for the purpose of ascertaining this point. I found, in consequence, that all fluid bodies, except mercury, that are good conductors of electricity, all those at least which I tried, can with the aid of metals produce it. The bodies I tried, besides water, were alcohol, vinegar, and the mineral acids; the last both in their concentrated states, and when diluted with various portions of water. Alcohol, however, operated feebly. On the other hand, no fluid, which is a non-conductor of electricity, would assist in its production: those upon which the experiment was made were the fat and essential oils. Ether, from its similarity to alcohol, I expected would also have concurred in the excitement of the influence, but it did not; neither would it conduct the influence when excited by any other means. I may remark, however, that the ether I employed had been prepared with great care: other ether, therefore, less accurately made, may possibly be found to contribute to the excitement of the influence, either from the decomposed alcohol, or naked acid, it may contain.

Having thus given an answer to the first question, I proceed to the discussion of the second.

It has hitherto been maintained by every author, whose works I have read upon the subject of Mr. Galvani's experiments, and by every person with whom I have conversed respecting it, that metals are the only substances capable, by their application to parts of animals,

of exciting the influence, which in those experiments occasions the muscles to contract. But it appears rather extraordinary, that none of those, who contend for the identity of this influence and the electric fluid, have ever suspected, that the only very good *dry* conductor of the latter, which we know, beside the metals, possesses like them the property of exciting the former. I confess, however, that it was not this consideration but accident, which led me to discover that charcoal is endowed with this property, and in such a degree that, along with zinc, it excites at least as strongly as gold with zinc, the most powerful combination, I believe, which can in this way be formed of the metals. But, to prevent disappointments, I must mention, that all charcoal is not equally fit for this purpose, and that long keeping seems to diminish its power.

It being shewn that charcoal is also to be ranked among the exciters of this influence, I shall now speak of the circumstances, in which both it and the metals must be placed, to fit them for the exercise of their power. With respect to metals, Mr. Volta maintains, that, to this end, it is only necessary that two different species be applied to any other body which is a good conductor of electricity, and that a communication be established between the two metallic coatings. But charcoal is a much better conductor of electricity than water, and yet metals in contact with it alone will not excite. Again, Mr. Volta says, that the simple application of two metals to two parts of an animal, disturbs the equilibrium of the electric fluid, and disposes it to pass from one of the parts to the other,

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which passage actually takes place, as soon as a conductor is applied between the metals. But what should prevent the passage of the fluid before the application of a new conductor, since the metals were already connected by means of the moisture of the animal? farther, a consequence of this opinion is, that, if the under surfaces of two different metals be placed in moisture, and their upper surfaces be afterwards connected by means of a nerve, still attached to its muscle, contractions ought then to be produced; since the whole quantity of the electric fluid, necessary to restore the equilibrium, which has been disturbed by the action of the metals, must pass through the nerve. This experiment I have made, and as I did not find the muscle to contract, I must hold Mr. Volta's opinion, on this point, to be likewise ill-founded. The fact is, that as far as the contraction of muscles is a test, whether the influence exists or not, and we have no other, it is never excited when two metals, or one metal and charcoal, are necessary for this purpose, unless these substances touch each other, and are also in contact with some of the fluids formerly mentioned.

But there is still another requisite for the excitement of the influence, which is a communication by means of some good conductor of electricity, between the two quantities of fluid, to which the dry exciters are applied, beside that which takes place between the same quantities of fluid, when the dry exciters are brought into contact with each other. As from this last circumstance, a complete circle of connection is formed among the different substances employed, it has been

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imagined by many, that the individual quantity of the influence excited goes the whole round, each time contraction is produced. There is an experiment, however, first (I believe) made by Dr. Fowler, which appears to contradict this opinion: he brought two different metals into contact with each other, in water, at the distance of about an inch from the divided end of a nerve, placed in the same water, and found that the muscles, which depended upon it, were from this procedure thrown into contractions. Now, in this experiment, there was surely room enough for the influence to pass through both metals, and the moisture immediately touching them, without going near to the nerve. I think it, therefore, probable, that motions are in no case produced by any thing passing from the dry excitors through the muscles and nerve, but that they are occasioned by some influence, naturally contained in those bodies as moist substances, being suddenly put in motion, when the two dry excitors are made to touch both them and each other; in like manner as persons, it is said, have been killed by the motion of their proper quantity of the electric fluid. But to return from conjecture to facts, I shall now examine, whether it be always necessary to employ two dry excitors, that is, two metals or one metal and charcoal, in order to occasion contractions.

Gold and zinc, the first the most perfect of the metals, the other an imperfect one, operate together very powerfully in producing contractions; while gold and, the next most perfect metal, silver operate very feebly. It would seem, therefore, that the more similar the me-

tals are, which are thus used, the less is the power arising from their combination. Two pieces of the same metal, but with different portions of alloy, are still more feeble than gold and silver; and the power of such pieces becomes less and less, in proportion as they approach each other in point of purity. From these facts it has been inferred, that, if any two pieces of the same metal were to possess precisely the same degree of purity, they would, if used together, be entirely inert, in regard to the excitement of muscular contractions; in confirmation of which, many persons have asserted, that they have never observed muscles to move from the employment of two such pieces of metal, or of one piece of metal having the same fineness through its whole extent. Others, however, upon the authority of their observations, have maintained the contrary: and to the testimony of these I must add my own, as I have frequently seen muscular motions produced not only by a single metal, but likewise by charcoal alone. Nor will credit be denied me on this head, after I have pointed out certain practices, by which any one of those substances may at pleasure be made to produce contractions. The most proper way of mentioning these practices, will, perhaps, be to relate in what manner they came to my knowledge.

I one day placed a piece of silver, and another of tin-foil, at a small distance from each other, upon the crural nerve of a frog, and then applied a bent silver probe between them, with the view of ascertaining, whether contractions would arise, agreeably to Mr. Volta's declaration, from the influence passing through
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a portion of the nerve without entering the muscles. Having finished this experiment, I immediately after applied the same probe between the silver coating of the nerve and the naked muscles, and was surprised to see these contract. A second and third application were followed by the same effects, but farther applications were of no avail. It then occurred to me that motions might re-appear, if I again touched the two coatings with the probe, and the event proved the conjecture to have been fortunate; for, after every application of the probe to the two coatings, contractions were several times excited by it. The fact being thus established, that, under certain circumstances, contractions could be produced by silver alone, it next became a subject of inquiry, whether this was owing to any disposition of the muscles and nerve, which had been induced upon them by Mr. Volta's experiment, or whether, the condition of the muscles and nerve being unaltered by that experiment, the silver had gained some new property by coming into contact with the tin-foil. The point in doubt was soon determined, by applying the probe to a piece of tin-foil, which had no connection with any part of the animal; for, when this was done, it was again enabled to produce contractions. As these experiments, however, frequently did not succeed when made upon other frogs, I afterwards varied the metals, and found in consequence, that zinc, particularly if moistened, communicated an exciting power pretty constantly to silver, gold, and iron. If any of these metals were slightly rubbed on the zinc, they almost always acquired such a power.

It will, perhaps, be thought, from the last-mentioned circumstance, that, in every instance of motion being in this way produced, it was in truth owing to some part of one of the metals having been abraded by the other; so that, under the appearance of one metal, two were in reality applied. But it can scarcely be supposed, that, from touching the polished surface of tin-foil in the gentlest manner with the smooth round end of a silver probe, any part of the former metal was carried away by the latter; and even when friction was used, as the zinc was much harder than the gold and silver, it is not probable that it was in the least abraded by them. Besides, moisture, as I have already said, increases this effect of friction, though it lessens friction itself.

The most powerful argument, however, in favour of my opinion, is another fact I discovered in pursuing this subject; which is, that an exciting power may be given to a metal by rubbing it on many substances beside another metal, such as silk, woollen, leather, fish-skin, the palm of the human hand, sealing-wax, marble, and wood. Other substances will, doubtless, be hereafter added to this list.

As the metals while they were rubbed were held in my hand, which, from the dryness of its scarf-skin, might have afforded some resistance to the passage of small quantities of the electric fluid; and as the substances, upon which the friction was made, were either electrics, or imperfect conductors of electricity; I once thought it possible, that the metal subjected to the friction had acquired, by means of it, an electrical charge, which, though very slight, was still sufficient to act as a stimu-

lus upon the nerves to which it was communicated. But that this was not the case was afterwards made evident, by the following experiments and considerations.

1. A metal, rendered capable by friction of exciting contractions, produced no change upon Mr. Bennet's gold-leaf electrometer.

2. The interposition of moisture does not, in any instance I know of, increase the effect of friction in exciting the electric fluid. In some instances it certainly lessens this effect. But moistened substances, when rubbed by a metal, communicate to it the capacity of producing contractions, much more readily than the same substances do when dry.

3. If my hand, from being an imperfect conductor, had occasioned an accumulation of electricity in the metal which was rubbed, a greater effect of the same kind ought certainly to have been produced by insulating the metal completely; which is contrary to fact.

4. I placed a limb of a frog, properly prepared, upon the floor of my chamber; if a severe frost had not prevailed when I made this experiment, I should have laid it upon the moistened surface of the earth. I then raised from the muscles, by means of an electric, the loose end of the nerve, and touched it with the rubbed part of a piece of metal; but no contractions followed. To be convinced that this was not owing to any want of virtue in the metal, I kept the same part of it still in contact with the nerve, while I applied another part to the muscles; immediately upon which contractions were excited.

5. Admitting now the limb of an animal to be in such an experiment

completely insulated, and that the metal actually becomes electrical from the friction it undergoes, surely a very few applications can only be required to place them both in the same state with respect to the electric fluid; and when this happens, all motions depending on the transflux of that fluid must necessarily cease. I have found, however, that a piece of metal which has been rubbed will excite contractions, after it has been *many* times applied to the limb. In one instance, vigorous contractions were occasioned by the 200th application; and if I had chosen to push the experiment farther, I might certainly have produced many more. I may mention also, as connected with this fact, that I have frequently observed a piece of metal to excite motions, an entire day after it had been rubbed.

What I have said will, probably, be thought more than sufficient to prove, that metals, after being rubbed, do not produce muscular contractions by means of any disengaged electricity they contain. If my opinion were now asked, respecting the mode in which friction communicates such a power to them, I should say, that the part which has been rubbed is so far altered, in some condition or property, as to be affected differently, by the fluid excitors, from a part which has not been rubbed; in short, that the rubbed part becomes, as it were, a different metal. There are two facts, besides those already mentioned, which support this conjecture. The first is, that when I have endeavoured to give an equal degree of friction to the two parts of the metal which I applied to the muscle, and its nerve, little or no motion

was excited by it ; so that it is reasonable to suppose, that, if precisely the same degree of friction were given to both the parts, no contractions would ever be produced by them, when used in this way. The second is, that, although only one part of the metal be rubbed, still, if both the muscle and nerve be coated with some other metal, the application of the rubbed metal between these similar coatings will not be followed by motions ; which, however, will immediately be produced, by touching the naked muscle and nerve with the same piece of metal. But, whether any part of my reasoning upon this head be admitted as just or not, it must yet be granted, as I think I cannot be mistaken respecting the facts which have been mentioned, that very slight accidents may give the power of exciting contractions to a single metal, which had it not before ; and that we may hence easily account for the discordant testimonies of authors upon this point.

Hitherto I have spoken only of the effects of friction upon metals. But to conclude this part of my subject, I must now remark, that charcoal, though from its friability not very fit for the experiment, may yet be rendered capable by the same means of producing contractions, without the assistance of any of the metals.

My next and last object is to enquire, whether the influence, which in all these experiments immediately excites the muscles to act, be electrical or not.

The points of difference between any two species of natural bodies, even those which, from the similarity of some of their most obvious qualities have once been thought the same, are found, upon accurate ex-

amination, greatly to exceed in number those of their agreement. When, therefore, two substances are known to have many properties in common, while their differences are few, and none of these absolutely contradict such a conclusion, we infer with considerable confidence, that they are the same, though we may not be immediately able to explain why their resemblance is not complete. After Mr. Walsh, for instance, had discovered, that the influence of the torpedo was transmitted by all the various bodies which are good conductors of the electric fluid, philosophers made little hesitation in admitting them to be one and the same substance, though some of their apparent differences could not then be accounted for. In like manner, the inquirers into the nature of the influence, the effects of which are so evident in Mr. Galvani's experiments, have very generally, and in my opinion justly, allowed it to be electrical, on the ground that its conductors and those of electricity are altogether the same. To this, however, an objection has been made by Dr. Fowler, which, if well founded, would certainly prove them to be different substances ; for he has asserted that charcoal, which is so good a conductor of electricity, refuses to transmit the influence, upon which the motions in Mr. Galvani's experiments depend. In reply, I shall only say, that Dr. Fowler must have been unfortunate with respect to the charcoal he employed ; since all the pieces I ever tried, and I have tried many, were found to conduct this influence.

Other arguments have likewise been urged against the identity of the two influences ; all of which,

however, excepting one, I shall decline discussing, as they either are of little importance, or have not been stated with sufficient precision. The objection I mean is, that in none of the experiments with animals, prepared after the manner of Mr. Galvani, are those appearances of attraction and repulsion to be observed, which are held to be the tests of the presence of electricity. My answer to it is, that no such appearances can occur in Mr. Galvani's experiments, consistently with the known requisites for their success, and the established laws of electricity. For, as it has been proved, that there is naturally no disengaged electric fluid in the nerves and muscles of animals, I except the torpedo and a few others, no signs of attraction and repulsion can be looked for in those substances, before the application of metals or charcoal; and after these have been applied, the equilibrium of the influence, agreeably to what has been already shewn, is never disturbed, unless means for its restoration be at the same time afforded. Neither then ought signs of attraction and repulsion to be in this case presented, on the supposition that the influence is electrical; since it is necessary for the exhibition of such appearances, that bodies, after becoming electrical, should remain so during some sensible portion of time: it being well known, for example, that the passage of the charge of a Leyden phial, from one of its surfaces to the other, does not effect the most delicate electrometer, suspended from a wire or other substance, which forms the communication between them.

Such are the observations I mean at present to submit to the consider-

ation of this Society, respecting the influence which incites the muscles of animals to contract, in Mr. Galvani's experiments.

Observations on the Maritime Alps; from Beaumont's Travels through them.

THINKING that some general deductions from the principal facts, or phenomena, mentioned in the course of this work may be expected of me, especially with respect to the theory of the formation of their regular surface of the earth, at least of that wonderful part of it which I have so repeatedly explored, I have ventured to annex a few observations, which appear to me to merit the particular attention of philosophers, as likewise the consequences which I think might be drawn from them.

I do not, however, mean to speak of what relates to the first and great revolution experienced by our globe at the formation of its continents: that is, at the epoch when the waters covered it about two thousand four hundred and fifty toises, and which is nearly the present elevation of some of the granitic peaks of the Alps, as Mont Blanc, Mont Rose, &c. In short, of the time when they were totally submerged by that element, and formed themselves under that fluid, either by effect of crystallization or precipitation. I therefore only intend to touch on the phenomena which relate to the last immersion experienced by our continent, and which appears to have been partial.

I. From the immense atterrissements, or land-accumulations, already formed, and which are continually increasing at the mouth of

the Pô; from the extreme variation or great variety existing in the different strata of sand, pebbles, and vegetable earth, which now form the banks of that wonderful river; from the number of beds of maritime and fluviatiles, or river shells, which lie in some places distinct or separated, and in others confusedly mixed together, from Cremona to the sea: in fine, from the progressive diminution which the velocity of the waters of the Pô experience, in proportion as the lower valley of Lombardy enlarges and gets nearer the sea; I conclude or deduce the following consequences. 1. That that part of the valley, which lies eastward of Cremona, cannot owe its origin or increase but to the quantities of earthy matter continually brought down and deposited by this river, which, to all appearances, were formerly infinitely more considerable than at present. 2. That the sea once covered this fertile plain; and that the greatest part of Lombardy may be considered as an encroachment made on that element, by a quantity of fragments detached from the primordial and secondary chain of mountains, which were at first hurled by the sea in its last retreat, and then carried along by the waters of the Pô, which in some degree still continues to deposit them, as before mentioned, by means of the frequent inundations caused by the overflowings of the Pô in the confines of Ferrara and Bologna, which are increased by the eagerness of the inhabitants of those provinces, who unfortunately attempted to restrain the waters of that formidable river too soon by banks, dykes, &c.

II. From the direction of the valley of Lombardy, and of all the se-

condary ones which terminate in it; from the extreme difference in the elevation of the head of these secondary valleys situated at the foot of the Alps, and likewise from their number, compared to those on the west and south-west of the same mountains; from their irregular form, number, and great degree of abruptness, which exist likewise in the secondary and tertiary mountains on the eastern side of the granitic peaks, in comparison to those of the same order on the western: in short, from the calcareous chain of hills which surround all Lombardy: I think I may venture to conclude: 1. That the motion of the sea, in its first mutation or change, had a direction tending nearly from west to east. 2. That at first it rose to a great height, which appears to be fully proved by the calcareous matter, containing maritime shells, now found lying on some of the primitive rocks of the Alps. 3. That its motion and retreat, or subsiding, were at first extremely rapid. 4. That the seas having rose above the plains which form the high valleys of the Alps, it afterwards precipitated itself towards the east, and dug by its weight and velocity the valleys which are at their feet, mutilating and chamfretting the secondary mountains which intercepted its passage. 5. That the sea, having in process of time abated in its motion, had by its sediment formed the schistus and secondary mountains, which describe a kind of zone to the plain of Lombardy: in short, 6. That it is evident, that the sea remained or stopped a much longer time on the western side than on the eastern.

III. From the enormous masses of granite and primitive rock which

now lie isolated on the summit of several high calcareous, schistous and sandy-hills in Piedmont, to which they have not the least analogy, I am naturally led to believe, 1. That the soil of the upper part of the valley of Lombardy was, when still covered or submerged by the sea, nearly as elevated as the summit of those hills are at present. 2. That these granitic masses were most probably driven on the top of those hills by the accelerated action of the sea, as I have previously observed in a former part of my work, and left in that isolated state by the same current, which, by gradually furrowing the soil in various directions, formed an innumerable quantity of small irregular valleys, which have however, in general, their salient or prominent angles uniformly opposed to the concave ones.

IV. From the extreme degree of cold particularly experienced on the Cols de Tende, Finestre, and Argentera, &c. though less elevated than Mont Cenis, I draw the following conclusion. viz. That the height and degree of elevation of the mountains, above the level of the sea, have less influence than that which they have above their valleys, in order to the absolute determination of the kind of climate which exists on their summit; provided, however, their height does not exceed one thousand or twelve hundred toises, that being nearly the zone in which the snow is permanent.

V. From the irregular inclinations or directions so generally found in the beds or strata of the secondary mountains, and from their abruptness, breaks, and quantity of heterogeneous matter so frequently con-

tained in their cavities, I am of opinion, 1. That those mountains could not have given way and sunk, except at the time when their summits were entirely submerged by the sea: indeed this supposition appears to be fully elucidated, by the calcareous matter containing marine fossils, which generally fill the vacuum formed by the different breaks of those mountains, and which is likewise sometimes found on their summits. 2. That they could not have thus broken or separated, but from the effect of subterraneous caverns formed in the interior of the globe, the vaults of which, from being progressively over-charged by a continual accumulation of calcareous particles deposited by the sea, have sunk or given way, as, I flatter myself, I have in a former part of this work clearly demonstrated.

VI. From the number of mountains formed of grès, or sand-stone, marne, or marl, and pudding-stone, which lie on others of different species, such as granite, rock-stone, &c. which likewise vary as to the reciprocal inclinations of their strata; also, from the irregularity and extreme verticality in the strata of the mountains of schist, which even form a right angle with the horizon; in fine, from the general disorder or confusion which appear so conspicuous in the secondary and tertiary mountains, situated towards the west and south-west chain of the Alps, I am led to believe: 1. That the wonderful changes which our globe has experienced are entirely owing to the effects of fire, and water, which have, at different epochs, powerfully and visibly acted either together or separate. 2. That
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the continents have likewise been exposed to similar revolutions; and, in short, that the last great débâcle, or bouleversement, is not, by several centuries, of so remote a date as has been generally supposed.

VII. From the sandy hills which compose the valley described in the eighth chapter, containing different species of marine fossils, and which are as if enclosed or wedged in the midst of high calcareous mountains, which do not contain any; from the direction of this valley, which tends from north to south: from the petrified trees likewise found ten feet below the soil of the same valley, in the environs of Nice, resting on calcareous beds, the roots of which contained in their ramifications a quantity of marine fossils; I am induced to conclude, 1. That the sea, in its slow and gradual retreat, must have formed an extensive gulph in the neighbourhood of Escarene; and that the calcareous mountains, above alluded to, served as its eastern and western boundary. 2. That the summit of the sandy hills, which now form the inner valley, indicate as nearly as possible the elevation of the bottom of the gulph at that period. In fine, that the waters having afterwards effected their retreat in that place, from north to south, had, as it were, traced out the valley, which has since been finished by the draining of that part of the sea which had been accidentally retained in some of the higher valleys, in consequence of having broken, by its weight and action, the calcareous barrier which for a time retained it.

VIII. From the abrupt state of the calcareous mountains which border the Mediterranean coast

from Nice to Savona; from their extreme height or elevation; from the depth of the sea which washes their basis; as likewise from the direction of the rivers and valleys of that part of the chain, which is in general from north to south, and the vast number of gypsum quarries which are within a mile or two of the coast; I am led to suppose, 1. That the major part of the secondary and tertiary chain of the Alps still remains covered by the sea. 2. That it appears probable that those mountains may extend to the islands of Corsica and Sardinia. In fine, that a number of these calcareous mountains owe their abruptness to the last retreat of the sea, which had, by insensibly undermining their basis, occasioned part of their mass to detach and fall into the water, from their not having at that period acquired the same degree of consistence which they now possess.

IX. From not having been able, with the greatest care and attention, to trace or discover the least indication of volcanic operations from La Bouchette, near Genoa, to Mont Viso, in Piedmont, which are the two mountains which terminate the maritime chain, I think myself authorised to say that there does not appear to have existed any volcanos in that part of the Alps, except in the valley of Fontaine du Temple, mentioned in the last chapter, and which, from not having been able properly to investigate, I cannot to a certainty venture to give my opinion.

These are the conclusions I deduce from the foregoing premises and which I offer to the consideration of the public with some diffidence

dence, sensible of the difficulties which attend the structure of all the theories of the earth; but if I should be thought to have failed in any of my inferences, I have still the satisfaction to know that, without any view to system, I have endeavoured faithfully to collect and to record natural facts, of which others may probably make a better use than I have made myself, and to which the attention of scientific men may not unprofitably be directed. It is not for me to pronounce how far I have succeeded; but as Sir William Hamilton's object has been to trace the operation of fire in the formation of the great features of nature, so it has been mine to trace and to notice the operation of water; and, perhaps, when the power of these two mighty elements is duly considered, great light will be thrown on a subject hitherto imperfectly investigated.

I shall be happy should my works, with their embellishments, be allowed the honour of standing as an invitation or introduction to the study of that part of the Alps, where the few flowers and ears of corn which I have gathered may serve as a specimen of their richness and fertility, as a field of science, and whose harvest I must leave to be reaped by others more conversant than myself in the philosophy of natural history.

Account of the Buffalo of America, by Mr. Turner; from Letters and Papers on Agriculture, selected from the Correspondence of the Bath and West of England Society, Vol. VII.

THE American Buffalo is, if I mistake not, the bison of Buffon,

Immense herds of this animal roam at large, in interior America. From Green River to the Mississippi, the shores of the Ohio are lined with them. The hunters are too apt to destroy them wantonly: a circumstance much to be regretted, and not to be prevented. Frequently have I seen this fine animal killed; and, excepting the tongue and the tallow, left on the ground a prey to the tigers, wolves, and eagles. The boss on the shoulders of the buffalo is, as well as the tongue, extremely rich and delicious,—superior to the best English beef. It is usual to cure the tongues, and transport them to New Orleans; where they are sure to meet with a good market.

There is a singular, an affecting trait in the character of the buffalo, when a calf; and my feelings have severely felt it. Whenever a cow buffalo falls before the murdering lead of the hunters, and happens to have a calf, the helpless young one, far from attempting an escape, stays by its fallen dam, with signs expressive of strong and active natural affection. The dam thus secured, the hunter makes no attempt on the calf, (knowing it to be unnecessary) but proceeds to cut up the carcase: then laying it on his horse, he returns towards home, followed by the poor calf, thus instinctively attending the remains of its dam. I have seen a single hunter ride into the town of Cincinnati, between the Miamies, followed in this manner, and, at the same time, by three calves, who had lost their dams by this cruel hunter.

Since I have expressed a wish to see the buffalo domesticated on the English farms, I will now mention a fact concerning it, within my own knowledge. A farmer, on the great Kenhawa

Kenhawa, broke a young buffalo to the plough; having yoked it with a steer taken from his tame cattle. The buffalo performed to admiration. Enquiring of the man, whether he had any fault to find with the buffalo's performance, he answered, there was but one objection to it: the step of the buffalo was too quick for that of the tame steer. "My friend," said I, "the fault lies not in the buffalo, but in the steer: what you term a fault in the former is really an advantage on its side." Till this moment, the man had laboured under one of those clouds of prejudice but too common among farmers. He had taken the ox of his father's farm, as the unit whence all his calculations were to be made, and his conclusions drawn: it was his unchangeable standard of excellence, whether applied to the plough or to the draught. No sooner was my observation uttered, than conviction flashed on his mind. He acknowledged the superiority of the buffalo.

But there is another property in which the buffalo far surpasses the ox:—his strength. Judging from the extraordinary size of his bones, and the depth and formation of his chest, I should not think it unreasonable to assign nearly a double portion of strength to this powerful inhabitant of the forest. Reclaim him, and you gain a capital quadruped for the draught and for the plough: his activity peculiarly fits him for the latter, in preference to the ox.

Account of the River Tigris; from Ouseley's Persian Miscellanies.

AMONG his other titles, the Persian emperor styled himself,

lord of the four rivers of Paradise, which an ingenious traveller* explains by "Iuphrates, Tigris, Araxes, and Indus;" although in another place, he acknowledges his uncertainty; whether these were the streams that watered that happy garden; that the Euphrates and Tigris were the principal rivers of the terrestrial Paradise, is allowed by all writers. The Jihoon, or Oxus, as we have just seen, is supposed by some to have its source there, but as to the river Shihoon, as written in the specimen, I must confess my ignorance. I cannot affirm that it means the Araxes, which rises in Armenia, to the west of the Caspian sea; and I should rather imagine that the points over the first letters were superfluous, and that it signifies the Shihoon, or ancient Jaxartes, between which, and the lower part of the courses of the Jihoon, or Oxus, lies that country called Transoxania formerly, and by the modern Asiatics, Mawer-ul Neher, "the land beyond the river."

But so little has been done on the geography of those countries, and so ignorant are we still of the exact situation of the rivers which we speak of, that a most learned writer takes particular occasion to remark the peculiar obscurity which yet hangs about them; and even the celebrated orientalist, M. D'Herbelot, only tells us, that perhaps ("peut être") the Shihoon is only another name for that river, which the "Antients called Jaxartes, and the Arabs write Sihoon."

Of the river Tigris, so celebrated by the Greek and Latin writers, the ancient name is no longer used, and it is now called Dejleh; the

* Sir Thomas Herbert.

etymology of the former is traced to the Persian word *Terr*, an arrow, which the river, from its velocity, was said to resemble. To this word the Greeks (according to their usual custom of adapting to their own idiom, all foreign, or as they styled them barbarous, words) added the common termination of the nominative case is, and the interpolation of the Greek gamma may be accounted for by the probable guttural quality of pronunciation with which the Persians uttered the letter R.

The rapidity of this river's course is alluded to by Sadi, in an elegy which has been published with a Latin translation. "The fame of my verses," says the prophetic poet, "shall spread over the world with greater impetuosity than the current of the Tigris;" and the river Dejeleh is celebrated in a particular chapter of a most excellent geographical poem by Khacani.

The ancient Medes as well as Persians (according to Pliny) called an arrow *Tigris*, and a learned commentator on Plutarch contends that this is properly a Medic, not a Persian word; but the two nations are confounded by most authors on account of their vicinity. Yet, though all ancient writers agree, that the name, whether Medic or Persian, was imposed as expressive of the rapidity of this river's current, we find one traveller who calls them all in question, and asserts, that its stream is less swift, even than that of the Euphrates.

On the banks of the Dejeleh, "am I fallen," (says the plaintive poet Jami) "unfriended, and remote from any habitation, whilst a torrent of tears, like that of the rapid stream, flows from my eyes." This river from its conflux with the

Euphrates, may be said to water the plains of Babylon, and I could never read the above-mentioned passage in the original Persian, without recollecting the beautiful beginning of that fine Hebrew psalm or elegy, composed in a similar forlorn situation, and expressive of the same feelings.

From the original Chaldaic name פרת The Greeks have formed their corrupt *Euphrates*; for it is vain to seek the etymology of this word in a Greek compound. The Persians and Arabians still call the river by its ancient Hebrew name, which they write, as in the engraved specimen *Frât*.

The celebrated current of the Euphrates, was divided, according to the Arabian geographer, whom Bochart follows, into five channels or branches, one of which led to Cusa in Chaldea; and on the banks of another, was seated the "golden Babylon," once the proud mistress of the eastern world, being the capital of the Assyrian monarchy, which comprehended Syria, Mesopotamia, Chaldea, Persia; in short, except India, all the great nations of western Asia.

On the banks of those celebrated streams, the נהרות בבל *Neheroth Babel*, or "rivers of Babylon," of the royal Psalmist, the persecuted Jews hung up their useless harps, nor would gratify "those who had led them captive into the strange land with melody, or with a song." Those banks were so thickly planted with willow trees, as the learned Bochart informs us, that the country of Babylon was thence styled "the vale of willows," and on those trees were suspended the neglected and unstrung lyres of the captive Hebrews.

Observations on Spontaneous Inflammation; with a particular Account of that which happened on board a Russian Frigate in the Year 1781; and of the Experiments made in order to ascertain the Cause of it. In a Letter to the Editors, from the Reverend William Tooke, F. R. S. Member of the Imperial Academy of Sciences at St. Petersburg, &c. From the Repertory of Arts and Manufactures.

THE following observations on spontaneous inflammations were drawn up, a few years ago, in Russia; they were suggested by an accident which happened on-board a frigate lying in the harbour of Cronstadt. I was then at Cronstadt, and consequently had an opportunity of procuring an accurate account, not only of the accident itself, but also of the experiments made to ascertain the cause of it. If you think proper to add them to the accounts of spontaneous inflammations which you have already published, you are at liberty to do so.

The explication of the causes of spontaneous inflammations, in certain substances and compositions, must ever be an object of consequence to the magistracy; as, by discovering the causes of such phenomena, the suspicion of felonious practices in setting fire to buildings may frequently be avoided, and many an innocent person saved from capital punishment. A bare attempt to lessen the number of victims, that may possibly be doomed to bleed at the bar of mistaken justice, can never be thought either frivolous or impertinent.

I intentionally pass over the pyro-

phori, at present so well known to chymists, prepared from alum, &c. as not properly belonging to my design, though deserving of notice in explaining the causes of spontaneous inflammation; nor shall I say any thing of those inflammations that happen in the mineral kingdom, in coal-mines, alum-pits, &c. as they are already sufficiently known, and their causes have often been discussed.

Of incomparably more importance, and far less known, are the spontaneous inflammations of substances from the animal and vegetable kingdoms; and these are what I design here briefly to bring together: as I firmly believe, that a more extensive publication of these phenomena may prove of general utility to mankind, by lessening the dangers to which they are exposed.

A recent instance will serve to elucidate what I now advance. A person of the name of Rûde, at that time an apothecary at Bautzen, had prepared a pyrophorus from rye-bran and alum. Not long after he had made the discovery, there broke out, in the next village of Nauslitz, a great fire, which did much mischief, and was said to have been occasioned by the treating of a sick cow in the cow-house. Mr. Rûde knew that the countrymen were used to lay an application of parched rye-bran to their cattle, for curing the thick neck; he knew also, that alum and rye-bran, by a proper process, yielded a pyrophorus; and now he wished to try whether parched rye-bran alone would have the same effect. Accordingly, he roasted a quantity of rye-bran by the fire, till it had acquired the colour of roasted coffee.

This

This roasted bran he wrapped up in a linen cloth; in the space of a few minutes there arose a strong smoke through the cloth, accompanied by a smell of burning. Not long afterwards the rag grew as black as tinder, and the bran now become hot, fell through it on the ground in little balls. Mr. Rûde repeated the experiment at various times, and always with the same result. Who now will any longer doubt, that the frequency of fires in cow-houses, which in those parts, are mostly wooden buildings, may not be occasioned by this common practice, of binding roasted bran about the necks of the cattle? The fire, after consuming the cattle and the shed, communicates itself to the adjoining buildings; great damage ensues; and the ignorant look for the cause in wilful and malicious firing, consequently in a capital crime.

Montet relates, in the *Memoires de l' Académie de Paris*, 1748, that animal substances, under certain circumstances, may kindle into flame; and that he himself has been witness to the spontaneous accension of dung-hills. The woollen stuff prepared at Cevennes, which bears the name of Emperor's-stuff, has kindled of itself, and burnt to a coal. It is not unusual for this to happen to woollen stuffs, when in hot summers they are laid in a heap, in a room but little aired.

In June, 1781, the same thing happened at a wool-comber's in a manufacturing town in Germany, where a heap of wool-combings, piled up in a close warehouse seldom aired, took fire of itself. This wool had been by little and little brought into the warehouse; and, for want of room, piled up very

high and trodden down, that more might be added to it. That this combed wool, to which, as is well-known, rape-oil mixed with butter is used in the combing, burnt of itself, was sworn by several witnesses. One of them affirmed that, ten years before, a similar fire happened among the flocks of wool at a clothier's, who had put them into a cask, where they were rammed hard, for their easier conveyance. This wool burnt from within outwards, and became quite a coal; it was very certain that neither fire nor light had been used at the packing, consequently the above fires arose from similar causes.

In like manner very creditable cloth-workers have certified, that after they have bought wool that was become wet, and packed it close in their warehouse, this wool has burnt of itself; and very serious consequences might have followed, if it had not been discovered in time.

The spontaneous accension of various matters from the vegetable kingdom, as wet hay, corn, and madder, and at times wet meal and malt, are already sufficiently known. Experiments have likewise repeatedly been made with regard to such phenomena; and it will presently appear, that hemp, or flax, and hemp-oil, have frequently given rise to dreadful conflagrations. Montet says: in the year 1757, a sort of sailcloth, called *prelart*, having one side of it smeared with ochre and oil, took fire in the magazine at Brest, where it had probably kindled of itself. It is not at all unlikely that many fires in sea-ports have arisen from these self-accensions; as it has often happened that, after the strictest enquiry,

quiry, the real cause of them has not been discovered.

About twenty years ago, several fires broke out, within a short space of time, in a rope-walk, and in some wooden houses, at St. Petersburg; and, in all these instances, not the slightest trace of wilful firing could be found; but there was lying in the rope-walk, where the cables for the navy are made, a great heap of hemp, among which a considerable quantity of oil had been carelessly spilt, and it was therefore declared spoilt; for which reason it had been bought at a low price, and put up together, and was held to be the cause of the fire. The inferior inhabitants of that part of the town had likewise bought of this spoilt hemp, at a cheaper rate than usual, for closing the chinks, and caulking the windows of their houses, which are constructed of barks laid one upon the other. At this rope-walk, coils of cable have been found hot, and the people have been obliged to separate them, to prevent farther danger.

It was in the spring of the year 1780, that a fire was discovered on board a frigate lying in the road off Cronstadt; which, if it had not been timely extinguished, would have endangered the whole fleet. After the severest scrutiny, no cause of the fire was to be found; and the matter was forced to remain without explanation, but with strong surmises of some wicked incendiary being at the bottom of it. In the month of August, in the same year, a fire broke out at a hemp-magazine at St. Petersburg, by which several hundred thousand poods* of hemp and flax were consumed.

The walls of the magazine are of brick, the floors of stone, and the rafters and covering of iron; it stands alone on an island in the Neva, on which, as well as on board the ships lying in the Neva, no fire is permitted. In St. Petersburg, in the same year, a fire was discovered in the vaulted shop of a furrier. In these shops, which are all vaults, neither fire nor candle is allowed, and the doors of them are all of iron. At length the probable cause was found to be, that the furrier, the evening before the fire, had got a roll of new cere-cloth, (much in use here for covering tables, counters, &c. being easily wiped and kept clean,) and had left it in his vault, where it was found almost consumed.

In the night, between the 20th and 21st of April, 1781, a fire was seen on board the frigate Maria, which lay at anchor, with several other ships, in the road off the island of Cronstadt; the fire was however soon extinguished; and, by the severest examination, little or nothing could be extorted concerning the manner in which it had arisen. The garrison was threatened with a scrutiny that should cost them dear; and, while they were in this cruel suspense, the wisdom of the sovereign gave a turn to the affair, which quieted the minds of all, by pointing out the proper method to be pursued by the commissioners of inquiry, in the following order to Count Chernichet.

“When we perceived, by the report you have delivered in of the examination into the accident that happened on board the frigate Maria, that, in the cabin where the

* A pood consists of 40 pounds Russ, or 36 pounds English.

fire broke out, there was found parcels of matting, tied together with packthread, in which the soot of burnt fir-wood had been mixed with oil, for the purpose of painting the ship's bottom, it came into our mind, that, at the fire which happened last year at the hemp-warehouses, the following cause, among others, was assigned, that the fire might have proceeded from the hemp being bound up in greasy mats, or even from such mats having lain near the hemp: therefore, neglected not to guide your father inquiries by this remark."

As, upon juridical examination, as well as private enquiry, it was found that, in the ship's cabin, where the smoke appeared, there lay a bundle of matting, containing Russian lamp-black, prepared from fir-soot, moistened with hemp-oil varnish, which was perceived to have sparks of fire in it at the time of the extinction, the Russian admiralty gave orders to make various experiments, in order to see whether a mixture of hemp-oil, varnish and the forementioned Russian black, folded up in a mat and bound together, would kindle of itself.

They shook forty pounds of fir-wood soot into a tub, and poured about thirty-five pounds of hemp-oil varnish upon it; this they let stand for an hour, after which they poured off the oil. The remaining mixture they now wrapped up in a mat, and the bundle was laid close to the cabin, where the midshipmen had their birth. To avoid all suspicion of treachery, two officers sealed both the mat and the door with their own seals, and stationed a watch, of four sea-officers, to take notice of all that passed the whole night through; and, as soon as any

smoke should appear, immediately to give information to the commandant of the port.

The experiment was made the 26th of April, about eleven o'clock A. M. in presence of all the officers named in the commission. Early on the following day, about six o'clock A. M. a smoke appeared, of which the chief commandant was immediately informed by an officer; he came with all possible speed, and, through a small hole in the door, saw the mat smoking. Without opening the door, he dispatched a messenger to the members of the commission; but, as the smoke became stronger, and fire began to appear, the chief commandant found it necessary, without waiting for the members of the commission, to break the seals and open the door. No sooner was the air thus admitted, than the mat began to burn with greater force, and presently it burst into a flame.

The Russian Admiralty being now fully convinced of the self-encindling property of this composition, transmitted their experiment to the Imperial Academy of Sciences; who appointed my friend Mr. Georgi, a very learned and able adjunct of the Academy, to make farther experiments on the subject, and to him I am chiefly indebted for this account; though, being myself at the time upon a visit to some of my old parishioners at Cronstadt, I made myself acquainted with many of the circumstances on the spot.

The experiments of this ingenious chymist are of great importance, as they form a valuable addition to our knowledge on the subject; and are very remarkable from the occasion that led to these discoveries.

The

Previous to the relation of the experiments, it is necessary to observe, that the Russian fir-black is three or four times more heavy, thick, and unctuous, than that kind of painter's black which the Germans call *kien-rahm*. The former is gathered at Ochta, near St. Petersburg, at Mosco, at Archangel, and other places, in little wooden huts, from resinous fir-wood, and the unctuous bark of birch, by means of an apparatus uncommonly simple, consisting of pots without bottoms, set one upon the other; and is sold very cheap. The famous fine German *kien-rahm* is called in Russia *Holland's black*. In what follows, when I speak of raw oil, it is to be understood of linseed-oil, or hemp-oil; but most commonly the latter. The varnish is made of five pounds of hemp-oil boiled with two ounces and a half of minium. For wrapping up the composition, Mr. Georgi made use of coarse hemp linen, and always single, never double. The impregnations and commixtures were made in a large wooden bowl, in which they stood open till they were wrapt up in linen.

That I may not be too prolix, I will select and communicate only such of the experiments as were most remarkable, and succeeded best.

Three pounds of Russian fir-black were slowly impregnated with five pounds of hemp-oil-varnish; and, when the mixture had stood open five hours, it was bound up in linen. By this process it became clotted; but some of the black remained dry. When the bundle had lain sixteen hours in a chest, it was observed to emit a very nauseous, and rather putrid smell, not quite unlike that

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of boiling oil. Some parts of it became warm, and steamed much; this steam was watery, and by no means inflammable. Eighteen hours after, the mixture was wrapt up, one place became brown, emitted smoke, and directly afterwards glowing fire appeared. The same thing happened in a second and a third place; though other places were scarcely warm. The fire crept slowly around, and gave a thick, grey, stinking smoke. Mr. Georgi took the bundle out of the chest, and laid it on a stone pavement; when, on being exposed to the free air, there arose a slow burning flame, a span high, with a strong body of smoke. Not long afterwards there appeared, here and there, several chaps, or clefts, as from a little volcano, the vapour issuing from which burst into flame. On his breaking the lump, it burst into a very violent flame, full three feet high, which soon grew less, and then went out. The smoking glowing fire lasted for the space of six hours; and afterwards the remainder continued to glow without smoke for two hours longer. The grey earthy ashes, when cold, weighed five ounces and a half.

In another experiment perfectly similar to the foregoing, as far as relates to the composition and quantities, the enkindling did not ensue till forty-one hours after the impregnation: the heat kept increasing for three hours, and then the accension followed.

It is worthy of remark, that these experiments succeeded better on bright days, than on such as were rainy: and the accension came on more rapidly.

In another experiment, three pounds of Russian fir-black were

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slowly

slowly impregnated with three pounds of raw hemp-oil; and the accension ensued after nine hours.

Three quarters of a pound of German *rahm* were slowly impregnated with a pound and a half of hemp-oil varnish. The mixture remained seventy hours before it became hot and reeking. It then gradually became hotter, and emitted a strong exhalation; the effluvia were moist, and not inflammable. The re-action lasted thirty-six hours, during which the heat was one while stronger, and then weaker, and at length quite ceased.

Stove, or chimney soot, mostly formed from birch-wood smoke, was mingled with the above-mentioned substances and tied up; the compound remained cold and quiet.

Russian fir-black, mixed with equal parts of oil of turpentine, and bound up, exhibited not the least re-action or warmth.

Birch-oil, mixed with equal parts of Russian fir-black, and bound up, began to emit a volatile smell; but the warmth soon went off again.

From the experiments of the Admiralty, and of Mr. Georgi, we learn, not only the decisive certainty of the self-accension of soot and oil, when the two substances are mixed under certain circumstances, but also the following particulars.

Of the various kinds of soot or lamp-black, the experiments succeeded more frequently and surely with the coarser, more unctuous, and heavier, like Russian painter's black, than with fine light German *rahm*, or with coarse chimney-soot. In regard to oils, only those experiments succeeded which were made with drying oils, either raw or boiled. The proportions of the soots to the oils were, in the suc-

cessful experiments very various; the mixture kindled with a tenth, a fifth, a third, with an equal, and likewise with a double proportion of oil. In general, however, much more depends on the mode of mixture, and the manipulation; and, as Mr. Georgi often observed, on the weather: for, in moist weather, the bundles, after becoming warm, would frequently grow cold again.

It is in all respects remarkable, that it should never till now have been observed, that a mixture which has been made millions of times, in all proportions and quantities, for painting of ships, and the outside of wooden houses, and sometimes intentionally, sometimes accidentally, left covered or open, a longer or a shorter time, should be capable of kindling of itself. It is highly probable, that, even on this occasion it was entirely owing to the attention of the empress that it was made an object of enquiry, or even that it was at all observed.

Before I finish this paper, I will just mention a self-accension, not noticed till of late, and that by Mr. Hagemann, an apothecary at Bremen. He prepared a boiled oil of *hyoscyamus*, or henbane, in the usual way, with common oil. The humidity of the herb was nearly evaporated, when he was called away by other affairs, and was obliged to leave the oil on the fire. The evaporation of the humidity was hereby carried so far, that the herb could easily be rubbed to powder. The oil had lost its green colour, and had become brownish. In this state it was laid on the straining-cloth, and placed in the garden, behind the house, in the open air.

In the space of half an hour, on coming again to this place; he perceived a strong smoke there, though he thought the oil must long have been cooled: on closer inspection, he found that the smoke did not proceed from the oil, but from the herb on the straining-cloth; at the same time the smell betrayed a concealed fire.

He stirred the herb about, and blew into it a bellows, whereupon it broke out into a bright flame. Had this herb been placed in the house near the fire, it might easily have been supposed that a spark had flown into it, which had caused the inflammation; but this was not the case; the herb had kindled of itself. We see from this, that those who are entrusted with the preparation of boiled oils, should take care they do not give occasion to dangers by fire, which may excite suspicions of felonious designs, to the ruin of innocent persons in their lives or reputations.

I am, &c.

W. TOOKE.

Account of the Lynx of Abruzzo; from De Salis's Travels through various Provinces in the Kingdom of Naples, in 1789.

ALTHOUGH Buffon and Schreber have given us very good accounts of the lynx, the naturalist will probably not be displeased at receiving some information about the species of lynx peculiar to the provinces of Abruzzo. It is frequently met with in the woods of Abruzzo Ultra, where it is called *Il Gatto Pardo*, and is smaller than a sort that is not infrequent amongst the Grison moun-

tains, and which precisely resembles the species given in Buffon's *Natural History*, part xix. plate 21. French octavo, and in Schreber's *Sucking Animals*, part iii. plate 109, page 408. But the lynx of Abruzzo is of a darker colour, is from eighteen to twenty inches high, and from twenty-four to twenty-seven inches in length, to the root of the tail, which is four inches long. The male is larger than the female. The colour is whitish, with spots like stars, of a reddish yellow, inclining to a yellow gold colour. The hair is short and soft, the head large, and like a tiger's, with longish upright ears, terminated by a tuft of coarse, hard, and upright bristles. The eyes are large, and the teeth, claws, and whiskers, are long and sharp. Had I been fortunate enough to procure a dead one, I could give a much more complete description; but, I could not succeed in my endeavours. The actions of this animal exactly resemble those of a cat, like which it sits; runs, springs, eats, purrs, and sleeps; although all these actions are in proportion to its superior size. It is easily tamed; and the Barons Tomasetti assured me that it ran about the house like a cat; was much attached to them, and was in no wise inconvenient, except from its extraordinary curiosity. Not a corner in the house, nor a moveable therein, remained unvisited; and a female lost its life by jumping down the hole in the privy. I was surprised to find that the domestic cat had an insuperable aversion to this animal; and I was assured that the moment that a lynx was brought into the house, all the cats disappeared, and were seen no more during that animal's abode there. The lynx bears the priva-

tion of its freedom only so long as it is allowed to wander about the house; all those which the Baron sent to the royal menagerie having soon died of excess of fat, which was the case with that I saw there, and which also appeared extremely melancholy. The lynx of Abruzzo is unquestionably the most swift, subtle, and audacious beast of prey in Italy. It only wanders about in the night, and never is seen in the day, unless when in heat, or in search of provision for its young. It feeds upon all kinds of mice, moles, martins, ferrets, hares, badgers, otters, and even sheep and goats; neither are tame and wild fowl safe from its attacks. It watches for its prey, either upon the ground, or between the branches of a tree, and usually seizes it at the very first spring, even though it be on full speed; and from its ambuscade amongst the branches it successfully darts upon birds that are upon the wing. When it has killed such a large animal as a wild boar, or a roebuck, it first sucks the blood out of the arteries, which seems to be its favourite food; after which it devours the soft parts of the head, neck, shoulders, and legs, together with the entrails, and leaves the remainder. When it fails in procuring a live animal, it contents itself with vegetables, or gratifies itself with all kinds of fruit. Its favourite place of abode is amongst thick and extensive forests, and in solitary districts, where it makes its retreat in hollow trees, or in holes and clefts in the rocks. It pairs only once a year, at the beginning of spring; and contrary to the custom of cats, which celebrate their nuptials with hideous cries, it re-

mains perfectly silent. The female goes two months, and then brings forth two young ones, which are generally of different sexes. She suckles them during two months; and the young ones require two years to grow and be fit for pairing. It has been observed here that the lynx generally attains the age of twenty years. Sociability appertains not to its qualities, and more than one couple are rarely found in a district. Like all creatures upon earth, this also has its enemies, and is pursued by men, dogs, wolves, and large snakes. Flight is its first object; but when it is deprived of the means of escape, and is attacked and wounded, it defends itself against every description of enemy, with such fury and dexterity, that it is seldom overcome but by numbers of beasts, or the superiority of human sagacity. The lynx not only feeds occasionally upon the bodies of dead men, but even attacks children and devours them. This animal is seldom to be taken alive, except whilst very young, when it is frequently found playing upon the grass near the trees, or straying about the country in quest of its mother. It is sometimes taken in traps, but is generally shot. The attachments subsisting between a couple is remarkable; for, when one lies dead upon the ground, and the hunters have retired to a certain distance, the other approaches its comrade, looks at it, goes round it, lies down by it, goes away, and returns several times, until it appears to have lost all hopes of its being only asleep. — The lynx furnishes man with a very warm and useful skin; and some profit arises from its fat and gall.

USEFUL PROJECTS.

On the use of Sea Water in Agriculture; from the Earl of Dundonald's Treatise on Agriculture and Chemistry.

BUT as it may happen that much time may elapse before any relief is granted, or any alteration made in the present salt laws, it becomes important to consider how a supply of salt, or what is still more valuable, how a supply of sea or salt water may be obtained for the use of cattle, and the purposes of agriculture, without being subjected to the present duties. Previous to this explanation, it is proper to state some farther circumstances, more fully to impress on the mind of the farmer the effect which salt or sea water has in promoting the more full putrefaction of dung and vegetable matters.

It is well known that ships built of unseasoned timber are at first very unhealthy. The exhalation of the vegetable juices of the fresh wood is not the sole cause. It is principally to be ascribed to the putrescent hepatic gas generated by the mixture of the vegetable juices with the vitriolic neutral salts contained in sea water, forming what is called bilge water. The smell of it is no less offensive, than its effects are prejudicial to the health of the ship's company. When a new vessel happens to be tight,

and to make little water, it is the practice with all intelligent seamen, to sweeten the vessel's hold and limbers, by daily letting in and pumping out a sufficient quantity of water.

Certain gases, which are injurious to the health of animals, are favourable to the growth of plants: hepatic air is one of them; and as hepatic air is formed in vessels' holds by the action of sea water on the soluble matter of the wood, the same effect will be produced by the addition of salt water to dung or to vegetable matters. The generation of the hepar is to be ascribed solely to the vitriolic salts contained in sea water, and there is some reason to suspect, that sea salt, or muriat of soda, may suffer a decomposition in this putrefactive process, and that the marine acid thereof may be decomposed.

The putrefaction of sea water is not confined to the bilge water in vessels. The water of the sea itself, in certain southern latitudes, undergoes a material change, emitting, during long calms, a putrid offensive smell; and water intended for the purpose of making salt, kept too long in the reservoirs during summer, will suffer such an alteration in its nature, as to be rendered incapable of yielding chrystals of sea salt. A month or six weeks of warm

weather, is, in this latitude, sufficient to produce the change, which is prevented by letting out of the reservoir, every fourteen days, part of the old brine, and taking in a fresh supply of sea water, frequently very inferior in concentration or strength to that which is obliged thus to be discharged. If this tendency to putrefaction take place simply in consequence of the small proportion of animal and vegetable matters contained in sea water, there is still greater reason (exclusive of actual experiments) to conclude, that it will take place, in a much higher degree, on adding sea water to a larger proportion of such substances as of themselves have a tendency to the putrefactive state. As any farther proofs of the effects of the saline matters contained in sea water, in promoting putrefaction, may be deemed unnecessary, a method of procuring a supply, without incurring the expence of manufacturing them, or being liable to the present duties, is an object of the greatest importance to the farmer and the grazier, particularly to those who are at a distance from the sea.

In its vicinity, farmers and others avail themselves of their situation, and procure sea water either to mix with dung, or for the other purposes to which the application of it has been recommended. A ton of sea water contains from a bushel to a bushel and a quarter of sea salt, beside a certain proportion of the vitriolic salts. This quantity could not be purchased in England, including the duty, at an expence less than seven shillings, which farmers, situated as before described, may procure at the small expence of carriage.

Sea water may be raised, where coal is cheap, by means of a fire engine, to such a height as, corresponding with the level of the inland country, would allow the water to be conveyed in small open canals, in wooden or in earthen pipes, to a considerable inland distance: each farmer, or proprietor receiving as it passes the necessary supply.

Account of the Mode of making Parmesan Cheese, by Mr. Pryce; from Letters and Papers on Agriculture.

AT ten o'clock in the morning, five brents and a half of milk, each brent being about forty-eight quarts, was put into a large copper, which turned on a crane, over a slow wood-fire, made about two feet below the surface of the ground. The milk was stirred from time to time: and, about eleven o'clock, when just luke-warm or considerably under a blood heat, a ball of rennet, as big as a large walnut, was squeezed through a cloth into the milk which was kept stirring. This rennet was said to have been purchased of a man at Lodie, famous for the composition; but that it was principally made of the same part of the calf as we use in England for that purpose, mixed up with salt and vinegar: it appeared to me to be also mixed with old cheese. I much doubt whether there was any great secret in the composition: but it seems to me that the just proportion of rennet is a matter of consequence, which is not in general sufficiently attended to. By the help of the crane, the copper was turned from over the fire, and let stand

stand till a few minutes past twelve ; at which time the rennet had sufficiently operated. It was now stirred up, and left to stand a short time, for the whey to separate a little from the curd. Part of the whey was then taken out, and the copper again turned over a fire sufficiently brisk to give a strongish heat, but below that of boiling. A quarter of an ounce of saffron was put in, to give it a little colour ; but not so unnaturally high as some cheeses in England are coloured ; and it was well stirred from time to time. The dairy-man (this is not women's work in Italy) frequently felt the curd. When the small, and, as it were, granulated parts, felt rather firm, which was in about an hour and a half, the copper was taken from the fire, and the curd left to fall to the bottom. Part of the whey was taken out, and the curd brought up in a coarse cloth, hanging together in a tough state. It was put into a hoop, and about a half-hundred weight laid upon it, for about an hour ; after which the cloth was taken off, and the cheese placed on a shelf in the same hoop. At the end of two, or from that to three days, it is sprinkled all over with salt : the same is repeated every second day, for about forty to forty-five days ; after which no farther attention is required. Whilst salting, they generally place two cheeses one upon another ; in which state they are said to take the salt better than singly.

The whey is again turned into the copper, and a second sort of cheese is made ; and afterwards even a third sort, as I was informed ; a piece of economy which I have not known practised in England.

Valuable new Discovery for the Preservation of Corn ; from the Paris Moniteur :—by Antoine Gouan, National Professor of Botany in the School of Health at Montpellier : Addressed to the National Convention.

NO person is ignorant how much grain, roots, and collections of Natural History, are liable to be devoured by insects, and particularly by weevils, which, by consuming the internal part, and leaving only the husk, occasion frequently the greatest mischiefs.

These are considerably felt in great magazines, but particularly on ship-board, where numerous crews on long voyages require very ample store of corn, and where the diminution and damage produce often the most fatal consequences.

These inconveniences, and the difficulty of preserving these articles of the first necessity, have engaged my attention for many years, and induced me to attempt several methods of preserving them from the approach and ravages of these insects. I knew that in certain countries they expose their grain to smoke and vapour ; in others it was placed for some time in an oven. I also knew that pepper and other aromatics were considered as good preservatives. But that which is easy and unexpensive on a small scale, becomes dear and impracticable when applied to a larger. My object was to find means, therefore, which should be at once easy, efficient, and economical :

I. By banishing the insects which cause this damage to the grain.

II. By avoiding a weighty expence.

[* F 4]

III.

III. And by exempting the grain from the odour contracted in fumigation, particularly from the oils of a low quality which are employed for this purpose.

In consequence, in the year 1786 I tried the experiment of placing different roots, &c. ripe and newly gathered in a box, which I had bored for the purpose of giving admission to mites and other insects. At the corners and bottom of the box I placed several leaves of hartwort, the odour of which I knew was noxious to several animals. In another I put leaves of horehound, of rue, and of tansy.—The boxes thus prepared, remained for a full year on the ground under my shelves.

At the end of that term I found the roots, &c. perfectly sound, but the odour of the plants more or less remained; and fearing that it might communicate itself to the outward skin, and occasion a disgusting taste, I proceeded to substitute to the former bitter acromotic herbs, such as the little centaury, wormwood, thyme, mint, savory, &c. which are every where found in abundance.

I thus preserved the grain, &c. for a long time, without renewing the plants. Those which I now present to the Convention have been thus preserved since the year 1788.

After this experiment, now made seven years since, there can be no doubt but that the practice would succeed on a much larger scale; and as the grain and seeds, when gathered ripe and kept from a moist air, preserve for a long time their vegetable faculties, it follows, that they may be thus conveyed in safety, and planted with success in the most

distant countries, and after the longest voyages.

I have thus done my duty, as a good citizen, in presenting to my country the result of my researches, in a discovery valuable in itself and useful to humanity.

P. S. I did not think it right to try the means which some persons use to preserve the corn; by burning it with chalk and cinders, as a trifling circumstance may alter these substances in such a manner as to damage the grain.

Discovery in Distillation from Potatoes, which will no Doubt increase the Cultivation of that Valuable Article of Life.

POTATOES have been found, by repeated experiments, to yield by distillation a vinous spirit of a most exquisite quality, superior to the finest brandy; and in the quantity of about five quarts, highly rectified, from the quantity of seventy pounds weight.

In the process the loss of time and expence inseparable from malt distillation are avoided; the potatoes are boiled to a thin pulp, which is diluted with hot water, and strained; the mass is then fermented with barm for about a fortnight, and then distilled in the usual way.

The spirit yielded possesses a strong flavour and perfume of raspberries, and is not liable to be spoiled by what is called the feints coming over the helm, as the very last and weakest part that comes off the still, is equally sweet with the first. These facts were long since ascertained to the satisfaction of the Bath society, by Dr. Anderson.

Observations

*Observations on the grafting of Trees.
In a Letter from Thomas Andrew
Knight, Esq. to Sir Joseph Banks,
Bart. from the Philosophical Trans-
actions.*

Sir,

I AM encouraged to address the following letter to you, by the opinion you were last year pleased to express of part of my experiments and observations, on the diseases and decay of those varieties of the apple and pear which have been long in cultivation. The disease, from whose ravages they suffer most is the canker, the effects of which are generally first seen in the winter, or when the sap is first rising in the spring. The bark becomes discoloured in spots, under which the wood, in the annual shoots, is dead to the centre, and in the older branches, to the depth of the last summer's growth. Previous to making any experiments, I had conversed with several planters, who entertained an opinion, that it was impossible to obtain healthy trees of those varieties which flourished in the beginning and middle of the present century, and which now form the largest orchards in this country. The appearance of the young trees, which I had seen, justified the conclusion they had drawn; but the silence of every writer on the subject of planting, which had come in my way, convinced me that it was a vulgar error, and the following experiments were undertaken to prove it so.

I suspected that the appearance of decay in the trees I had seen lately grafted, arose from the diseased state of the grafts, and concluded that if I took scions or buds from

trees grafted in the year preceding, I should succeed in propagating any kind I chose. With this view, I inserted some cuttings of the best wood I could find in the old trees, on young stocks raised from seed. I again inserted grafts and buds taken from these on other young stocks, and, wishing to get rid of all connection with the old trees, I repeated this six years; each year taking the young shoots from the trees last grafted. Stocks of different kinds were tried, some were double grafted, others obtained from apple-trees which grew from cuttings, and others from the seed of each kind of fruit afterwards inserted on them; I was surprised to find that many of these stocks inherited all the diseases of the parent trees.

The wood appearing perfect and healthy in many of my last grafted trees, I flattered myself that I had succeeded; but my old enemies, the moss and canker, in three years convinced me of my mistake. Some of them, however, trained to a south wall, escaped all their diseases; and seemed (like invalids) to enjoy the benefit of a better climate. I had before frequently observed, that all the old fruits suffered least in warm situations, where the soil was not unfavourable. I tried the effects of laying one kind, but the canker destroyed it at the ground. Indeed I had no hopes of success from this method, as I had observed that several sorts, which had always been propagated from cuttings, were as much diseased as any others. The wood of all the old fruits has long appeared to me to possess less elasticity and hardness, and to feel more soft and spongy under the knife, than that of the new varieties which I have obtained from seed.

seed. This defect may, I think, be the immediate cause of the canker and moss, though it is probably itself the effect of old age, and therefore incurable.

Being at length convinced that all efforts, to make grafts from old and worn out trees grow, were ineffectual, I thought it probable that those taken from very young trees, raised from seed, could not be made to bear fruit. The event here answered my expectation. Cuttings from seedling apple-trees of two years old were inserted on stocks of twenty, and in a bearing state. These have now been grafted nine years, and though they have been frequently transplanted to check their growth, they have not yet produced a single blossom. I have since grafted some very old trees with cuttings from seedling apple-trees of five years old: their growth has been extremely rapid, and there appears no probability that their time of producing fruit will be accelerated, or that their health will be injured, by the great age of the stocks. A seedling apple tree usually bears fruit in thirteen or fourteen years; and I therefore conclude, that I have to wait for a blossom till the trees, from which the grafts were taken, attain that age, though I have reason to believe, from the form of their buds, that they will be extremely prolific. Every cutting, therefore, taken from the apple (and probably from every other) tree, will be affected by the state of the parent stock. If that be too young to produce fruit it will grow with vigour but will not blossom, and if it be too old it will immediately produce fruit, but will never make a healthy tree, and consequently never answer the in-

tention of the planter. The root, however, and the part of the stock adjoining it, are greatly more durable than the bearing branches; and I have no doubt but that scions obtained from either would grow with vigour, when those taken from the bearing branches would not. The following experiment will, at least, evince the probability of this in the pear-tree. I took cuttings from the extremities of the bearing branches of some old ungrafted pear-trees, and others from scions which sprang out of the trunks near the ground, and inserted some of each on the same stocks. The former grew without thorns, as in the cultivated varieties, and produced blossoms the second year; whilst the latter assumed the appearance of stocks just raised from seeds, were covered with thorns, and have not yet produced any blossoms.

The extremities of those branches which produce seeds, in every tree, probably shew the first indication of decay; and we frequently see (particularly in the oak) young branches produced from the trunk, when the ends of the old ones have long been dead. The same tree, when cropped, will produce an almost eternal succession of branches. The durability of the apple and pear, I have long suspected to be different in different varieties, but that none of either would vegetate with vigour much, if at all, beyond the life of the parent stock, provided that died from mere old age. I am confirmed in this opinion by the books you did me the honour to send me; of the apples mentioned and described, by Parkinson, the names only remain, and those since applied to other kinds now also worn out; but many of Evelyn's are still well known, parti-

particularly the red-streak. This apple, he informs us, was raised from seed by lord Scudamore in the beginning of the last century.* We have many trees of it, but they appear to have been in a state of decay during the last forty years. Some others mentioned by him are in a much better state of vegetation ; but they have all ceased to deserve the attention of the planter. The durability of the pear is probably something more than double that of the apple.

It has been remarked by Evelyn, and by almost every writer since, on the subject of planting, that the growth of plants raised from seeds was more rapid, and that they produced better trees than those obtained from layers or cuttings. This seems to point out some kind of decay attending the latter modes of propagation, though the custom in the public nurseries of taking layers from stools (trees cropped annually close to the ground) probably retards its effects, as each plant rises immediately from the root of the parent stock.

Were a tree capable of affording an eternal succession of healthy plants from its roots, I think our woods must have been wholly overrun with those species of trees which propagate in this manner, as those scions from the roots always grow in the first three or four years with much greater rapidity than seedling plants. An aspen is seldom seen without a thousand suckers rising from its roots ; yet this tree is thinly, though universally, scattered over the wood-lands of this country. I can speak from experience that the luxuriance and excessive disposi-

tion to extend itself in another plant which propagates itself from the root, (the raspberry), decline in twenty years from the seed. The common elm being always propagated from scions or layers, and growing with luxuriance, seems to form an exception ; but as some varieties grow much better than others, it appears not improbable that the most healthy are those which have last been obtained from seed. The different degrees of health in our peach and nectarine trees may, I think, arise from the same source. The oak is much more long-lived in the north of Europe than here ; though its timber is less durable, from the numerous pores attending its slow growth. The climate of this country being colder than its native, may, in the same way, add to the durability of the elm ; which may possibly be farther increased by its not producing seeds in this climate, as the life of many annuals may be increased to twice its natural period, if not more, by preventing their seeding.

I have been induced to say a great deal more on this subject than, I fear, you will think it deserves, from a conviction that immense advantages would arise from the cultivation of the pear and apple in other counties, and that the ill success which has attended any efforts to propagate them, has arisen from the use of worn out and diseased kinds. Their cultivation is ill understood in this country, and worse practised ; yet an acre of ground, fully planted, frequently affords an average produce of more than five hundred gallons of liquor, with a tolerably good crop of grass ; and I have not

* Probably about the year 1634.

the least doubt but that there are large quantities of ground in almost every county in England capable of affording an equal produce.

I have only to add an assurance, that the results of the foregoing experiments are correctly stated; and that

I am, Sir, &c.

THO. AND. KNIGHT.

Elton, Herefordshire,

April 13, 1795.

On the Dry-Rot in Timber; in a Letter from Robert Batson, Esq. of Lime-House, to the Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures and Commerce; from whose Transactions it is extracted.

THE society for the encouragement of arts, manufactures, and commerce, continuing to offer a premium for discovering the cause of the dry-rot in timber, and disclosing a certain method of prevention, I beg leave to lay before them an account of a method I have put in practice, and which, at present, appears to me to have fully succeeded.

The dry-rot having taken place in one of my parlours, in such a manner as to require the pulling down part of the wainscot every third year, and perceiving that it arose from a damp stagnated air, and from the moisture of the earth, I determined in the month of June, 1783, to build a narrow closet next the wall through which the damp came to the parlour, which had the desired effect; but, though it put a total stop to the rot in the parlour, the evil soon appeared in the closet; fungi of a yellow colour arose, to a great degree, in various parts of it,

In the autumn [of the year 1706, the closet was locked up about ten weeks; on opening it, numerous fungi were observed about the lower part of it, and a white mould was spread by a plant resembling a vine or sea-weed, and the whole of the inside, China, &c. was covered with a fine powder of the colour of brick-dust. It being then cleaned out, I soon perceived (what indeed I did not expect) that the evil had impregnated the wood so far as to run through every shelf therein, and the brackets that supported them; it had also seized upon, and destroyed, a moveable board for breaking sugar on. I therefore, in the beginning of the year 1787, determined to strip the whole closet of lining and floor, and not leave a particle of the wood behind; and also to dig and take away about two feet of the earth in depth, and leave the walls to dry, so as to destroy the roots or seeds of the evil. When, by time, and the admission of air, and good brushing, it had become sufficiently dry and cleansed, I filled it, of sufficient height for my joists, with anchor-smith's ashes; knowing that no vegetable would grow in them. My joists being sawed off to their proper lengths, and fully prepared, they and their plates were well charred, and laid upon the ashes; particular directions being given that not any scantling or board might be cut or planed in the place, lest any dust or shavings might drop among the ashes. My flooring-boards being very dry, I caused them to be laid close, to prevent the dirt getting down, which, I thought, in a course of time, might bring on vegetation.

The framing for lining the closet was then fixed up, having all the

lower pannels let in to be fastened with buttons only; that, in case any vegetation should arise, the pannels might, with ease, be taken out to examine them.

This having now been done upwards of six years, and no vegetation or damp appearing, the whole of the pannels and floor remaining in the same state as when first put in, I shall have a satisfaction in taking part of the floor up, if the society think proper to appoint a committee to examine the place.

If what I have produced meets the approbation of the society, I wish it made public under their sanction, that as full a trial as possible may be made of it; and if, at a proper distance of time, it proves of general utility, any honorary token of the society's approbation will be received with much satisfaction by me.

I think it may be highly necessary, in some situations, to take out a greater depth of earth; and where ashes can be had from a foundery, they are fully equal to those from anchor-smiths, but by no means depend upon house-ashes. I am, &c.

ROBERT BATSON.

In consequence of the foregoing letter, a committee was appointed to examine and report the state of the closet, who met on the 15th of May, 1794; the wainscot being taken down, and the flooring-boards taken up, they were all found entirely free from any appearance of the rot; and from all the circumstances then observed, it was the opinion of the committee, that the method advised by Mr. Batsop,

when fully and completely put in execution, appeared to have answered every intention mentioned in his letter; and his opinion seemed the more justly founded, as two pieces of wood (yellow fir) which had been driven into the wall as plugs, without being previously charred, were affected with the rot.

Composition of a Water which has the Property of Destroying Caterpillars, Ants, and other Insects; invented by C. Tatin, at Paris; from the Annals de Chimie.*

TAKE of black soap, of the best quality, ----- 1lb. $\frac{3}{4}$
 ———flowers of sulphur, -- 1lb. $\frac{3}{4}$
 ———mushrooms, any kind, 2lb.
 ———river or rain water, - 15 gls.

Divide the water into two equal parts; pour one part, that is to say, seven gallons and a half, into a barrel, of any convenient size, which should be used only for this purpose; let the black soap be stirred in it till it is dissolved, and then add to it the mushrooms, after they have been slightly bruised.

Let the remaining half of the water be made to boil in a kettle; put the whole quantity of sulphur into a coarse open cloth; tie it up with a packthread in form of a parcel, and fasten to it a stone or other weight, of some pounds, in order to make it sink to the bottom. If the kettle is too small for the seven gallons and a half of water to be boiled in at once, the sulphur must also be divided. During twenty minutes (being the time the boiling should continue) stir it well with a

* The *Bureau de Consultation* of Paris gave a reward to the author of this composition for his discovery, which they desired might be made as public as possible.

stick, and let the packet of sulphur be squeezed, so as to make it yield to the water all its power and colour. The effect of the water is not rendered more powerful by increasing the quantity of ingredients.

The water, when taken off the fire, is to be poured into the barrel, where it is to be stirred for a short time with a stick; this stirring must be repeated every day until the mixture becomes fetid, in the highest degree. Experience shews that the older, and the more fetid, the composition is, the more quick is its action. It is necessary to take care to stop the barrel well every time the mixture is stirred.

When we wish to make use of this water, we need only sprinkle it, or pour it upon the plants, or plunge their branches into it; but the best manner of using it is to inject it upon them with a common syringe, to which is adapted a pipe of the usual construction, except that its extremity should terminate in a head of an inch and a half in diameter, pierced in the flat part with small holes, like pin-holes, for tender plants; but, for trees, a head pierced with larger holes may be made use of.

Caterpillars, beetles, bed-bugs, *aphides*, and many other insects are killed by a single injection of this water. Insects which live under ground, those which have a hard shell, hornets, wasps, ants, &c. require to be gently and continually injected, till the water has penetrated, to the bottom of their abode. Ant-hills, particularly, require two, four, six, or eight quarts of water, according to the size and extent of the ant-hill, which should not be disturbed till twenty-four hours after the operation. If the ants which

happen to be absent should assemble, and form another hill, it must be treated in the way before mentioned. In this manner we shall at last destroy them, but they must not be too much disturbed with a stick; on the contrary, the injection should be continued till, by their not appearing upon the surface of the earth, they are supposed to be all destroyed.

We may advantageously add to the mixture two ounces of *nuxvomica*, which should be boiled with the sulphur; the water, by this means, will acquire more power; particularly if used for destroying ants.

When all the water has been made use of, the sediment should be thrown into a hole dug in the ground, lest the poultry, or other domestic animals, should eat it.

Specification of the Patent granted to Mr. John Tucker, of Wickham, in the County of Southampton, Tanner; for his Method of Tanning, and making Leather of a superior Quality, and in a much shorter Period of Time, than hath hitherto been done. Dated May 12, 1795.

TO all to whom these presents shall come, &c. Now know ye, that I, the said John Tucker, in compliance with the said proviso, do hereby declare, that the nature of my said invention, and the manner in which the same is to be performed, is particularly described and ascertained as follows; that is to say, the vat or pit may be made or composed either of wooden, earthen, metallic, or other substance fit for the purpose, and constructed in any form, or size, that may be necessary

necessary or convenient. The ooze should be kept in a regular kind degree of heat, by means of a flue, connected with them by an inclosure of brick, wood, stone, or any kind of metal, or other substance fit for the purpose; but the best method is to make the vats of beech, (with the top-plank of oak, about two inches thick,) four feet and a half deep, six feet long, and four feet wide; the sides to be perforated with holes, about one inch and a half in diameter, and two inches in distance from each other. The vat or pit should be enclosed in a metallic coating, and so completely soldered as to prevent the escape of any of the fluid. There must be an eye made in the vat, with a hole in it, for the ooze to discharge itself through when exhausted. The vat should be placed on bricks, and enclosed with a case of brick-work, leaving an interstice of a few inches for the heat to circulate in; which heat should be kind and gentle, and received from a fire placed near the bottom of the vat, so as to be either increased or extinguished at pleasure as necessity or convenience may require. A small hole, or holes, must be left in the upper part of the brick-work, which is necessary for the warm air to ascend through. The old way of cold infusion for the extracts, as to the taps and spenders, will not be affected by this process, and the hides may be brought into the yard as usual; but it will be proper to handle them very frequently for some time, otherwise, as the action of the bark in very considerably increased by the warmth it has received, it will, if the hides be not often moved, operate partially, so as to defeat the production of per-

fect leather. But, if this process of tanning be strictly attended to, it will produce leather, not only in a much shorter period of time than has hitherto been done, but of very superior quality, and durability. In witness whereof, &c.

*Rice Bread.—by Arthur Young, Esq.
from Annals of Agriculture.*

AMONGST the many trials made on different mixtures by the Board of Agriculture, I was rather surprised to find that rice ground to flour did not make any figure equal to my expectations. This led me to try it boiled, instead of ground, and the result was so favourable, that it deserves being communicated to the public. I tried it in various proportions, but the most successful was, three-fourths wheaten flour, and one-fourth rice, weighed before boiling. It should be very well boiled, and the water squeezed out (which water may be used as starch for linen, and there is no better) and then mixed with the flour: it is made as common bread; none equals it, being more pleasant to the palate than any baker's bread. That it is highly nourishing, there can be no doubt, as rice is admitted to be of all grain the most so. It is likewise a great advantage, that it has a restringent quality, all breads that induce laxity being pernicious to hard labouring people.

Tho' rice by the pound is dearer than wheaten flour, it is not so in bread; I tried ten repeated experiments, on mixing one pound and a half of flour with half a pound of rice, and the loaves weighed cold, gave from three pounds to three pounds

pounds two ounces, which is a greater gain than in baking bread of wheat flour only.

A circumstance attending rice, which renders it a great object, is the possibility of procuring it in almost any quantities; for, not to mention the United States of America, it is to be had surprisingly cheap from India. It is seldom higher, at Calcutta, than two sicca rupees the bag of 168lb; and for cargo rice $3\frac{1}{2}$ rupees; it has been bought in the districts, five mauns for the rupee, which is 400lb. for 2s. 4d. The average price at which it could be bought in large quantities, is 5s. 3d per cwt. To this is to be added the freight to London in ships, Lascar ones of the country, 12s. per cwt.; in all, landed in England, 17s. 3d. per cwt. instead of 44s. the price at present sold for at London. Thus imported, it must be apparent to every one how much cheaper the bread would be.

I have tried it, in the same proportion with barley, and it makes good bread for labouring people, but heavy, like all mixtures of barley, and the gain in baking not nearly equal to that by mixing with wheat.

So excellent a sort of bread being thus attainable, it is to be hoped that its use will spread into every part of the kingdom, and that those persons, who assist their poor neighbours by donations of bread, will adopt this mode of making it, since it is not so much the price of the bread, as saving the consumption of wheat, which seems at present the object.

stating the Progress that had been made in carrying on the Measures undertaken by the Board, for promoting the Improvement of the Country, during the second Sessions since its Establishment.

Ye generous Britons venerate the Plough;
—So with superior boon may your rich soil,
Exuberant Nature's better blessings pour
O'er every land, the naked nations clothe,
And be th' exhaustless granary of a world!

THOMPSON'S SPRING.

THAT he could not think of their separating for the summer, without laying before the board according to the practice of last year, an abstract of their proceedings, at the conclusion of what ought properly to be accounted their second session, only one meeting having been held in 1793, when the board was originally constituted.

That nothing could give him greater satisfaction, than to observe the progress which the board was making towards completing the great measure which it had at first undertaken, namely, that of ascertaining the present state of the agriculture of these kingdoms, and the means of its improvement. That not only the rough draught of the survey of each county, with hardly any exceptions (and those would soon be supplied) had been printed, but that the reprinting of the reports had also commenced, from which it would appear what progress had been made in collecting additional information. The reprinted report of Lancashire, which was now ready for publication, would fully explain the plan according to which those reports were in

Substance of Sir John Sinclair's Address to the Board of Agriculture, on Tuesday the 14th of July, 1795;

in future to be drawn up. From an examination of that report, the public would see to what a pitch of perfection agricultural knowledge was likely to be brought, by the accumulation of so many valuable materials.

That, next to collecting information, the board was naturally anxious to excite a spirit of improvement; a spirit which could best be roused by pointing out to the legislature those obstacles which prevented agricultural industry, and by endeavouring to prevail upon parliament to remove them. When the reports were completed, it might be expedient for that purpose to draw up an abstract of the whole, adhering to the division by counties, but restricting the information to those points which were of general importance. That report, which it would be proper to lay before his majesty and both houses of parliament, would state such measures as seemed to be the most likely to rouse a spirit of agricultural exertion. He hoped that important work would be completed before the ensuing session of parliament was brought to a conclusion.

The third object, that of drawing up a general report, in which each subject connected with agriculture should be distinctly treated, had also made considerable progress. Several of the chapters were already drawn up; and the fifteenth chapter, on the great subject of manures, was printed and in circulation. That chapter fully explained the nature of the proposed report, and the manner in which it was intended to be executed.

Among the duties of the board of agriculture there was none of more real importance, than that of bringing under the consideration of parliament such measures as were likely to promote the interests of every description of persons connected with husbandry, more especially those of the lower orders of society. With that view a bill was brought into parliament, on the recommendation of the board, which had passed into a law, and was likely to prove of much consequence to that valuable class, the common labourers, who were entitled to the peculiar attention of the legislature, and to the protection of the board, in enabling them to lay out their little pittance to the best advantage, and without the risk of imposition.*

That a most important, but at the same time a very delicate branch of duty, incumbent upon the board, is that of submitting to the consideration of parliament, the claims of those who merited to be rewarded, on account of discoveries advantageous to agriculture. That any attempt of that sort, it might easily be supposed, was liable to many difficulties. That the board had succeeded in its first application, in behalf of a very deserving individual, Mr. Joseph Elkington, who had carried the art of draining land to a perfection hitherto unknown, and which, if spread over the whole kingdom, must necessarily prove the source of infinite public benefit. That sum, being the first ever granted by parliament for any discovery of importance to husbandry, rendered

* This Act, which was recommended to the attention of the board by Sir Christopher Willoughby, one of its members, and was introduced into parliament by Mr. Powys, is entitled, An Act for the more effectual Prevention of the Use of defective Weights, and of false and unequal Balances."

it more valuable to the person who received it, and more creditable to the board, in consequence of whose recommendation it had been obtained. That the board had this day appointed a committee for the purpose of attending to that subject during the recess; by whose exertion, he had no doubt considerable progress would be made, in the course even of this year, in having those individuals taught who might be sent with that view to Mr. Elkington.

That there is no duty more incumbent on a board of agriculture, than that of recommending such measures as are the most likely to provide a sufficient quantity of food for the people: recommendation, it is well known, is all that a board possessed of such limited powers can attempt; but in that respect it fortunately seems to be possessed of considerable influences. The deficiency of the last crop becoming too apparent at the commencement of this year, an extraordinary meeting was held to take the subject into consideration, when the board resolved to recommend the culture of potatoes as in every point of view the resource the easiest to be obtained, and the most to be depended on. By accounts received from various parts of the island it appears that the recommendation had been attended with the best consequences. There is every reason to believe that perhaps 50,000 additional acres of potatoes have been planted in consequence of that recommendation. As each acre of potatoes will feed, at an average, from eight to ten people for twelve months, it is probable that the board have been the means of raising as great a quantity of that food as will maintain nearly a million of people for six

months, and consequently it will have been the happy instrument of preventing the risk of scarcity or famine during the ensuing season. For the purpose of increasing that culture in future, and of ascertaining the principles on which it could best be conducted, a report has been drawn up and printed, which contains all the information that could be collected in Great Britain and Ireland, or from foreign publications on the subject of potatoes.

That for many years past constant complaints have been made of the increasing price of provisions. Many causes have been assigned for such a circumstance, and many remedies suggested; but the most effectual one undoubtedly is that of cultivating the many millions of acres now lying waste and unproductive. That to that point he should take the liberty of calling the attention of the board early in the course of the ensuing session; and in the interim he trusted that the members of the board would pay every possible attention to the subject.

"Let us cut off those legal bars,
"Which crush the culture of our fruitful Isle;
"Were they remov'd, unbounded
"wealth would flow;
"Our wastes would then with varied
"produce smile,
"And England soon a second Eden
"prove."

The last, and perhaps the most important object to which the attention of the board can be directed, is that of attending to the situation and circumstances of the lower orders of the people. That important branch of our duty had not been neglected during the course of the present session. In addition to the specific measures above alluded to, a special committee was appointed

pointed to take the general subject into consideration, who have laid the foundation, by their investigations, for very important regulations in regard to that great branch of political economy. A matter of that importance, however, requires much deliberation, before either parliament can be applied to for new laws, or any recommendation can be submitted to the consideration of private individuals. But there were three points which seemed to meet with a very general concurrence. The first was to promote improvements in the construction of cottages, more especially to ascertain the means by which the consumption of fuel could be diminished. The second, to recommend the annexing of a large garden to each cottage, by which the labourer, with the assistance of his family, might be enabled to raise a considerable quantity of provisions, without being obliged to go to market for every thing he had occasion for. Many instances of the benefit resulting from such an appendage were stated in the different county reports, and were known to many members of the board. The third point was, that of encouraging, by every possible means, the extension of friendly societies, that most fortunate of all institutions for the benefit of the poor, and the most likely means that could possibly be devised for rendering their situation comfortable.

That the variety of important subjects regarding which it was necessary for the Board to collect information, and of measures which it might have occasion to recommend to the public attention, having rendered it extremely desirable to establish a correspondence with

some respectable body in each county, it had occurred, that either the grand juries or the magistrates assembled at the quarter-sessions, were in every point of view the fittest and most respectable descriptions of persons for the board to correspond with. That a circular letter had been sent by the board, suggesting the many public advantages that might be derived, by establishing a committee of the magistrates in each county, to correspond with the board upon such subjects, which there is every reason to believe will be cordially acceded to; a most desirable circumstance, as such an intercourse could not fail to be productive of consequences equally satisfactory to the board, and important to the general interests of the country.

The president then concluded his address in the following words:

“On the whole, the board have only to persevere, with zeal and alacrity, in the great course in which they are now engaged, in order to effect objects which were never compassed in any other country; and which, without an institution, carried on with such zeal and energy, would never have been supposed attainable. And in carrying on this great undertaking we ought to consider, that we are not only labouring for ourselves and our posterity, and for the nations by whom we are surrounded, who must profit from our instructions, and be benefitted by our example, but that we are laying a foundation for the future prosperity and happiness of the human race; since their prosperity and happiness must ever depend on the facility with which their means of sustenance can be provided. This country has much to boast of. In

the arts of war it has had few equals: in commerce and manufacturing industry, it has gone beyond all competition: in every branch of learning it has produced individuals who can rival the proudest names that antiquity can exhibit: and if, in addition to those other sources of fame and credit, it can bring agriculture, and the useful arts connected with it, to perfection (which by the exertions of this board can hardly fail to be speedily accomplished) where is the nation that will be able to make a more distinguished figure in the page of history."

Abstract of Minutes of the Evidence taken before the Committee of Council appointed for the Consideration of all Matters relating to Trade, and foreign Plantations, in Respect to the Stock of Grain in this Country, and its Price subsequent to the Harvest of 1794, and respecting the Produce of the Harvest of the present Year; the present and probable Price of Grain in this Country till the ensuing Harvest; and the Means of procuring a Supply to make good the Deficiency in the Produce of this Country; with other Proceedings thereupon, from Jan. 31, 1795, to Aug. 6, 1795; and of the Evidence before the Lords of the Privy Council to the like Effect, from April 27, 1795, to November 5, 1795.

THE result of various inquiries was an opinion that the crop of 1794 was very defective, and not likely to be sufficient for the usual consumption; that a supply was purchased at Dantzic; and that private merchants would speculate

in purchases, which would depend on the relative prices in the markets abroad and in England in the spring, where those purchasers would be destined. The crops in America were too short, and the price too high, to bring it to England, though the French orders were not limited to quality or price. The last crop in Canada was plentiful and good, and might be looked for in July, and from the Baltic in May. Spain and Portugal had scanty harvests; the latter no grain to spare. In Sicily crops had failed, and exportation was prohibited. Nothing was to be had in time from Egypt or Turkey. The rise of the price of wheat in London was gradual, owing to the exhausted stocks of wheat and flour in the hands of the millers and dealers at harvest-time, and additional buyers in London. The frost raised flour 2s. a sack, and, if it continued, would cause a farther rise, to enable the millers to supply London by land-carriage. Leaving more bran, &c. in the flour would increase the quantity of bread, but make it less nutritive. Mr. Arthur Young stated the last crop deficient not full one-fifth below the average of ten years; so it was 1788; worse 1789; yet the prices of that crop till harvest 1790, did not amount, on an average throughout the kingdom, to more than 7s. a bushel. He thought importation bore no proportion to the want; and that the Albion-mills had reduced the price of flour. Mr. Sheredine, the king's baker and purveyor of bread, thought that the increase of one penny on the quartern loaf of household would give a profit to the baker, and make it preferred. By Governor Pownall's bill, the assize was set low, and there was no bread

bread of the whole meal, it being intended to lay a check on both mealman and baker; but in this the bill failed. If only one sort of flour was allowed to be made, the mealman would be obliged to make it, and could have no sale for the finer. If the miller was forced by parliament to dress his flour coarser, it would increase the quantity from a given quantity of wheat, as it would take in the finer pollards, which are now, in the common mode of manufacturing, entirely separated from the flour; the expence of manufacturing would be cheaper, and the flour sooner fit for use. The best and most wholesome bread is made from flour that contained the whole of the meal, with the broad bran only taken out; and the fine pollards contain a sweet oily substance, that prevents the bread from drying in so short a time as bread made from fine flour only. Brown-bread flour, manufactured in the best manner from the whole of the wheat, with the broad bran only taken out, may be ground to-day, dressed to-morrow, and used next day. The poor will not buy the coarser bread if they can buy better, nor be satisfied unless they give the highest price. No bread is now made in London for sale but the fine wheaten. The parliamentary household bread should be made from the whole meal, the broad bran only being taken out; which may be ascertained either by dressing it through a cloth, or wire, woven with a certain number of threads or wire in an inch. What is called a 14s. cloth is generally understood to be proper for use. This flour would bake into such bread as is made in gentlemen's families, where the wheat has been ground in their own mill, and no

tricks played with it. If parliament would give the same encouragement to the baker for making bread from the flour as here stated, as they now have for baking the fine household flour, the millers would be willing to manufacture for that purpose. Flour from Indian corn mixed with wheat would give it a yellow cast; but a small quantity improves ordinary flour very much. White pease are sometimes ground with it in small quantities. If the Albion-mills had ground to the hire it would not have been a profitable concern, which is the case with common millers: they are, therefore, all mealmen. The Albion-mills caused a competition; which reduced the profit to the millers in general. No wheat is used in distilling, nor any objection thence to prohibit the use of wheat and wheat-flour entirely, or carrying any kind of corn coastwise from one port of the united kingdom to another.

Mr. Stonard, starch-maker, said there was no law confining the making of starch to wheat, which made it whiter. No profit on the trouble of making it of rice; and starch merely for washing might be made of barley. The East-India Company's scarlet cloths require starch in dying; and it is useful to the paper-trade for packing it.

Pease and beans might be used to make it; but potatoe starch has no body, and is made with great waste; it can only be made of vegetable substances; and the number of hogs fed from the offal of it is a considerable object. The committee appointed by the lord-mayor and court of aldermen were of opinion, that the mode by which the prices of wheat and flour have been collected, under the act of 31 Geo. II.

c. 6. by which the assize of bread is regulated, is not efficient to the purpose of obtaining the true prices of all the wheat and flower within the jurisdiction of the city of London; and they propose that a proper person collect from the meters office an account of all wheat delivered for making bread, and demand of the different sellers of wheat, the price at which each parcel was sold, the average price of the quantity delivered in a week, may become the return on which the assize of bread for the next week may be fixed, and that the price of all flower delivered to bakers within the bills of mortality in a week be the average whereon to fix the assize of bread for the subsequent week. This report was not attended to, because the assize is regulated by the price of flour, not of wheat, and the efficacy of the measure was doubtful. In the month of June, the usual quantity of wheat brought into the London market, fell off full one-half, and flour, as believed, in the same proportion. The whole quantity of wheat that could be exported from the Baltic, was 200,000 quarters; of which our government purchased 120,000; of the remaining 80,000, part would go to France direct, and part thither through Denmark. Very little expectation of importation from America from the old harvest, and from the new none before November. The lords of the council met regularly every Wednesday from that time, received amounts of wheat and other grain imported or taken on board neutral or other vessels, and distributed to the best of their judgment to the different parts of the country that wanted it, many

places being reduced to three or four days consumption. The lord-mayor and the city members attended with their plan of relieving their jurisdiction by subscription, as did the bakers company, to state the difficulty in setting the assize of standard wheaten bread, so as to make it answer to the bakers to sell it. By July 8, there had arrived 22,000 quarters of foreign wheat; 6000 were disposed of to the millers near London from 82s. to 84s. *per* quarter, and one quarter at 86s. The disuse of hair-powder was deemed not of sufficient consequence; it is made of starch, and sometimes of ground rice; the quantity of starch so applied is about one-third; very little starch is made at present. The soldiers used flower for powder. In consequence of a report from the attorney and solicitor-general, and serjeant Adair, the lords of the council stated, that many difficulties had presented themselves with respect to any measure for fixing the assize of standard wheaten bread, contrary to that settled by the 13th of his present majesty, so as to induce the baker to sell it, so that they had come to no resolution thereon. Subscriptions were therefore substituted. The lords were, however, clearly of opinion, that the lord-mayor and court of aldermen should set the assize of standard wheaten bread, and that it should be publicly known that it is so set, agreeably to 31 Geo. II. § 3.

The whole quantity of wheat in hand, July 22, 64,340 quarters; flour, 12,055 barrels. There being a disposition to stop corn and flour in their passage to different parts of the kingdom, the lords declare that there

there is reason to hope the stock, with the foreign supply, will last till harvest; that exportation was prohibited; and that the magistrates must do their duty; and troops were ordered to protect the free circulation. 6000 quarters were put up to sale in the London market, and 7000 Monday, July 27. The weekly consumption of flour at Norwich is from 600 to 700 sacks. Some places were supplied by prize-ships brought into the nearest port; others from London.

August 5, the whole quantity of wheat in England, undisposed of, was 24,760 quarters.—Aug. 12, 18,450.—Aug. 19, 13,720.—Aug. 26, 15,450.—Sept. 2, 22,430.—No return till Oct. 3, 33,200, and exported from the Baltic, 46,000.—Oct. 17, 22,600.—Oct. 21, 31,000. Oct. 28, 9,330.—Oct. 31, Canada wheat sold from 72 to 77s. *per* quarter.

At Workington and Whitehaven the people were perfectly satisfied with bread made of barley and rye. Fifty-six ships were sent to Quebec, of which only 28 arrived at different ports in England, and the obtaining the farther quantity was very doubtful, in consequence of the immense demand for flour in Newfoundland, and for his majesty's service in Nova Scotia and the West Indies. What arrived was the greatest part heated, from being shipped in hot weather; but it would probably recover. The demand for foreign wheat increasing, Mr. Claude Scott, the agent for government, was ordered, Oct. 1, to sell in each week in that month, in the London Market, 5000 quarters, taking care to diminish in proportion to the quantity of British wheat brought in. A bill was pre-

paring in October, to prohibit making starch from wheat, and for permitting the importation of starch at a duty, not exceeding the inland duty, now payable on starch made within the kingdom. Free exportation of wheat permitted at Dantzic, and the price declining. Mr. Scott applied for a greater supply for the London market, the demand being so pressing that country millers came 60 miles for it. "The price of wheat remained very high in Holland, as the purchasers for that market did not enjoy the same degree of confidence for the present as the English. The French Convention was making very liberal proposals to contract for quantities to any extent, *to be delivered in France*; whence it was to be inferred, that the crops in France had not turned out so well as would appear from the accounts in the newspapers; but it was not to be supposed that any body would enter into a direct contract with the Convention, as payment might be subject to such delays and altercation, &c."

Extract of a letter from Dantzic; Sept. 15, 1795.—Messrs. Helicars, in a letter from Bristol, to lord Hawkesbury, Oct. 8, 1795, observe, that "the consequence of the late scarcity would have been more serious, had not the calamity been relieved by the foreign importation on government account; a speculation truly justifiable, because the principle, we presume, arose from the conduct of that nation we are at war with; for, it is a fair inference, that no individual merchant can or would risk his property in a trade wherein he had to meet the agents of a nation, the support of whose chimerical constitution depends on

a supply

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a supply of food; and, to attain which, no sacrifice of property was an obstacle; therefore that nation, whose exigencies were urgent, was compelled to embark at the national cost, or render no relief. Thus, while we beg to pay our tribute of acknowledgement for that seasonable precaution, allow us to express our opinion that, when the causes of justification cease, the scheme should also; for, except in cases so extraordinary, the supplies of grain will find their way to market through the merchant (under regular and permanent laws, adapted to relieve the manufacturer, as well as prudently encourage the farmer), with greater facility, more steadiness, and less expence, than through the medium of any government.

In the counties of Hereford, Monmouth, Worcester, Gloucester, Wilts, Somerset, and Devon, the harvest in point of weather for saving it has been universal, and the crop of spring-sown grain never known to be more abundant: but one general opinion prevails of the defectiveness of the crop of wheat, which may be ascribed to two causes; the destruction of the plant by severe frosts last winter, when the ground was not covered with snow, and the effect of a few frosty nights, when the wheat was in blossom, injuring the top of the ear from filling, and which now affects the yielding very materially. To exemplify it more clearly, the estimation prevails that the stock of old and new British wheat on Sept. 29, 1795, was one-third short of the stock of old and new, Sept. 29, 1794; and it is a most lamentable circumstance to look forward to, when we review the evils likely to result from the late dearth. A frugal use of wheat recommended, and

introduced substitutes for it in the make of bread, will alleviate in a small degree. The free circulation of corn inland should have every attention and support; for, the late distress was greater than the stock in the growers' hands justified, had not interruption been given by mobs under the sanction of men who ought to have known their duty better. In many districts of only 20 miles, the difference in price was full 10s. to 20s. *per* quarter more than it ought to have been, comparatively speaking. To these two objects we most humbly suggest to your lordships, should be united that of a timely foreign supply, either by bounty, to encourage the merchants, should the markets be free and open; or, in case they were resorted to as last year, we conceive the national purse cannot be opened for a more laudable purpose than such national necessities, as the property of individuals is inadequate to. The average consumption of Bristol, and the places immediately dependent on it, is about 2000 sacks, or 250 tons of flour; and the effect of inland situations resorting for relief cannot be more fully elucidated than by reference to the failure of 1774, when 60,000 quarters of wheat, and upwards of 50,000 barrels of flour, were imported in twelve months, and circulated in all the adjacent counties."

English wheat sold at the London market, Oct. 18, at 96s. to 98s. *per* quarter, 1500 quarters, an advance of 6s. *per* quarter on the last market-day's price; government wheat from 60s. to 82s. *per* quarter, 5000 quarters, and more could have been sold had it been fresh and sweet.

The different corn-factors stated that the wheat of this year was, in Dorset,

Dorset, in part blighted, which made it produce less ; the general average defective, but the defect partial. About Yarmouth, the crops one quarter measure *per* acre, and 2lb. the bushel heavier, than last year. In Kent very defective ; and in the fens of Lincolnshire a material deficiency ; all owing to the blight. In Hertfordshire, 15 bushels *per* acre instead of 22 or 23. The small supply brought to London since the last harvest, owing to the deficiency in this year's crop, and the old stock being exhausted, the difficulty of procuring a crop from the additional labour in threshing, arising from the defective quality of the sheaves, the demand for seed-wheat, which perhaps this year exceeds the demand of ordinary years, as the high price leads the farmer to sow more seed. Wheat is generally one-tenth of the produce this year ; it will be more ; and the great part of the supply which used to come to London is drawn off in consequence of the home demand, and the demand of other districts where the crop has been short. The supply will increase when the seed-time is over, which will be about the middle of November. No idea of the supply being withheld in consequence of combinations, which are believed impossible. Barley generally understood to be abundant. Oats a good crop, but not so many sown as before, but more wheat. Pease a good crop. In Dorset, people resort to barley bread, that grain being plentiful ; but probably, while so applied, the price will not be so reasonable as might be expected from the crop.

Another corn-factor states the deficiency of supply arising from the seed-time to be not greater at present, as to English wheat, than it

has been for the last 30 years, but the price and demand much greater than in any part of that period. This demand arises from the neighbouring counties being entirely without any stock of old wheat, and sending for it to London. The defect is more in the want of flour, which is owing to the millers and mealmen being wholly without any stock of it ; and that again is owing to the great want of wheat, and the high price of it for the last three months. The farmers in Essex, Suffolk, and Norfolk, are threshing out barley, fearing the price of that grain will fall, and not that of wheat ; and its produce was very abundant, not less than five quarters *per* acre. The poorer people rejected standard wheaten bread, not so much because they thought it unwholesome, or did not like it, but because it was not universal : if there was no other sort, they would be content to eat it.

Another says, the wheat was in general thin on the ground, and yields ill ; in consequence of blight, the crop of cone wheat is particularly bad ; ascribes the want of supply to a sickness among the labourers, reduced from five or six in a barn to one or two ; and the late rains have rendered the ground favourable for sowing, to which the farmers apply the corn as fast as threshed. The increase will probably be considerable, as the markets in October are generally thin ; but it will not be great till the seed-time is over. The crop of wheat not so bad as to justify the present high price, though it will be probably higher than last year. He does not believe the poorer inhabitants of the kingdom will be induced to eat bread made of other sorts of grain.

The

The finer bread is used in the poorer parts of the town, such as Spital-fields, &c. On the borders of Essex, the magistrates enforced the use of the standard wheaten bread; but the poor did not like it, and thought it did not go so far, and the magistrates now suffer the finer wheaten to be made. He agrees with the poor in opinion, that standard wheaten bread does not go so far as the fine wheaten bread. If an inferior sort of bread is to be made, it should be universal; but, if this bread was made wholly of English wheat, without any mixture of foreign, which is generally bad, it might be wholesome.

Another stated the quantities of wheat sold in the London market for the month of September, and first three weeks of October, in the last four years, as follows:

	1792		1793	
	Weeks	Qrs	Weeks	Qrs
Sept.	5	21,204	4	12,987
Oct.	3	15,223	3	13,827

	1794		1795	
	Weeks	Qrs	Weeks	Qrs
Sept.	4	10,171	4	7,031
Oct.	3	8,887	3	9,989

and that the price would be enormously high through the year, unless some substitute could be found for wheat, of which there is not enough to make bread till next harvest. Thinks bread of other grain would be liked, as it was by the poor at Rickmansworth last year, when given to them.

All the respectable mealmen and corn-factors concurred in opinion as to the crops, price, and supply:

The crops in America 1793 and 1794 not good, and the price high on account of the quantities exported to France and the West Indies, particularly the Havannah, and

the advantageous speculation it affords in Europe. The French minister purchased it in the two last and present years, and paid for it in gold coin, or by bullion, or by wine and brandy; the present contract is by certificates issued by the American government for part of the debts owing to France from the United States, which certificates amount to 800,000 dollars; but, as some of them do not bear so high an interest as 6 *per cent.* American stock; there will probably be a loss on them of 20 *per cent.* The whole of the sum paid by France in this mode may amount, including all deductions; to 160,000*l.* Most of the ships carrying wheat and flour to France cleared out principally for Falmouth, and a market sometimes to Hamburg and sometimes to Spain and Portugal. The French government have sustained great losses in this trade by captures of corn and money, amounting to near 200,000*l.*; and the American merchants made immense profits by the high price required for their flour exported on their own risk. Even in the contracts now carried on the losses are supposed, by well-informed persons in America, to be about 60*l. per cent.* A number of merchants in America, who considered the American debt owing to France as a collateral security, finding the debt is applied in the manner here stated, are discouraged from shipping provisions on their own account; and the payments will not be so extensive this year as the last; and some merchants at New York, who had made an agreement with M. Fauchet, the French minister, to send flour to France, and, in consequence, had drawn bills to a large amount in England, on a supposition that the

the money would be paid in France, and brought to England in time to satisfy these bills, which has not been the case, are on this account in the greatest distress. The quantity of wheat for exportation in the United States is estimated at about a million of bushels of flour, 1,100,000 barrels.

The divisions and their weight were stated, also the price of flour made of wheat and barley in several proportions, and their produce *per* bushel.

Mr. Wm. Malcolm, who drew up the reports of the counties of Surrey and Bucks, is the only person who suggests a combination of opulent farmers, who play with and feed the markets at their own prices; which demand the interference of parliament, to keep open the ports, offer bounties, prevent smuggling, compel the pitching of grain in the markets, enforce laws against engrossing, forestalling, and regrating, and prevent combinations to raise the price of labour. He ascribes the high price of grain to the great increase of population, the emigrants, the very great proportion of land converted from arable to pasture, increase of buildings and people in manufacturing towns, villages lessened, and great towns, particularly London, increased nearly 1-8th. The great quantity of potatoes grown this season has lessened the quantity of grain. He recommends numbering the people by the assessors of the taxes, to ascertain the average produce sufficient for them compared with the number of acres.

Mr. Malcolm suggests the following hints:—"The immense quantity of meal used in the kitchens of large families, to supply a pint

or two of soup for the table, must contribute to the great consumption of wheat; and the vast number of small pigs, weighing from 7 to 10lb. *per* quarter, called *delicates*, and sold from 7d. to 8d. the lb. which would, if kept a few weeks longer, weigh from 15 to 20lb. the quarter, is another cause of the dearth of meat. In these times economy should be set on foot in all families. The vast number of horses kept for pleasure and useless parade, must, by consumption of oats and hay, prevent the growth of human food on the same ground. House-lambs are another delicate that might be done without; and, if suffered to live a few months longer, would weigh more, and be of more use. We seem now to set in for a wet autumn, and of course a wet seed-time for wheat, which will be a cause of raising the price by men who speculate in it. The difference in the price between the brown and white loaf is not sufficient to tempt the poor to eat it. The brown should be made of the whole produce of the wheat, with only a reduction of one-ninth of the weight for bran, &c.; and a bushel of wheat, weighing 43lb. should send home to the owner 36lb. of meal, 6lb. of bran, and 1lb. loss or waste."

Nov. 2, a bill was ordered to be prepared, to prevent obstructions to the free passage of grain and other provisions throughout the kingdom.

Recommended to the lord-mayor and aldermen, to take measures for preparing correcter assize-tables, to extend to bread made of white or household wheaten flour, with one-third, one-fourth, or one-fifth of rye, barley, oats, and Indian-corn flour, that the baker might have such a profit

profit as might encourage his making it for sale at such a reduced price as should encourage the purchaser to take it.

Nov. 5. Mr. William Cramp, keeper of the house of correction at Lewes, Sussex, gave an account of the mode of making starch from horse-chesnuts. He put the chesnuts first in water to swell them till they burst, then took off the skin, and grated the kernel into fresh cold water. When that was done, he strained it through a coarse strainer or cheese-cloth, rinsing the pulp well with fresh water, and then strained it again through a very fine strainer to take off the internal skin, or little thin red film next to the kernel. The strainer cannot be too fine for this second straining; for starch will get through where water does. It was then left to settle five or six hours till the starch was effectually settled at bottom. The water in which it was settled was poured off, and fresh water put on it, and all stirred up again, and left to settle a second time, serving it in that manner two or three times, till the starch was bleached quite white; and, after it had again effectually settled, the last water was poured off, and it was put upon boards to dry. The whole process in summer, when the weather is fine to dry it out of doors, may be finished in four days, and the starch will be fit to box up. It is better to dry it in the open air than on a stove, as the stove would probably dry it too fast, and affect the colour, which was also the case unless the chesnut was very clean of the inside skin. The whole expence is in grating and breaking the kernels; and that of making 5lb. of starch would not

exceed 1s. 6d. One gallon of chesnuts was enough for experiment. Mr. C. imagines that acorns would answer the same purpose, and might be ground along with the chesnuts; but he had not tried. The process of making starch from chesnuts and potatoes is exactly the same; and a bushel of the latter, at 56lb. the bushel, will make about 6lb. 4 oz. of starch.

The first report from the select committee, appointed to take into consideration the present high price of corn, printed Nov. 19, 1795, states the first and most obvious mode of supplying the deficiency to be by the importation of grain from foreign ports, by the restoration of the trade on corn to its natural channel, with the additional encouragement of a bounty of 20s. per quarter on wheat, and a proportionate bounty per barrel of flour from Europe south of Cape Finistere, or the ports in the Mediterranean or Africa, till the quantity of wheat and flour together shall equal 3,000,000 quarters, a bounty of 15s. per quarter on a certain quantity of wheat, and 10s. per quarter on all exceeding it from the other ports of Europe; and from America; and of 5s. per quarter, and in proportion on flour of Indian corn. A proclamation prohibiting the exportation and encouraging the importation from Feb. 13, 1795, until the expiration of six weeks from the commencement of the next session of parliament. The report on the assize of bread, Nov. 9, 1795, was that the old standard bread, made of flour the whole produce of the wheat, and weighing three quarters of the weight of wheat, would tend to prevent many inconveniences

inconveniences which have arisen in the assize and making of bread for sale; and that the columns in the repealed act of 8 Anne would be the proper assize for the said standard wheat bread, a twelve penny loaf of which would, on a medium, contain 2lb. of bread in 8 more than the twelve-penny loaf of wheat made under 31 G. II.

The report from the committee of the House of Commons 1774, to consider the method practised in making flour from wheat, the prices whereof, and how far it may be expedient to put the same upon the regulations of an assize was reprinted 9 Nov. 1795.

*Evil of using Potatoes for Bread ;
from the Annals of Agriculture.*

TO ascertain the value of potatoes in making bread, a loaf was made of five pounds of good flour, and another of three pounds

four ounces of the same flour mixed with one pound twelve ounces of potatoes; when boiled and mashed, equal quantities of yeast, salt, and water, were put to each loaf; but, in making up, it was found that the loaf of flour required more water, which was accordingly added, and that the mixed loaf had already too much; three ounces of flour were added to remedy the defect. On weighing them when cold, after baking the same time in the same oven, it was found that the flour loaf weighed eight pounds six ounces, and the mixed one only five pounds fifteen ounces.

Now, as five pounds of flour produced eight pounds six ounces of bread; in the same proportion, the three pounds seven ounces of flour would have made five pounds twelve ounces of bread: hence the one pound twelve ounces of potatoes may be said to have produced only three ounces of bread.

ANTIQUITIES.

Account of the Government of England from the Year 1400 to 1485; from Andrews's History of Great Britain, Vol. 1, Part 2.

THE power of each department of legislature became now more accurately defined, although no considerable alterations had been made in either.

The king's authority was most assuredly not in general despotic, since he could neither repeal nor change any law which had been made by consent of his parliament. Yet that dispensing power which each monarch assumed, when it suited his purpose, threw far too great a weight into the scale of royalty. The sovereign besides retained the cruel right of giving in marriage the wards of the crown, although that prerogative (as well as that of purveyance) was exercised in a much more moderate degree than it had been of old.*

He could likewise press for his service not only soldiers and sailors, but also musicians, goldsmiths, embroiderers and various sorts of artificers.†

The peers attended their duty in parliament at their own expence. The representatives of the commons were always paid from the commencement of representation. To-

wards the close of the 14th century it was fixed at 4s. per diem for knights of shires, and half that sum for each burgess.

The sheriff's influence in returning members was extensive and frequently abused, 'Sometimes they made no proper elections of knights, &c. sometimes no return at all, and sometimes they returned such as had never been elected'‡

For these and such like misdemeanors he might be sued by action at the assizes and was liable to fine and imprisonment.

The qualification requisite for knights of the shires was 40l. per annum. It appears too that strength of body and constitution was demanded, for the parliamentary writs about this period directed the electors to chuse not only the wisest but the stoutest men (potentiores ad laborandum), that they might be able to endure the fatigue of the journey and of close attendance.§

Besides their pay, the members of the House of Commons had the privilege, for themselves and their servants, of freedom from all arrests. A necessary exemption, that they might be enabled to perform their duty. But this privilege (as well as their pay) attended on the members only during their actual services, and quitted them at the

* Fortescue de Laudibus Legum Angliæ.

† Preamble to stat. 23. Hen. VI. cap. 14.

‡ Ibid

§ Prynn.

end of each session; allowing only for the few days which they might be obliged to employ in journeying to London and returning home.*

The convocations were regularly summoned with the lay-parliaments and as regularly met. The prelates were still directed to attend and 'consult with the nobles.' They were also directed to order their dean and archdeacons to attend in person, each chapter to send one proctor, and the clergy of each diocese to send two proctors, 'to consent to those things which should be ordained by the common council of the kingdom.' As therefore they were only to 'consent,' not 'to consult,' the proctors could scarcely be reckoned a part of the commons. They however received wages and partook of the privileges of parliament. The ecclesiastics still continued to lay taxes on themselves; but the consent of the other branches of legislature was necessary to give force to their decree.†

Parliaments were often called and quickly dismissed. They had frequently only one session, and once (in 1399,) but a single day.

No considerable alterations appeared in the English courts of law. The number of the judges in the courts at Westminster was by no means certain. Under Henry VI. there were at one time eight judges in the court of Common Pleas. Each judge took a solemn oath that 'he would take no fee, pension, gift, reward, or bribe, from any suitor, saving meat and drink, which should be of no great value.‡

The laws were ill-executed throughout the 15th century. Main-

tenance (an union for sinister purposes) still prevailed; the priests by their exemptions were set above the law; sanctuaries abounded throughout the realm and protected the vilest criminal and the most dishonest debtor; perjury throve and afforded a living to many; while the high constable, under colour of exercising military law, was authorised to proceed in cases of treason, 'summarily and without noise or form of trial,' and if he wished to give an appearance of justice to his proceedings, he could call in the aid of torture by fire or on the rack.

The account which the learned judge Hale gives of the lawyers who pleaded in the 15th century does them little honour. He condemns the reports during the reigns of Henry IV. and V. as inferior to those of the last twelve years of Edward III; and he speaks but coolly of those which the reign of Henry VI. produces.§

Yet this deficiency of progressive improvement in the common law, arose not from a want of application to the science; since we read in a very respectable treatise that there were no fewer than 2,000 students attending on the inns of Chancery and of Court, in time of its writer.¶

The Court of Chancery seems to date its rise at the close of the 14th century. It was highly obnoxious to the professors of the common law, who, by their interest in the House of Commons, procured a petition against it from the Parliament to Edward IV. in 1474. The influence of the prelates (who were certain of guiding that court) defeated this attempt, and its establishment

* Prynne. † Ibid. ‡ Fortescue de Laudibus Legum Angliæ.

§ Hist. of Common Law, apud Henry. ¶ Fortescue de Laudibus, &c.

encountered no farther difficulties.*

One observation there remains to make on the general state of the English at this period. Civilization indeed had not hitherto made such progress as entirely to abolish slavery. Yet few land-owners or renters were to be found who did not prefer the labour of freemen to that of slaves. This circumstance diminished their number, and the perpetual civil contests enfranchized many by putting arms in their hands. Within a few years after the accession of the Tudors, slaves were heard of no more.

A reflection at the close of the 15th century by Philip de Commines will very naturally finish this section. His suffrages in favour of England is the more remarkable as it is given voluntarily at the close of the longest and most bloody civil war with which the English annals can be charged. 'In my opinion' (says that judicious observer) 'of all the countries in Europe where I was ever acquainted, the government is no where so well managed, the people no where less obnoxious to violence and oppression, nor their houses less liable to the desolations of war, than in England; for there the calamities fall only upon the authors.

Scotland was not so happy. The unfortunate death of the Norwegian Margaret had involved that realm in a long and bloody contest with its powerful neighbour; and, although the gallant and free spirits of the Scots had preserved the independence of their country, notwithstanding their inferiority in numbers, wealth, and discipline, it could not

prevent the preponderance of a most odious and tyrannic aristocracy. Perpetual domestic war loosened every tie of constitutional government; and a Douglas, a Creighton, or a Donald of the isles, by turns exercised such despotism and inhumanity as no monarch in the 15th century would have dared to practise.

The endeavours of the first and of the second James were turned towards improving the jurisprudence of the North, by engrafting on it the best parts of the English system; but the suddenness of their deaths and the weak reign of their successor James III. prevented their people from receiving much benefit from such laudable designs.

The parliament of Scotland, at this period, had nearly monopolized all judicial authority. Three committees were formed from the house (for there was only one) soon after the members met. The first, like the 'Triers in England,' examined, approved of, or disapproved petitions to the senate; the second constituted the highest court in all criminal prosecutions, as did the third in civil ones. And, as every lord of parliament who chose it might claim his place in each of these committees, almost the whole administration of law, civil as well as military, resided in the breast of the Scottish nobility.

There was another court, that of Session, of which the members and the duration were appointed by parliament.

The judiciary (an officer discontinued in England as too potent) was still nominally at the head of the Scottish law, and held courts which were styled 'Justiciaries,' as

* Cotton's Records.

did the Chamberlain 'Chamberslainaries;' from these courts there was allowed an appeal to a jurisdiction of great antiquity, styled 'The Four Boroughs' Court.' This was formed of burgesses from Edinburgh and three other towns, who met at Haddington to judge on such appeals.

There was one abuse, however, which rendered every court of justice nugatory. It had become a custom for the Scottish monarchs to bestow on their favourites not only estates but powers and privileges equal to their own. These were styled 'Lords of Regalities;' they formed courts around them, had mimic officers of state, and tried, executed, or pardoned the greatest criminals.

The good sense of James II. prompted him to propose a remedy for this inordinate evil; but two admirable laws which he brought forward (the one against granting 'Regalities' without consent of parliament; the other, to prohibit the bestowing of hereditary dignities) were after his decease neglected; and Scotland continued, two centuries longer, a prey to the jarring interests of turbulent, traitorous noblemen.

Account of the Proceeding in the Trial by Battle; from Dallaway's Heraldic Inquiries.

ANCIENTLY, when one person was accused by another without any farther witness than the bare *ipse dixit* of the accuser, the accused party making good his own cause by strongly denying the

fact, the matter was then referred to the decision of the sword. If the parties were noble, the king himself was always present at the combat, seated on a scaffold, attended by the earl marshal and high constable of England, who were to see that no undue advantage was taken by either party. The conqueror was then declared innocent, and the vanquished guilty.

The seventh of June, a combat was fought before the king's palace at Westminster, on the pavement there, betwixt one sir John Annesley, knight, and one Thomas Katrington, esq.

The occasion of this strange and notable triall rose hereof. The knight accused the esquier of treason, for that whereas the fortresse of Sainte Saviour within the isle of Constantine, in Normandie, belonging sometime to sir John Chandos, had bin committed to the said Katrington, as Captayne thereof to keepe it against the enemies, he hadde for money solde and delivered it over to the Frenchmen, when he was sufficiently provided, of men, munition, and vittayles, to have defended it against them; and sith the inheritance of that fortresse and lands belonging thereto, had apperteyned to the said Annesley in righte of his wife, as nearest cousin by affinite unto sir John Chandos, if by the false conveyance of the said Katrington, it had not bin made away and alienated into the enemies hands, hee offered therefore to trie the quarrell by combat, against the saide Katrington, whereupon the same Katrington was apprehended, and putte in prison, but shortly after set at libertie againe.

[* II]

Whilst

Whilst the Duke of Lancaster* during the time that his father King Edward lay in hys last sicknesse, did in al things what liked him, and so at the contemplation of the lord Latimer as was thought, hee released Katrington for the time, so that sir John Annesley could not come to the effect of his suite in all the meane time, till now. Such as feared to be charged with the like offences, stayed the matter, till at length by the opinion of true and auintiente, knights, it was defyned, that for such a foreign controversse that hadde not risen within the limittes of the realme, but touched possession of thynges on the further side of the sea, it was lawfull to have it tryed by battayle, if the cause were first notified to the conestable and marshal of the realme, and that the combate was accepted by the parties.

Here upon was the day and place appointed, and all things provided readie, with lystes rayled and made so substantially, as if the same shoulde have endured for ever. The concourse of people that came to London to see this tried was thought to exceede that of the king's coronation, so desyrous were men to beholde a sight so strange and unaccustomed.

The king and his nobles, and all the people being come togyther in the morning of the day appoynted, to the place where the lystes were set up, the knight being armed and mounted on a fayre courser seemely trapped, entered first as appellant, staying till his adversarie the defendand should come. And shortly after was the esquier called to defend his cause, in this fourme.

Thomas Katrington defendand, come and appeare to save the action, for which sir John Annesley knight and appellant hath publiquely and by writing appelled thee: he being thus called thrise by an herault at armes, at the thirde call he cometh armed likewise, and ryding on a courser trapped with trappes embroidered with his armes.

At his approaching to the lystes he alyght from his horse, least according to the law of armes the conestable shoulde have chalenged the horse if he had entered within the lystes, but his shifting nothing avayled him, for the horse after his maister was alyght beside him, ranne up and downe by the rayles nowe thrusting his heade over, and nowe both heade and breaste, so that the Earlof Buckingham, † bycause he was high conestable of Englande, claymed the horse afterwards, swearing that hee woulde have so much of him as had appeared over the rayles, and so the horse was adjudged unto him.

But now to the matter of the combate (for this chalenge of the horse was made after) as soon as the esquier was come within the lystes the indenture was brought forth by the marshall and conestable, which had been made and sealed before them, with consent of the parties, in which were conteyned the articles exhibited by the knight agaynst the esquier, and there the same was read afore all the assemble.

The esquier, whose conscience was thought not to be cleare, but rather guilte, went about to make exceptions, that his cause by some means might have seemed the sound-

* The famous John of Gaunt.

† One of the king's sons, afterwards duke of Gloucester.

er. But the Duke of Lancaster hearing him so staye at the matter, sware that except according to the conditions of the combate, and the lawe of armes, he woulde admit all things in the indenture comprysed, that were not made without his owne consent, he shoulde as guilty of the treason forthwith he had forth to execution:

The duke with these words wanne great commendation, and avoyded no small suspicion that had beene conveyed of him, as partialle to the esquier's cause. The esquire hearing all this, sayd; that he durst fight with the knight; not onely in these poyntes, but in all other in the worlde, whatsoever the same might be: for he trusted more to his strength of bodie, and favour of his friendes, than in the cause which he had taken upon hym to defende. He was indeede a mightie man of stature; where the knight among those that were of a mean stature was one of the least.

Friendes to the esquier in whom he had great affyance to be borne out through their assystance, were the lords Latimer and Basset wyth other.

Before they entered battalle, they tooke an othe, as well the knight as the esquier, that the cause in which they were to fight was true, and that they dealt with no witch craft, nor arte magicke whereby they might obteyne the victorie of their adversarie, nor had about the any herb or stone, or other kind of experiment with wich magicians use to triumph over theyr enemies: This othe received of either of them, and therewith having made their prayers devoutly, they begin the battayle, first with speares, after with swordes, and lastly with daggers.

They fought long, till finally the

knight had bereft the esquier of all his weapons, and at length the esquier was manfully overthrown by the knight: but as the knight woulde have fallen upon the esquier, through sweate that ran downe by his helmet, his sighte was hyndered, so that thinking to fall upon the esquier, hee fell downe sideling himselfe, not comming neare to the esquier, who perceyving what had happened, although he was almost overcome with long fighting, made to the knight, and threw himself upon him, so that many thought the knight shoulde have been overcome: other doubted not but that the knight woulde recover his feete againe, and get the victorie of his adversarie.

The king in the mean tyme caused it to bee proclaymed that they should stay, and that the knight shoulde bee raysed up from the ground; and so ment to take up the matter betwixt them:

To be short, such were sent as should take up the esquier, but coming to the knight, hee besought them, that it might please the king to permit them to lie still, for he thanked God hee was well, mistrusted not to obtayned the victorie, if the esquier might be layde upon him, in manner as he was earst.

Finally when it would not bee so granted, he was contented to be raysed up, and was no sooner set upon his feete, but he cheerfully went to the king, without any man's helpe, where the esquier could neither stand nor go without the helpe of two men to holde him up, and therefore was set in his chaire to take his ease; to see if he might recover his strength.

The knight, at his coming before the king, besought him and his no-
[*H 2] blez

bles to graunt him so much, that hee might be eftsoons layde on the ground as before, and the esquier to be laid aloft upon him, for the knight perceived that the esquier through excessive heat, and the weight of his armor, did marvellously faint, so as his spirits were in maner taken from him. The king and the nobles perceyving the knight so courageously to demand to trie the battel forth to the utterance, offering great summes of money, that so it might be done, decreed that they should be restored again to the same plight in which they lay when they were raised up: but in the mean time the esquier fainting, and falling down in a swoone, fel out of his chaire as one that was like to yield up his last breth presently among them. Those that stood about him cast wine and water upon him, seeking so to bring him againe, but all would not serve, till they had plucked off his armor, and his whole apparel, which thing proved the knight to be vanquisher, and the esquier to be vanquished.

After a little time the esquier began to come to himself, and lifting up his eyes, began to holde up his hed, and to cast a gastly looke on every one about him: which when it was reported to the knight, he commeth to him armed as he was (for he had put off no peece since the beginning of the fight) and speaking to him, called him traitor, and false perjured man, asking him if he durst trie the battel with him againe: but the esquier having neither sense nor spirite whereby to make answer, proclamation was made that the battell was ended, and every one might go to his lodging.

The esquier immediately after he was brought to his lodging, and layde in bed, beganne to wax raging woode, and so continuing still out of hys wittes, about nine of the clocke the next day he yeelded up the ghost.

This combate was fought (as before ye have heard) the viith of June, to the great reioysing of the common people and discouragement of traytours.

*Account of Chelsea College; from
Layson's Environs of London.*

THE Royal Hospital at Chelsea stands a small distance from the river-side; it is built of brick, except the coins, cornices, pediments, and columns, which are of freestone. The principal building consists of a large quadrangle, open on the south side: in the centre stands a bronze statue of the founder, Charles II. in a Roman habit, the gift of Mr. Tobias Rustat.* The east and west sides, each 365 feet in length, † are principally occupied by wards for the pensioners; at the extremity of the former is the governor's house, in which there is a very handsome state-room surrounded with portraits of Charles I. and II.; William III. and his Queen; George II.; their present Majesties, &c. In the centre of each of these wings, and in that of the north front, are pediments of freestone, supported by columns of the Doric order. In the centre of the south front is a portico, supported by similar columns, and on each side a piazza, on the frieze of which is the following inscription: "*In subsidium et leva-*

* It cost 500l. † Measured from the extremity of the north front.

men emeritorum senio, belloque fractum, condidit Carolus Secundus, auxit Jacobus Secundus, perfecere Gulielmus et Maria Rex et Regina, 1690." The internal centre of this building is occupied by a large vestibule, terminating in a dome; on one side is the chapel, and on the other the hall. The former was consecrated by Bishop Compton in the year 1691. It is about 110 feet in length, paved with black and white marble, and wainscotted with Dutch Oak. The altar-piece, which represents the ascension of our Saviour, was painted by Sebastain Ricci.* A rich service of gilt plate, consisting of a pair of massy candlesticks, several large chalices and flaggons, and a perforated spoon, was given by James II.; the organ was the gift of Major Ingram. The hall, where the pensioners dine, is situated on the opposite side of the vestibule, and is of the same dimensions as the chapel. At the upper end is a large picture of Charles II. on horseback, the gift of the earl of Ranelagh; it was designed by Verrio, and finished by Henry Cooke.† The whole length of the principal building, as it extends from east to west, is 790 feet; a wing having been added at each end of the north side of the great quadrangle, which forms part of a smaller court. These courts are occupied by various offices, and the infirmaries; the latter are kept remarkably neat, and supplied with hot, cold, and vapour baths. To the north of the college is an inclosure of about thirteen acres, planted with avenues of limes and horse-chesnuts; and towards the south, extensive gardens. The whole of the premises consists of about fifty acres.

The establishment of the Royal Hospital or College at Chelsea, consists of a governor, lieutenant-governor, major, two chaplains, an organist, a physician, surgeon, apothecary, secretary, steward, treasurer, controller, clerk of the works, and various subordinate officers. The number of ordinary pensioners is 336; these men must have been twenty years in his majesty's service; but such as have been maimed or disabled, may be admitted at any period. The number of those who can enjoy the advantages of this establishment, being so small in proportion to that of the brave veterans who stand in need of them, the present governor, very much to his credit, has made a rule, that except under very particular circumstances, no person shall be admitted into the house under sixty years of age; by this means the benefit of the charity is appropriated with much greater certainty to those who are its most proper objects. The pensioners who live in the house (commonly called the in-pensioners) are provided with clothes (an uniform of red lined with blue); lodging and diet, besides which they have an allowance of eight-pence a week. The college being considered as a military establishment, the pensioners are obliged to mount guard, and to perform other garrison duty. They are divided into eight companies, each of which has its proper complement of officers, serjeants, corporals, and drummers. The officers, who have the nominal rank of captain, lieutenant, and ensign, are chosen from the most meritorious old serjeants in the army, and have an allowance of three shillings and sixpence per week; these serjeants have

* Anecdotes of Painting, vol. iii. p. 142,

† Ibid. vol. iii. p. 92.

two shillings; the corporals and drummersten-pence. Two serjeants, four corporals, and fifty-two of the most able privates, are appointed, by the King's sign-manual, to act as a patrol on the road from Chelsea to Pimlico, for which duty they have an additional allowance. The patrol consists of half the number here mentioned, the duty being taken alternately. There is likewise in the college a small corps, called the light horsemen, thirty-four in number, who are allowed two shillings per week, and are chosen indiscriminately out of any of the regiments of cavalry. The various servants of the college, among whom are twenty-six nurses, make the whole number of its inhabitants above five hundred and fifty. There are also belonging to the establishment, four hundred serjeants, who are out-pensioners, and receive a shilling a day; these are called king's letter-men, and are appointed, half by the governor, and half by the secretary at war. The number of private out-pensioners is unlimited; their allowance is five-pence per day, and they are always paid half a year's pension in advance. Their number has been much increased since the passing of the militia-act; they are now upwards of twenty-one thousand, and are dispersed all over the three kingdoms, at their various occupations, being liable to be called upon to perform garrison-duty as invalid companies in time of war. The expences of this noble institution (excepting about 7000*l.* which arises from poundage of the household troops,* and is applied towards the payment of the out-pensioners) are defrayed by an annual sum voted by

parliament. The yearly expence of the house-establishment, including the salaries of the officers, repairs, and other incidental charges, varies from 25,000*l.* to 28,000*l.* The internal affairs of the hospital are regulated by commissioners appointed by the crown, and consisting of the governor, lieutenant-governor, and some of the principal officers of state, who hold a board, as occasion requires, for the paying of out-pensioners, and other business.

Articles of Reconciliation between a Man and his Wife, Oct. 9, 1629; from the same.

IT was agreed between Joseph Caron and Margery, his wife, in manner and form following:

I, Joseph Caron, do willingly promise to my wife Margery, that upon condition that she will not hereafter make farther inquiry into any thing that hath in time past occasioned jealousy on her part, I from this time forward will forbear the private company of any woman or maid whom she may suspect to be dishonestly inclined; and in particular, because of her former suspicions, how unjust soever, I do promise to estrange myself from Mrs. Large and Mrs. Colmer, and whomsoever else she hath formerly suspected: and that I will forbear striking her and provoking speeches, and be as often with her at meals as I can conveniently, and in all things carry myself as a loving husband ought to do to his wife: In witness whereof I have subscribed my name the day and year above mentioned.

JOSEPH CARON.

* Since Mr. Burke's bill, the army poundage is confined to those troops.

I, Margery

I, Margery Caron, do willingly promise to my foresaid husband, Joseph Caron, that upon condition that he perform faithfully what he hath promised, I will from this day forward forbear to inquire into any thing that hath in time passed occasioned jealousy in me towards my husband; and in particular do acquit Mrs. Colmer, by these presents, from any guilt of dishonesty with my husband, being now persuaded of his innocence therein, whatsoever I have formerly said to the contrary; and do promise, for the time to come, the premises being duly performed on my husband's part, to carry myself towards him in all things as becometh a loving and faithful wife: In witness whereof I do subscribe my name the day and year above written.

MARGERY CARON.

Account of Canons, the celebrated Seat of the Duke of Chandos, in the Parish of Staunmore Parva; from the same.

THE magnificent mansion, built upon this estate, about the year 1712, by Mr. Brydges, afterwards duke of Chandos, has been frequently celebrated in verse and prose.* It stood at the end of a spacious avenue, being placed diagonally so as to shew two sides of the building, which at a distance

gave the appearance of a front of prodigious extent. Vertue describes it as a noble square pile all of stone; the four sides almost alike, with statues on the front: within was a small square of brick, not handsome; the out-offices of brick and stone, very convenient and well disposed. The hall richly adorned with marble statues, busts, &c. The ceiling of the staircase by Thornhill. The grand apartments finely adorned with paintings sculpture and furniture.† The columns which supported the building were all of marble, as was the great staircase, each step of which was made of an entire block, above twenty feet in length.‡ The whole expence of the building and furniture is said to have amounted to 200,000l.§ James of Greenwich was the architect. Dr. Alexander Blackwell, author of a treatise on agriculture, was employed to superintend the works without doors;¶ and it is probable that he laid out the gardens and pleasure-grounds, which abounded with vistas, lakes, canals, and statues, in the taste then prevalent. The duke's manner of living corresponded with the magnificence of his mansion, and fell little short of the state of a sovereign prince. When Pope's well known satire against false taste came out, it was immediately supposed to have been directed against Canons and its noble owner, there characterized under

* Samuel Humphreys wrote a poem upon Canons, addressed to the duke of Chandos, folio 1728. It speaks of the place in terms of general panegyric; but contains little of description. There is another poem on Canons by Gildon.

† MS. in the cart of Orford's collection at Strawberry-Hill.

‡ Defoe's Tour through England.

§ Hawkins's history of music, vol. v. p. 1793.

¶ Gentleman's Magazine, September 1747.

the name of Timon.* Dr. Johnson in his life of that poet says, "from the reproach which the attack on a character so amiable brought upon him, he tried all means of escaping. He was at last reduced to shelter his temerity behind dissimulation, and endeavoured to make that disbelieved which he had never the confidence openly to deny.† He wrote an exculpatory letter to the duke, which was answered with great magnanimity, as by a man who accepted his excuse without believing his professions."‡ There is a print of Hogarth's in which he represents Pope white-washing the earl of Burlington's house, and bespattering the duke of Chandos's

carriage as it passes by. Admitting what there is little doubt of, the poet's application of his satire to Canons, his concluding lines are singularly prophetic :

Another age shall see the golden ear
Imbrown the slope and nod on the
parterre,
Deep harvests bury all his pride has
plann'd,
And laughing Ceres reassume the land.§

When the Duke of Chandos died, this magnificent mansion being thought to require an establishment too expensive for the income of his successor, after fruitless attempts to dispose of it entire, was pulled down, and the materials sold by auction in the year 1747. The grand staircase

* The most striking passages in the satire applicable to Canons are the following :

Greatness with Timon dwells in such a draught
As brings all Brobdingnag before your thought :
To compass this, his building is a town,
His pond an ocean, his parterre a down.
The suffering eye, inverted nature sees,
Trees cut like statues, statues thick as trees.
And now the chapel's silver bell you hear,
That summons you to all the pride of pray'r,
Light quirks of music, broken and uneven,
Make the soul dance upon a jig to heaven.
On painted ceilings you devoutly stare,
Where sprawl the saints of Verrio and Laguerre,
On gilded clouds in fair expansion lie,
And bring all paradise before your eye.
But hark the chiming clocks to dinner call,
A hundred footsteps grace the marble hall.

† There is certainly something equivocating in what he says in the prologue to his satires :

Who to the Dean and silver bell can swear,
And sees at Canons what was never there.

There is no doubt if he intended at all to disguise his satire he would introduce some extraneous circumstances. After all, I think the chapel is the most characteristic feature in the portrait.

‡ Lives of the Poets, vol. iv. p. 89.

§ It is a remarkable circumstance, that Warburton, in his first edition of Pope's works, admits the application of the satire to Canons, by observing upon this passage, that "had the poet lived three years longer, he had seen his prophecy fulfilled." In a future edition, as if anxious to explain away what upon consideration he thought might confirm a charge not creditable to his friend, he alters his observation thus: that "he would have seen his general prophecy against all ill-judged magnificence displayed in a very particular instance."

is now at lord Chesterfield's house in May Fair. An equestrian statue of George the first, which stood in the park, is now in the centre of Leicester Square. The site of Canons, with a considerable lot of the materials, the park, and demesne lands, were purchased by William Hallett, esquire, who built the present villa. His grandson sold it to Dennis O'Kelly, esquire, the well known possessor of the famous horse Eclipse, whose bones lie buried in the park. Canons is now the property of Patrick O'Kelly, nephew of Dennis.*

Curious Letter, wrote by Sir John Lesly to Sir Thomas Riddle, of Gateshead, during the Siege of Newcastle by the Scots, in the Reign of Charles I; an authentic Copy from the original, in the Possession of the Riddle family.

Sir Thamas,

BETWEEN me and Gad it maks my heart bleed bleud to see sic wark gae thro sae trim a gairden as yours. I ha been twa times we my cusin the general, and sae sall I sax times mare afore the wark gae the gate. But (a) gin awe this be dune, sir Thamas, ye maun mak the twenty punds thretty, and I maun hae the tagg'd tail trooper that stans in the staw (b), and the wee trim gacing thing (c) that stands in the newk (d) of the hawe (e), chirping and chirming at the newn tide o' the day, and forty bows (f) of bier to saw (g) the mons with awe.

* Dennis O'Kelly, esq. was buried at Whitechurch, in the parish vault, Jan. 7, 1788.

(a) Before. (b) Stable. (c) A chime clock. (d) Corner. (e) Hall. (f) Bolls of barley. (g) To strike the bargain. (h) The great chest of records in Edinburgh old church. (i) Hurt or damage. (k) Into the bargain.

And as I am a chevalier of fortin and a lim of the house of Rothas, as the muckle (h) main kist in Edinburgh auld kirk can weel witness, for these aught hundred years and mare bygainge, nought shall skaith (i) your house within or without, to the validome of a twapenny cheekin.

I am your humble servant,

JOHN LESSLY.

Major-general and captain over saxscore and two men, and some mare, crowner of Cumberland, Northumberland, Marryland and Niddisdale, the Merce, Tiviotdale and Fife, baile of Kirkaldie, governor of Burnt Eland and the Bass, laird of Libberton Tilly and Whooley, siller-tacker of Sterling, constable of Leith, and sir John Lessly, knight, to the bute (k) of awe that.

A Declaration of the Right Honourable James Earl of Derby, Lord Stanley and Strange, of Knoeking and of the Isle of Man, concerning his Resolution to keep the Isle of Man for his Majesty's Service; against all Force whatsoever. Together with his Lordship's Letter in Answer to Commissary-General Ireton.

PLAUSIBLE beginnings are not always the forerunners of good ends. They may promise fair, but it is the end that either crowns all undertakings with reputation or brands them with shame; making a most exact discovery of the undertaker's intentions, whether good or evil. Many honest-meaning men,

who

who eight years since viewed the face of the parliament's actions, and judged of their integrity, their protestations and declarations, entertained a very charitable and honourable opinion both of them and their cause, and therein thought not too much to hazard both their lives and estates with them, who are long since sat down in the chair of repentance, having by sad experience found their large pretences to prove but the shadows of weak performances, and their greatest labours to produce no other effects than to burden this distracted nation with unheard-of tyranny and miserable oppression. But they that beheld their actions, even in their primitive and best times, with a considerate and judicious eye, did easily perceive them to pursue their own ambitious ends more than the welfare of this miserable land; that they were men whose thoughts were filled with blood, and judged them through pretence of zeal to be wolves in sheep's clothing; and what better could be expected from the illegal proceedings of those men who presumed from servants to become masters, but that they should endeavour to bring in democracy, and abolish monarchy; their actions being altogether such as must needs produce strange effects, and set open the flood-gates of ruin to overflow this kingdom.

For my own part, I have with my utmost power and skill taken most perfect and exact notice of all their proceedings, from their first beginning of entrance into action unto this day; and therein can find nothing but a large comment upon that text of Samuel, "rebellion is as the sin of witchcraft." I sat in their house of peers more than a full

year, till finding their courses to be so strangely unparliamentary, I was constrained, with divers others of the loyal nobility, to forsake the house, and repair into my country, being truly ashamed to bear any part in their rebellious enterprizes, wherein they have proceeded with such impudent violence, that they have plundered and ruined all the ancient nobility and gentry of this kingdom; fought many desperate and bloody battles against their sovereign, his children, and subjects; imprisoned his sacred person; and not only so, but, that they might outgo all their predecessors in rebellion, and become unprecedented therein, they clouded the very rays of sacred majesty, in bringing the royal owner of the throne to their bar of injustice; and beyond all that, upon a scaffold, at high noon-day, in the face of the world, as a malefactor, before his own court-gate, in his usual place of recreation, after a most shameful manner, by the hands of the common hangman, inhumanly murdered their sovereign, unheaded the Lord's anointed; and not contented with his blood, in prosecution of their most deadly and implacable malice, have since, to the utmost of their power, endeavoured to stain the candour of his royal name, in fixing thereon the ignominious brands of tyrant, traitor, and murderer; styling him, in all their prints, the grand and capital enemy of the kingdom, and laying their guilt of all the blood that hath been shed upon his innocent shoulders: and beyond all this, have quite discarded, banished, and cashiered, all the royal issue, and solemnly proclaimed our present dread sovereign lord, king Charles the second; and

and his princely brother the duke of York, traitors in the usual places, to the amazement and detestation of the whole world.

And whereas there hath been of late some overtures made to me by one Henry Ireton, who styles himself commissary-general of their army, whom his manners styles the parliament of England, in whose name and for whose service he demands that I deliver up this Isle of Man; and for a grateful acknowledgement of that service, he engages on their part that I shall have an act of indemnity for all that I have done, and my lands to be restored to me without composition, and upon my engagement not to oppose the proceedings of the parliament in their present government, I shall peaceably and quietly enjoy the same; in answer to which I declare, that according to the dictate of my own conscience and reason, and according unto the obligation I stood engaged unto his majesty my late dread sovereign, as well by my common allegiance as by my more particular duty of personal service, in the beginning of these unhappy differences and divisions of the kingdom, I engaged myself on his majesty's party, wherein I have constantly persevered, either in acting or suffering, until this day; concurring with those of the contrary party only in hating detestable neutrality.

According to my best ability, I did diligently execute all such commissions as I did receive from his majesty; and did always use my utmost endeavour to retain the people in their due obedience unto him, as I shall ever faithfully practise towards my present sovereign, his son, holding myself bound unto him in the same bonds of allegiance and

loyalty as I was to the late king, of ever-blessed memory, his father; and do hereby declare, that I do from my very soul abhor all base compliance with any of his majesty's enemies, whether foreign or domestic: and particularly if I could endure to be treacherous, I would never do it with the prevailing party in England, whom I know to have renounced all principles of civility, honour, honesty, and conscience; and whose engagements, vows, protestations, and oaths, I would not take as security for the least atom of dust on which I tread. And I do protest, in the presence of God and the whole world, that in balance to my allegiance, honour, and conscience, I scorn their pardon in reference to any thing I have acted or shall act hereafter: and I value my estate no more than the most contemptible mote that flies in the sun.

And I do hereby declare, that, to the utmost of my power I shall faithfully endeavour to hold out this island to the advantage of his majesty, and the annoyance of all rebels and their abettors, and do cheerfully invite all my allies, friends, and acquaintance, all my tenants in the counties of Lancaster and Chester, or elsewhere, all other his majesty's faithful and loyal subjects, to repair to this island as their general rendezvous and safe harbour, where they shall receive entertainment, and such encouragement as their several qualities and conditions shall require, where we will unanimously employ our forces to the utter ruin of these unmatched and rebellious regicides, and the final destruction of their interest both by land and sea. Neither shall any apprehension of danger, either

to my life or estate, appal me; but I shall, on all occasions, (by God's assistance) shew myself ready to express my duty and loyalty with the hazard of both: and this I shall adventure for the future with more alacrity, forasmuch as, in all my former actings in his majesty's service, I never did any thing, with relation to the trust reposed in me that awakens my conscience to repentance.

DERBY.

*From Castletown, in
the Isle of Man,
July 18, 1649.*

*Letter to General Ireton, in Answer
to his Summons of the Isle of Man.*

Sir,
I HAVE received your letter with indignation, and with scorn return you this answer, that I cannot but wonder whence you should gather any hopes that I should prove, like you, treacherous to my sovereign; since you cannot be insensible of the manifest candour of my former actings in his late majesty's service, from which principles of loyalty I am no whit departed. I scorn your proffer, I disdain your favour, I abhor your treason; and am so far from delivering up this island to your advantage, that I shall keep it with the utmost of my power to your destruction. Take this for your final answer, and forbear any farther solicitation; for if you trouble me with any more messages of this nature, I will burn the paper and hang the messenger. This is the immutable resolution, and shall be the undoubted practice,

of him who accounts it his chief glory to be

His majesty's most loyal
and obedient servant,
DERBY.

*From Castletown.
July 12, 1649.*

*Two Original Letters of King James
the First.*

Copy of a Letter from his Majesty to the Lords, read at the Board, November 12, 1617, touching the Abatement of his Majesty's Household Charge.

LETTER I.

* My Lords,
NO worldly thing is so precious as time. Ye know what task I gave you to work upon during my absence; and what time was limited unto you for the performance thereof. This same chancellor of Scotland was wont to tell me twenty-four years ago, that my house could not be kept upon epigrams: long discourses and fair tales will never repair my estate. *Omnis virtus in actione consistit.* Remember that I told you, the shoe must be made for the foot; and let that be the square of all your proceedings in the business. Abate superfluities in all things, and multitudes of unnecessary officers, wherever they may be placed; but for the household, wardrobe, and pensions, cut and carve as many as may agree with the possibility of my means. Exceed not your own rule of fifty thousand pounds for the household: if you can make it less, I will account it for good service; and that you

you may see I will not spare mine own person, I have sent with this bearer, a note of the superfluous charges concerning my mouth, having had the happy opportunities of this messenger, in an errand so nearly concerning his place. In this, I expect no answer in word, or writing, but only the real performance, for a beginning to relieve me out of my miseries. For now the ball is at your feet, and the world shall bear me witness, that I have put you fairly to it; and so praying God to bless your labours, I bid you heartily farewell.

Your own,

JAMES R.

LETTER II.

My Lords,

I RECEIVED from you yesterday the bluntest letter that, I think, ever king received from his council. Ye write that the green cloth will do nothing, and ye offer me no advice. Why are ye counsellors if ye offer no counsel? An ordinary messenger might have brought me such an answer. It is my pleasure, that my charges be equally with my revenue; and it is just and necessary so to be. For this is a project must be made, and one of the main branches thereof is my house. This project is but to be offered unto you; and how it may be better laid than to agree with my honour and contentment, ye are to advise upon, and then have my consent. If this cannot be performed without diminishing the number of tables, diminished they must be; and if that cannot serve, two or three must be thrust in one. If the green cloth will not make a project for this, some other must do it; if ye cannot find them out, I must only

remember two things; the time must no more be lost; and that there are twenty ways of abatement besides the house, if they be well looked into: and so farewell.

JAMES R.

Description of the Ruin at Thessalonica, or Salonicha, called the Incantada; from Stuart and Revett's Antiquities of Athens, Vol. IV.

WE had visited such objects of curiosity, as our inquiries could discover at Thessalonica before we left it; but, although it was a large and populous city, said at that time to contain 100,000 inhabitants, we found the remains of only one building, the description of which we could flatter ourselves would interest the lovers of ancient art.

This is situated in the Jews quarter. Five Corinthian columns on their pedestals, support an entablature, over which is an attic adorned with figures in alto relievo; on the side next the street are a Victory, a Medea, perhaps, or a Helen, with a diadem and sceptre, a Telephus, and a Ganymede; and, next the court-yard of the Jew's house, a Bacchante dancing and playing on the flute, a Bacchus, a Bacchante crowned with vine leaves, and a Leda. It seems difficult, if not impossible, to ascertain the species of building of which this ruin once made a part: for, though the figures I have specified would seem to be proper decorations for a theatre, no traces were discovered that might confirm the opinion these figures suggested; nor does the vulgar tradition of the place afford any light that may assist our inquiries. I will, however, relate the account they give,

give, just as I received it, since it may give the reader some idea of the present Greeks, shew their propensity for the marvellous; and the facility with which, from a few given circumstances, they can make out a wonderful story.

This building they call Goetria the *Incantada*, and affirm it to have been the work of magic art. On being asked when, and on what occasion, this extraordinary fact was performed, they answered, "the fact was undoubted; every body knew that their great king, Alexander, conquered Persia; when he was preparing to invade that empire, he solicited the assistance of a king of Thrace, who accordingly united his forces to those of his Macedonian neighbour, attending in person, with his family, at the court of Alexander, where they were royally entertained, and lodged in a sumptuous palace, near his own, communicating with it by means of a magnificent gallery, of which these columns are the remains. The Thracian queen, a lady of transcendent beauty, accompanied her husband on this visit. Alexander, young, and unaccustomed to control his passions, ardent in the pursuits of love as of glory, dazzled with such excess of charms, determined to violate the rights of hospitality and seduce the queen of Thrace. He contrived, by means of this gallery, to pay her frequent visits, though not so privily as to escape the notice of her husband, who, having verified

his suspicions, resolved to take a dreadful revenge on the deluder. He had, in his train, a skilful necromancer from Pontus, who, discovering by his art the instant that Alexander was to pass to the queen's apartment, scattered his spells and charms throughout this gallery; they were of such marvellous power, that whoever should, at a certain hour, attempt to pass, would inevitably be converted into stone. Aristotle, a conjuror, attached to Alexander, and of skill greatly superior to the man of Pontus, discovered his danger time enough to prevent it: by his advice and entreaties, Alexander was prevailed on to forbear for once his intended visit. The impatient queen, tired with expectation, sent one of her confidential servants to see if her lover was coming, and she herself soon followed. At this instant, the king, supposing the magic had worked all its effect, issued forth, attended by his conjuror, to feast his eyes with a sight of the revenge he had taken; when, strange to relate, both companies, those with the king, as well as those with the queen, were instantly changed to stone, and remain to this hour a monument of vengeance on a jealous husband and an unfaithful wife."

The architecture of this building is very indifferent in point of taste; and is probably much posterior to the other specimens described in this work.

MISCELLANEOUS ESSAYS.

On the Instability of the Greek and Roman Republics ; from Whitaker's real Origin of Government.

THEN rose republics. The first that made its appearance in the world was at Athens. The keen genius of Attica, wanting to try an experiment upon the universal polity of man, to substitute a creature of its own reason for the fabrication of God's wisdom, and to violate the primogenial law of nature in favour of a fantastical theory; took advantage of the death of a self-devoted monarch, and, in a pretended fear of never having so good a monarch again, most ungratefully deprived his family of the crown, by venturing upon the bold innovation of erecting a republic. They thus inverted the pyramid of government, made it to stand upon its point, and reared its base in the air. The example, however, was afterwards followed by all the states of Greece. They all gave free scope to their fancies, in modelling their governments. They cut them to this form, they carved them to that. But they still reduced them nearer and nearer to an inefficient simplicity of power. They then considered them as more or less perfect in their republican nature. Yet they could find none that would give them the promised

happiness. They were wretched under all. The grand principle of all, in supposing the power of government to be originally in the people, in believing the subjects to be virtually the sovereigns, in affirming the servants to be vitally the masters; propositions surely, however familiar to our ears at present, calculated only for the meridian of St. Luke's Hospital; this precluded all possibility of settlement; changes succeeded to changes, all was distraction, confusion, and misery. Having thrown their little world of society off from that central pin of authority, upon which it had been founded by God himself, they could never find a rest for it again. The divine equipoise had been rashly destroyed by the hand of man, and man felt his folly in his sufferings. The imputed power of the people was like the water of the ocean, now breaking through all its bounds as the balance of the globe was gone, and now sweeping in an irresistible deluge over the land. Yet, with something like the infatuation of the Jews in receiving their false Messiahs, they still welcomed every pretender to the cause of liberty, still hailed every factious man as a friend, and attached themselves to every reformer as a deliverer. These "declared," says Plutarch himself at a particular period

riod of their Sicilian history, "that the end of their coming was to introduce liberty, and depose monarchs; but they did so tyrannize themselves, that the reign of the tyrants seemed a golden age, compared with the rule of these deliverers; which made the Sicilians to esteem those more happy who had expired in slavery, than they who survived to see such a freedom." Nay, their feelings had been so severely wounded by this popular kind of tyranny, that when Timoleon had recovered their capital from its oppressions, he found the market-place rankly overgrown with grass, horses actually feeding upon it, and the groom lying upon the ground to attend them, that he therefore invited the emigrants to come back, and re-inhabit their desolated city; that few however came, "so much," adds the historian in a strain remarkably apposite to modern times, "did they dread and abhor the very name of those communities, and municipalities, and tribunals, which had produced the greatest part of their tyrants."

The power which had created the first revolution in Rome, was perpetually called upon to create others. Consuls, dictators, plebeian tribunes, military tribunes, or decemvirs, were successively and interchangeably appointed. The scale of power in the state under all, was continually sinking towards the people, till it touched the very ground at last. It sunk, therefore, loaded more and more with misery to them. They became the dupes of ambitious men, enlisted as partizans in their pursuits, and engaged as champions in their contests; were embarrassed with seditions, scourged with rebellions, and racked with

revolutions. At the last of these revolutions, Lucan describes one of the personages in his poetical history bursting out with all the agony of feeling for his wretched country; and exclaiming with envy at the happiness of the most absolute monarchies on the earth.

Felices Arabes, Medique Eoaque tellus,
Quam sub perpetuis tenuerunt Fata tyr-
rannis!

Geography considered in a political Point of View; from Mercier's Fragments.

WHSOEVER admits an original plan in the universe, whoever rejects the words fatality and chance, and surveys with an attentive eye the empires of ancient and modern times, will perceive an order of demarcation upon the surface of our globe, and will not fail to recognize the hand that traced the limits and erected the ramparts. He will behold nations mutually contending till they are confined within the geographical circle drawn by nature; in that enclosure they enjoy the repose which was denied them when they overleaped the bounds.

When in the height of metaphysics, we feel something that resists, that repels us forcibly, that defeats us in spite of our efforts, it is a decisive mark that we go beyond our limits, and strain to surpass our natural capacity: it is a secret admonition which reminds us of our frailty, and corrects a presumptuous weakness. But, in the material world, when an evident principle enlightens reason at the commencement of its researches, it is a certain token that the mind possesses a fund of resources which will enable it to draw

draw infallible conclusions. Let us first be natural philosophers: I have thought I could discern on the globe a decided intention of nature to separate states without too much disjoining them, to delineate geometrically the form of empires, and to domiciliate kingdoms; I have thought I could perceive that the globe was so configured, as that navigation would one day be the tie to bind together the human race. These ideas will no doubt please those who, struck with the harmonious immensity, believe, that the government of the universe presides majestically and necessarily over all other governments. We need only use our eyes, perhaps, to be convinced of these new truths: an attentive survey of geographical charts determines, in some measure, the positive extent of states; for the mountains, the rivers, and the lakes, are the unquestionable boundaries and guardians which kind nature has placed for the preservation and tranquillity of human associations.

But if the order of nature have visibly separated empires, it has on another hand decreed, that they shall have a mutual commerce of knowledge; its design in this respect is not concealed. When I hold in my hand a fragment of loadstone, and reflect that this stone, which appears in no way remarkable, informs us constantly of the direction of the north, and renders possible and easy the navigation of the most unknown seas, I have about me a convincing proof that nature intended a social life for man. All these indications of design seem, therefore, to evince that her views tend simply to unite men, and make them share in common the good things disseminated over the globe.

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Whenever, for the preservation of the whole, a great crisis of nature occasions the disruption of a small portion of the globe, you suddenly perceive seas arise where islands were swallowed up. Never has a gulf, never has a large gap, invincibly separated the different parts of the globe; on the contrary, the soft girdle of the waters every where invites man, every where presents to him roads more dangerous than difficult, and which his courage and genius have surmounted. The celebrated English navigator, who discovered the inhabited islands in the Pacific Ocean, sailed from the Thames, passed the Antipodes of London, and performed the circuit of the earth. Lastly, since it has latterly been discovered, by a never-erring experience, that winds, which blow constantly during a certain season of the year, waft our ships to India, and that contrary winds, prevailing during another season, convey them back again to our ports—it is impossible not to recognize certain admirable guides, calculated to approximate and unite the most remote nations. If man has learned to construct a vessel, a bridge upon the ocean, if this frail machine nevertheless braves the angry elements; it is because the primary intention of nature was that men of all climates should not be strangers to each other: A dark cloud conceals from us the nations which inhabit the northern extremity of America; but a slight convulsion of the globe may suddenly form a sea, to conduct our vessels among these new nations; and, in a similar way, although the interior parts of Africa be nearly as much unknown as the centre of the earth, it requires only a happy occurrence

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to

to open for us the route. The great views of nature will sooner or later be accomplished.

For the same reason that she gives mountains a gentle slope, to allow a free access to them, and facilitate the entrance into the vallies, she has distributed in all directions a profusion of rivers and seas; every thing announces a circulation similar to that in the human body. She therefore wills, that all the people of the earth should be knit by the bonds of union, but without clashing suddenly, and being too readily blended. Thus, by extending and connecting our various branches of knowledge, we shall find that they all tend to the improvement of the human species; and in this view art is nature.

On Didactic Poetry; from a critical Essay on Akenside's Pleasures of the Imagination, by Mrs. Barbauld.

DIDACTIC or preceptive poetry seems to include a solecism, for the end of poetry is to please, and of didactic precept the object is instruction. It is however a species of poetry which has been cultivated from the earliest stages of society; at first, probably, for the simple purpose of retaining, by means of the regularity of measure, and the charms of harmony, the precepts of agricultural wisdom, and the aphorisms of economical experience. When poetry came to be cultivated for its own sake, it was natural to esteem the didactic, as in that view it certainly is, as a species of inferior merit, compared with those which are more peculiarly the work of imagination; and accordingly in the

more splendid era of our own poetry it has been much less cultivated than many others. Afterwards, when poetry was become an art, and the more obvious sources of description and adventure were in some measure exhausted, the didactic was resorted to, as affording that novelty and variety which began to be the great desideratum in works of fancy.

This species of writing is likewise favoured by the diffusion of knowledge, by which many subjects become proper for general reading which, in a less informed state of society, would have savoured of pedantry and abstruse speculation: for poetry cannot descend to teach the elements of any art or science, or confine itself to that regular arrangement and clear brevity which suit the communication of unknown truths. In fact, the muse would make a very indifferent school mistress.

Whoever, therefore, reads a didactic poem ought to come to it with a previous knowledge of his subject; and whoever writes one, ought to suppose such a knowledge in his readers. If he is obliged to explain technical terms, to refer continually to critical notes, and to follow a system step by step with the patient exactness of a teacher, his poem, however laboured, will be a bad poem. His office is rather to throw a lustre on such prominent parts of his system as are most susceptible of poetical ornament, and to kindle the enthusiasm of those feelings which the truths he is conversant with are fitted to inspire. In that beautiful poem, the *Essay on Man*, the system of the author, if in reality he had any system, is little attended to, but those passages which breathe
the

the love of virtue, are read with delight, and fix themselves on the memory. Where the reader has this previous knowledge of the subject, which we have mentioned as necessary, the art of the poet becomes itself a source of pleasure, and sometimes in proportion to the remoteness of the subject from the more obvious province of poetry; we are delighted to find with how much dexterity the artist of verse can avoid a technical term, how neatly he can turn an uncouth word, and with how much grace embellish a scientific idea. Who does not admire the infinite art with which Dr. Darwin has described the machine of sir Richard Arkwright? His verse is a piece of mechanism, as complete in its kind as that which he describes. Allured perhaps too much by this artificial species of excellence, and by the hopes of novelty, hardly any branch of knowledge has been so abstruse, or so barren of delight, as not to have afforded a subject to the didactic poet. Even the loathsomeness of disease, and the dry maxims of medical knowledge, have been decorated with the charms of poetry. Many of these pieces however owe all their entertainment to frequent digressions. Where these arise naturally out of the subject, as the description of a sheep-shearing feast in Dyer, or the praises of Italy in the Georgics, they are not only allowable but graceful; but if forced, as is the story of Orpheus and Eurydice in the same poem, they can be considered in no other light than that of beautiful monsters, and injure the piece they are meant to adorn. The subject of a didactic poem therefore ought to be such as is in itself to be attractive

to the man of taste, for otherwise all attempts to make it so, by adventitious ornaments, will be but like loading with jewels and drapery a figure originally defective and ill-made.

Of the Infirmities and Defects of Men of Genius; from D'Israeli's Essay on the Literary Character.

THE modes of life of a man of genius are often tinged with eccentricity and enthusiasm. These are in an eternal conflict with the usages of common life. His occupations, his amusements, and his ardour, are discordant to daily pursuits, and prudential habits. It is the characteristic of genius to display no talent to ordinary men; and it is unjust to censure the latter when they consider him as born for no human purpose. Their pleasures and their sorrows are not his pleasures and his sorrows. He often appears to slumber in dishonourable ease, while his days are passed in labours, more constant and more painful than those of the manufacturer. The world is not always aware that to meditate, to compose, and even to converse with some, are great labours: and as Hawkesworth observes, "that weariness may be contracted in an arm chair."

Such men are also censured for an irritability of disposition. Many reasons might apologize for these unhappy variations of humour. The occupation of making a great name, is, perhaps, more anxious and precarious than that of making a great fortune. We sympathise with the merchant when he communicates

melancholy to the social circle in consequence of a bankruptcy, or when he feels the elation of prosperity at the success of a vast speculation. The author is not less immersed in cares, or agitated by success, for literature has its bankruptcies and its speculations.

The anxieties and disappointments of an author, even of the most successful, are incalculable. If he is learned, learning is the torment of unquenchable thirst, and his elaborate work is exposed to the accidental recollection of an inferior mind, as well as the fatal omissions of wearied vigilance. If he excels in the magic of diction, and the graces of fancy, his path is strewn with roses, but his feet bleed on invisible yet piercing thorns. Rousseau has given a glowing description of the ceaseless inquietudes by which he acquired skill in the arts of composition; and has said, that with whatever talent a man may be born, the art of writing is not easily obtained.

It is observed by M. La Harpe (an author by profession) that as it has been proved there are some maladies peculiar to artists, there are also sorrows which are peculiar to them; and which the world can neither pity nor soften, because it cannot have their conceptions. We read not without a melancholy emotion, the querulous expressions of men of genius. We have a little catalogue de calamitate Litteratorum; we might add a volume by the addition of most of our own authors.

The votaries of the arts and sciences are called, by Cicero, heroes of peace; their labours, their dangers, and their intrepidity, make them heroes; but peace is rarely the ornament of their feverish existence.

Some are now only agreeable,

who might have been great writers, had their application to study, and the modes of their life, been different. In Mr. Greaves's lively recollections of his friend Shenstone, are some judicious observations on this subject. He has drawn a comparison between the elevated abilities of Gray, and the humble talents of Shenstone; and he has essayed to shew, that it was the accidental circumstances of Gray's place of birth, education, his admittance into some of the best circles, and his assiduous application to science, which gave him that superiority over the indolence, the retirement, and the inaction of a want of patronage, which made Shenstone, as Gray familiarly said, "hop round his walks" like a bird in a string.

Men of genius are often revered only where they are known by their writings. In the romance of life they are divinities, in its history they are men. From errors of the mind, and derelictions of the heart, they may not be exempt; these are perceived by their acquaintance, who can often discern only these qualities. The defects of great men are the consolation of the dunces.

For their foibles it appears more difficult to account than for their vices; for a violent passion depends on its direction to become either excellence or depravity; but why their exalted mind should not preserve them from the imbecilities of fools, appears a mere caprice of nature. A curious list may be formed of

"Fears of the brave and follies of the wise." Johnson.

In the note underneath I have thrown together a few facts which may

may be passed over by those who have no taste for literary anecdotes.*

But it is also necessary to acknowledge, that men of genius are often unjustly reproached with foibles. The sports of a vacant mind, are misunderstood as follies. The simplicity of truth may appear vanity, and the consciousness of superiority, envy. Nothing is more usual than our surprise at some great writer or artist contemning the labours of another, whom the public cherish with equal approbation. We place it to the account of his envy; but perhaps this opinion is erroneous, and claims a concise investigation.

Every superior writer has a manner of his own, with which he has been long conversant, and too often inclines to judge of the merit of a performance by the degree it attains of his favourite manner. He errs, because impartial men of taste are addicted to no manner, but love whatever is exquisite. We often see readers draw their degree of comparative merit from the manner of their favourite author; an author does the same; that is, he draws it from himself. Such a partial standard of taste is erroneous; but it is more excusable in the author than in the reader.

* Voiture was the son of a vintner, and, like our Prior, was so mortified whenever reminded of his original occupation, that it was said of him, that wine which cheered the hearts of all men, sickened that of Voiture. Rousseau, the poet, was the son of a cobbler; and when his honest parent waited at the door of the theatre, to embrace his son on the success of his first piece, the inhuman poet repulsed the venerable father with insult and contempt. Akenside ever considered his lameness as an unsupportable misfortune, since it continually reminded him of his origin, being occasioned by the fall of a cleaver from one of his father's blocks, a respectable butcher. Milton delighted in contemplating his own person, and the engraver not having reached our sublime bard's "ideal grace," he has pointed his indignation in four iambics. Among the complaints of Pope, is that of "the pictured shape." Even the strong-minded Johnson would not be painted "blinking Sam." Mr. Boswell tells us that Goldsmith attempted to shew his agility to be superior to the dancing of an ape, whose praise had occasioned him a fit of jealousy, but he failed in imitating his rival. The inscription under Boileau's portrait, describing his character with lavish panegyric, and a preference to Juvenal and Horace, is unfortunately known to have been written by himself.

This observation will serve to explain several curious phenomena in literature. The witty Cowley despised the natural Chaucer; the classical Boileau, the rough sublimity of Crebillon; the forcible Corneille, the tender Racine; the affected Marivaux, the familiar Moliere; the artificial Gray, the simple Shenstone. Each alike judged by that peculiar manner he had long formed. In a free conversation they might have contemned each other; and a dunce, who had listened without taste or understanding, if he had been a haberdasher in anecdotes, would have hastened to reposit in his warehouse of literary falsities, a long declamation on the vanity and envy of these great men.

It has long been acknowledged that every work of merit, the more it is examined, the greater the merit will appear. The most masterly touches, and the reserved graces which form the pride of the artist, are not observable, till after a familiar and constant meditation. What is most refined is least obvious; and to some must remain unperceived for ever.

But ascending from these elaborate strokes in composition, to the views and designs of an author, the

more profound and extensive these are, the more they elude the reader's apprehension. I refine not too much when I say, that the author is conscious of beauties, that are not in his composition. The happiest writers are compelled to see some of their most magnificent ideas float along the immensity of mind, beyond the feeble grasp of expression. Compare the state of the author with that of the reader; how copious and overflowing is the mind of the one to the other; how more sensibly alive to a variety of exquisite strokes which the other has not yet perceived; the author is familiar with every part, and the reader has but a vague notion of the whole. How many noble conceptions of Rousseau are not yet mastered! How many profound reflections of Montesquieu are not yet understood! How many subtle lessons are yet in Locke, which no preceptor can teach!

Such, among others, are the reasons which may induce an author to express himself in language which may sound like vanity. To be admired, is the noble simplicity of the ancients, (imitated by a few elevated minds among the moderns) in expressing with ardour the consciousness of genius. We are not more displeased with Dryden than with Cicero, when he acquaints us of the great things he has done, and those he purposes to do. Modern modesty might, perhaps, to some be more engaging, if it were modesty; but our artificial blushes are like the ladies' temporary rouge, ever ready to colour the face on any occasion. Some will not place their names to their books, yet prefix it to their advertisements; others pretend to be the editors of their own works; some compliment themselves in the third person; and many, concealed

under the shade of anonymous criticism, form panegyrics, as elaborate and long as Pliny's on Trajan, of their works and themselves: yet, in conversation, start at a compliment, and quarrel at a quotation. Such modest authors resemble certain ladies, who in public are equally celebrated for the coldest chastity.

Consciousness of merit characterises men of genius; but it is to be lamented that the illusions of self-love are not distinguishable from the reality of consciousness. Yet, if we were to take from some their pride of exultation, we annihilate the germ of their excellence. The persuasion of a just posterity smoothed the sleepless pillow, and spread a sunshine in the solitude of Bacon, Montesquieu, and Newton; of Cervantes, Grey, and Milton. Men of genius anticipate their contemporaries, and know they are such, long before the tardy consent of the public.

They have also been accused of the meanest adulations; it is certain that many have had the weakness to praise unworthy men, and some the courage to erase what they have written. A young writer unknown, yet languishing for encouragement, when he first finds the notice of a person of some eminence, has expressed himself in language which gratitude, a finer reason than reason itself, inspired. Strongly has Milton expressed the sensations of this passion, "the depth immense of endless gratitude." Who ever pays an "immense debt" in small sums?

*Whimsical Expences of Economy;
from the Gentleman's Magazine.*

DO you know, Mr. Urban, that I am in the high road to be ruined

ruined by economy? Never did a poor man pay so dear in order to save money; and it is all owing to the cry that you and others have set up about scarcity, that I am fairly driven out of my own house, and am the laughing-stock of all my neighbours.

You must know that I have the good fortune to enjoy the best wife in the world. She is a pattern to all her acquaintance. She looks into every thing herself, is quite notable, a great manager; an excellent market-woman, and knows the cheapest shop in town for every article that we want. This is not only a great comfort as well as saving to ourselves, but a great convenience to our friends; for, when any of them want to buy a gown, or a pound of raisins, they are sure not only to consult my wife, but to take her with them for fear that they should be imposed upon; and the kind soul is every day upon her feet trudging into the city with one friend or another, because really in the city things may be bought for almost half price: and this I can assure you is true, from the extraordinary bargains that she constantly makes.

But, Mr. Urban, to my misfortunes. I need not tell you, sir, who have so well described the present scarcity, that every feeling heart is anxious to lessen the consumption of wheat, and to make as great a saving as possible of bread in these hard times. The number of substitutes for flour which have been suggested by the ingenious sir John Sinclair, president of the board of agriculture, and others, struck my wife very forcibly. "Dear me!" she said one morning at breakfast—"how simple the receipt is!—Just

one half flour, and one half potatoes. I declare I will try it—and then we shall make our own bread, and what a saving that will be! It is but having a little cast-iron oven put up at the side of the kitchen-grate, and it will be the most convenient and handy thing in the world—it will bake a pie, or a few tarts upon occasion; and you know, my love, it will keep your leg of mutton hot and comfortable any time that you should happen to be detained at Lloyd's. What do you think of it, my dear?" I never have an opinion of my own upon any subject of this kind. My wife is sovereign out of the counting-house, which is my only territory. "My dear, says I—"you know best. It is surely the duty of every one to lessen the consumption of wheat; and, if you think a mixed bread will answer, I would have you try it; but, my love, might you not make your experiment, and send the loaf to the bakehouse, and not buy an oven till you see how it answers?" "Oh dear, no, by no means; now that is always your way. My God! trust a baker with an experiment when he is to be deprived of our custom if it succeeds! No, I thank you. Why, he would burn it on purpose." There is no arguing with my wife, she is so clever; and, besides, when once she takes up a thing, she finds out so many advantages in a minute, that did not strike her at first, that the second reasons are often more forcible than the original inducement. This was precisely the case about the little cast-iron oven; it was thought of only for the sake of the potatoe-bread; but such a variety of uses for an oven came crowding upon her mind, that she wondered

dered how we had ever been able to go on without an oven.—An oven would save itself in two months in the expence of fuel; for she declared for her own part that she liked baked meat as well as roast; and, whenever I dined out, she and the children could do very well with a bit of a beef-steak pie, or a baked shoulder of mutton; and, besides, a cast-iron oven was no expence—she saw one sold at an auction for a couple of guineas, and she knew the broker that bought it; he lived in Moorfields, for she often dealt with him.—I did not say a word more.

When I came home to dinner, my wife told me, with great joy, that she had got the oven, and the bricklayer was coming in the morning to set it; and she had only paid two guineas and a half, and it was as good as new. There was not a single crack about it, and it was quite charming. There was only one thing that she did not know how to manage—there was not room by the side of the fire for the oven without removing the boiler. But she was sure, if the bricklayer had not been an ass, he might have contrived it somehow. But, hang the copper, it was not wanted often; it might be put up in the little back cellar under the counting-house. It would be easy, the bricklayer said, to carry up a flue. I saw she had settled the whole plan, and she entertained me during dinner with the preparations she had made for our new bread. She was sure, she said, that potatoes would be dear, because every body was going to eat them, and she had therefore the precaution to buy in as many as she thought would serve us for the win-

ter. “Good God! my dear, they will spoil. Where can you keep them?” “I warrant you I’ll find room,” says she; “and as to their spoiling, I’ll answer for them. How do I preserve pears till the month of June? and surely they are more delicate than potatoes.” I know how clever my wife is at these things. Her preserves are excellent, and there is not a week but some of our friends are forced to send to us for a pot or two, when their own are all spoilt; and my wife always takes care to have enough on that very account.

Well, sir, next day my wife begged of me to dine at the coffee-house, because I knew the kitchen would be quite taken up with the bricklayer; and she was determined to lose no time, for she would have a loaf ready to put in as soon as the oven was set. Well, sir, I went to Slaughter’s coffee-house, and told my friends how necessary it was for every person to set an example, in these hard times, of eating a mixed bread, and that I had determined to introduce it in my own family. Indeed, I said, my wife was actually about it. “Aye, Mr. Cakeling, said a neighbour, you are the man to lead us the way; you have a wife that knows how to do every thing. I’ll be bound that she makes bread fit for a prince if she sets about it.” This is the way, Mr. Urban, that all my friends speak about my wife, she has got such a name for cleverness. So I went home quite full of our new bread—No—quite clated I mean—for oh, Mr. Urban, to this day, and it is six weeks ago since we began to bake, I have not got a bellyful of home-made bread.

I wish I had time to go through all

all our experiments. One time our loaf would not rise—another time it would not come out—it stuck fast to the bottom—it wanted salt, it had too much salt—it was too wet, it was too dry! it was sometimes quite dough, but in general it was burnt to a cinder. It went on this way for the first week; my wife and I could not discover the reason. We had tried potatoes in every way; we had boiled them, meshed them, pulverised them, poured water after water over them to make them white; we had reduced (I say we, for being a national object, I was happy to take a part; besides, I own, I was a little on the alert, for I had promised my friends at Slaughter's to bring them a loaf) we had reduced 20lbs. of potatoes to 2, and had made excellent starch of it, though we could not make bread. We had consumed half the stock of potatoes that was to serve us all winter, without getting a single loaf that was eatable. My wife cried for vexation. She was sure there must be something in the matter that we did not dream of, for she knew as well how to make bread as any baker in England; but she would find it out before she slept.

An old baker, who had now turned flour-factor, of our acquaintance, was called in, not because she did not know, as well as any baker in England, how to make bread; but there might be some knack in managing the oven, that she was unacquainted with—some thing in the way of heating it—or of putting the bread in it—or of taking it out. In short, for once she would take advice. "Lord, Ma'am," says the flour-factor, "it is no wonder you could not succeed—why Ma'am, you have got one of

those kickshaw iron ovens. Lord bless you! they don't answer, they'd burn all the bread in the world before they'd bake it. There's no doing any good with an iron oven." My wife was struck dumb, but yet she was satisfied. She was completely acquitted—the fault did not lie with her; but however, it would be easy to alter it, a small oven might be built for a mere trifle on the good old plan; and an oven I accordingly got.

But mark the consequences. The kitchen chimney was torn down, and some how or other the flue was injured. It was impossible to live in it for smoke. My maid gave us warning, she could not live in it; and I was forced to dine at the coffee-house every day. My wife, however, is a woman of resource. She applied to an ingenious mechanic, who has great skill in chimneys. This man has invented a fine apparatus for a kitchen. He has a range that does every thing—it boils, roasts, stews, and bakes, all by the same fire; and the expence is nothing, for it saves itself in fire in a twelvemonth. Nothing would satisfy my wife but to have a new-fashioned range; and accordingly, at an expence of more than 50l. I have got my kitchen metamorphosed; and I am making mixed bread at no allowance.

My wife has got into the way. This cast-iron oven on the new plan succeeds to a miracle; and I should be quite happy if it were not for the expence. But really Mr. Urban, there is nothing so dear as economy. I calculate that every quartern-loaf of bread, which I make, costs me half-a-crown; and this is not the worst of it. Sometimes we all get the gripes into the bargain.

bargain. I believe that my apothecary's bill will come to a good round sum for counteracting the effects of the staff of life.

I do not ascribe this to my wife; no, sir, she is the best woman upon earth; but you know it was natural that she should try all mixtures. So one day we had wheat and barley, and that gave us dysentery. The next we had a mixture of oatmeal, and that put our blood into a fever; on the third we had potatoe bread, and then we had indigestion. In short, without knowing at first the reason, we have all been unwell: have all had occasion for the apothecary. And we are all beginning again, without venturing, however, to say so, to wish for plain old household bread from the baker.

My neighbours have somehow or another found this out; and I am truly to be pitied. They ask me jeeringly how many hundred weight of potatoes go to a quartern-loaf; and the very flour-factor that my wife called in said to my face, at the Langbourn-Ward Coffee-house, that, if this saving plan went on, all the flour in the kingdom would be wasted; and, to tell you the truth, I begin to think so.

CHRISTOPHER CAKELING.

Cranbourne-alle y, Dec. 23.

Grimaldi; a true Story; from Varieties of Literature, Vol. 1.

DURING the civil war of Genoa, an Italian of the name of Grimaldi, fled to Pisa. Money was the only thing in the universe that could boast of his

friendship and esteem. He maintained, that fortune ought to be pursued in any way and at any price, and that no means were disgraceful but such as did not succeed. He that has a great store of money, he used to say, has but few stings of conscience.

We may readily suppose, that a man of such maxims had formed a settled plan to become rich. Accordingly he began very early to labour at the edifice of his fortune; and even in his youth he merited the appellation of an old miser. With the talent of acquiring riches, he united the far more extraordinary art of keeping them. He lived quite alone. He had neither dog nor cat in the house; because he must have found them in victuals. Neither did he keep a servant; to spare himself the necessity of paying wages. Moreover, he was in continual fear of being robbed; and theft was in his estimation a crime of blacker dye than parricide. He was universally the object of hatred and contempt; but when he felt himself insulted or abused he went straightway home, cast a look at his dear strong box, and was comforted.

The frugality of his meals, and the poverty of his dress, were no deception to the public on the true state of his circumstances, as is usually the case with misers. The cloak of artifice, under which they think to conceal their affluence, frequently serves but to swell it in the eyes of other men; and their avarice is only a sign hung out to invite the thief to enter.

One evening when he had supped in company, (it may be easily imagined that it was not at home,) he was returning to his house very late

late and alone. Some one that had watched his steps, fell upon him with intention to murder him. Grimaldi felt himself stabbed with a poignard, but he had still so much strength as to take to his heels. At the same time came on a dreadful storm. Faint with his wound, his affright, and the rain, Grimaldi threw himself into the shop of a goldsmith, which by chance was still open. This goldsmith was in full pursuit of wealth, like Grimaldi, only that he had fallen upon a way less promising than that of usury. He was in search of the philosopher's stone. This evening he was making a grand projection, and had left open his shop for moderating the heat of his furnace.

Grimaldi's entrance seemed somewhat rude. Fazio, for that was the goldsmith's name, immediately knew the man, and asked him what he did in the street at such an unseasonable hour, and in such terrible weather? Ah! sighed Grimaldi, I am wounded! As he pronounced these words, he sank into a chair, and expired.

Fazio's confusion needs not to be described. He ran up to Grimaldi, tore open his clothes that he might have freer room to breathe, and used every means he could think of to recall him to life, but all in vain; he was dead. Fazio examined the body, and perceived that Grimaldi had a stab in the breast; the wound had closed of itself, so that the blood could not flow out, and he died by suffocation.

Fazio, at this accident, found himself in the greatest distress. The whole neighbourhood was asleep, or had shut up their houses on account of the bad weather. He was quite alone in the house, as his wife

and two children were gone to visit his dying father.

All at once a bold thought came into his head, which under these circumstances seemed easily practicable. He was certain that no one had seen Grimaldi come into his shop. In such continued rain and thunder there was no temptation for people to be gaping at their windows. Besides, by announcing Grimaldi's death, Fazio himself might be brought into suspicion. After weighing maturely the whole of the affair, he shut up his shop, determined to turn the adventure to his own advantage; and in conformity with his passion for transmutations, to make an experiment whether he could not transmute misfortune into fortune, as he had been trying to turn his lead into silver or gold.

Fazio knew of Grimaldi's wealth, or had always suspected him to be rich. He began by searching his pockets, and found, together with some coin, a large bunch of keys. Good! thought he to himself, this is a mark of the favour of heaven; the finger of Providence is manifest in it! That such a terrible storm should come on this night; that my shop should be standing open, that Grimaldi should be wounded, and die in my chair; all this could not happen without a particular dispensation from above. He has no relation, and perhaps even no friend. One stranger is as good as another stranger, and Fazio as good as another heir. I have even one right more. Had it not been for me, he would have died in the street, and have lain in the wet the whole night; who knows whether he did not come into my shop in order to constitute me his heir. His
visit

visit supplies the place of a formal testament. I will quietly take the executorship upon me; that will be the wisest and the safest way. For, should I even go and relate the whole event to the magistracy, I should not be believed. Grimaldi's body is in my house, and every man would account me his murderer; it would cost me a great deal of trouble to prove my innocence. Whereas if I bury him privately, there will be nobody to blab, as nobody will have seen it. And truly between the scaffold and a full coffer it is not very difficult to chuse. Eureka! I have found what I have been so long hunting after; I have found the philosopher's stone, without the help of my cursed crucibles, and my smoaky heintzel!*

Armed with a dark lantern, he set out on his way. The rain fell in torrents from the clouds, the thunder rolled in dreadful peals, but he neither felt nor heard any thing of it. His mind was full of Grimaldi's hoards. He tried his keys, unlocked the doors, opened the sitting room; it was not large, but well secured. It had incomparably more locks than doors. We may easily imagine what he first looked about for. Against the iron chest he directed the whole battery of his bunch of keys, and he almost despaired of carrying the siege; as it alone had four or five different locks without side, not to mention those within. At length however he took the fort; in it he found a casket full of gold rings, bracelets, jewels, and other valuables, and with it four bags, on each of which he read with transport the words: Three thousand ducats in gold. He trusted impli-

citly to the epigraph, taking it for granted that all was rightly told.

Quivering with joy, he seized upon the bags, and left the jewels behind, as there was a chance that they might betray him. Being a great friend to order, he carefully replaced every thing in its former state, shut again every lock, and happily came back to his house with the precious burden, without being met or seen by any one. His first care was to put his four bags in a place of security; his second, to take measures for the interment of the deceased. He lifted him up easily as a feather; for the bare touch of the bags of gold, by its native energy, had imparted to him a strength which astonished himself. He carried Grimaldi into his cellar, dug a deep grave, and tumbled him in, with his keys and clothes. This done, he filled up the grave with so much caution that it was impossible to discover that the earth had been opened.

Having finished his work, he hastened to his room, untied his bags, and began, not so much to count as to feed his sight with the gold. He found that all was exactly right, not a single piece was wanting; but he was dazzled and giddy at the sight of so much money. First he counted it, then he weighed it; his ecstasy increasing every moment. He deposited the whole heap in a private closet, burnt the bags, and did not quit them with his eyes till the last atom was consumed, when he threw the ashes into the air, afraid lest even these might betray him. At last he retired to rest; for labour and joy had conspired to fatigue him.

* The name of a chemical furnace.

Some days after, as nothing was seen or heard of Grimaldi, the magistracy ordered his house and his chamber to be opened. All were surprised at not meeting with the master; but much more at not finding any money in the house.

Three months elapsed without any tidings of Grimaldi, either as dead or alive. As soon as Fazio perceived that there was no longer any talk about his sudden disappearance, he on his part began to let fall a word or two concerning his chemical discoveries. Shortly after he even spread a report under hand about something of a bar of gold. People laughed at him to his face, as they had already had so many examples of his having been deceived in his operations. But Fazio for this time stood firm to his assertions, prudently observed a certain gradation in his discourses and exhibitions of joy, and at last went so far as to talk of a journey to France for converting his bar into current coin.

The better to conceal his real design, he pretended to be in want of cash for his travelling charges, and borrowed a hundred florins on a farm, which he had not yet sent up the chimney. Fifty of them he kept to his own uses, and fifty he gave to his wife, at the same time assuring her of his speedy return. This information threw her into a tremor. She feared it was the ruin of his fortune that forced Fazio to fly his country: she never expected to see him again, and thought of nothing but the being shortly reduced to the extremity of distress, and left forlorn, with her two fatherless children, destitute of bread. She begged and conjured him not to travel. She spoke with so much eloquence and pathos, that Fazio was affected

to that degree, as no longer to be able to conceal his secret, notwithstanding his resolution to keep it for life. He took her gently by the hand, led her into his cabinet, disclosed to her the transaction with Grimaldi, and shewed her his golden treasure. Dost thou now entertain any doubt of the truth of my ingot of gold? added he, with a smile.

We may judge of the satisfaction this gave to Valentina, for this was the name of Fazio's wife. She fell upon his neck, and thanked, and flattered him as much, as before she had teased him with reproaches and objections. A multitude of plans were struck out of future happiness and glory; and preparations for the journey were made with all speed. But when the very day fixt for his departure was come, Valentina, on whom Fazio, as we may easily imagine, had inculcated the profoundest silence, Valentina, I say, did not fail to make common cause with the rest of the family, and remonstrated against the journey as before. She pretended as if she had still her doubts, was lavish of her prayers and entreaties, and was almost dissolved in tears, without feeling the least uneasiness. Fazio passed for a fool. The whole town made game of him, and he laughed at the whole town in return.

While he was on the way to Marseilles, his wife, whom he had left behind at Pisa, continued to play the part she had begun. She was incessantly complaining of her poverty, while in private she had plenty of all things. For her husband had left with her a sum of money which was more than sufficient for defraying her necessary expences. Every one lamented her fate, and yet

yet she had no causes for pity but what she was forced to affect.

Fazio placed out his pieces of gold, for which he got good bills of exchange on an eminent banker at Pisa, and wrote to his wife that he had disposed of his ingots of gold, and was already set out on his return. Valentina shewed the letter to her relations and acquaintance, and to all that were willing to see it: and every one that saw it was filled with surprise. The majority still doubted of the reality of Fazio's good fortune, when he arrived in person at Pisa.

He appeared with a triumphant air distributed his embraces on the right hand and the left, and related the success with which his chemical labours had been crowned to all the world; not forgetting to add, that his bars, on being assayed, turned out to be the purest and the finest gold. He corroborated the verbal testimonies of his good fortune, by speaking and substantial proofs, and fetched from his banker's nine thousand gold dollars in specie. To this kind of demonstration no objection could be made. The story was told from house to house, and all men extolled his knowledge in the occult science of the transmutation of metals. The very man, who but a few months before was pronounced a confirmed fool by the whole city at large, was now elevated by that very city to the rank of a great philosopher; and Fazio enjoyed, at one and the same time, the double advantage, of being honoured as both learned and rich.

There was no longer any need of concealing his wealth, and therefore he gave scope to his desires. He redeemed his farm from the mortgage, bought himself a title at

Rome, for connecting respect and riches together, he procured a magnificent house and a couple of estates, and made over the rest of his money to a merchant at ten per cent.

He now kept two footmen, two maid servants, and, according to the prevailing mode of the times, two saddle horses, one for himself, and the other for his wife. In this manner they enjoyed the pleasure of knowing themselves to be rich; a pleasure that is far more sensibly felt by such as have formerly been in want. Valentina, who was now a woman of too much consideration to look after the affairs of the house herself, took home to her, with the approbation of her husband, an old and very ugly relation, with her young and beautiful daughter.

For living to the top of the grand style (probably it was then the fashion at Pisa, as it is now with us in capital towns) Fazio resolved to keep a mistress. He cast his eyes on the daughter of the aged relation, who, as was said above, was extremely handsome. She was called Adelaide, and was in the age of love and coquetry, either of which alone is sufficient to lead a man into folly. Adelaide lent a very willing ear to the overtures made by Fazio, and soon entered into so intimate a correspondence with him, as to occasion a disagreement with his wife. But ere Valentina had time to penetrate the secret, or to convince herself of her husband's infidelity, Fazio had already spent a considerable sum of money on his dear Adelaide.

Valentina was jealous of her rights to the last punctilio, and it grieved her much to see herself under the authority of an usurper. Discord broke

broke in upon their conjugal union. Valentina, according to the ordinary course of things, became sullen, and Adelaide imperious. One day they quarrelled so violently, that Valentina turned the old housekeeper, with her daughter, out of doors. Fazio, on returning home, took this procedure very much amiss, grew so much the fonder of Adelaide, and hired a suitable lodging for her. Valentina, who was very violent by nature, could no longer moderate her fury.

Fazio, having in vain tried every method to pacify or to deceive her, retired to his estate in the country, and had Adelaide brought to him. This no sooner reached the ears of Valentina, who in her jealousy was more like a fury than a woman, than she meditated the most horrid revenge. Without once reflecting on the melancholy consequences, she resolved to impeach her husband, before the magistrate, as the murderer of Grimaldi. She put her dreadful scheme in execution on the spot; and Fazio, who was dreaming away delicious moments in the company of his fair one, never thought of the storm that was gathering over his head.

The judge, in the first place, examined into the circumstances delivered in by the informant, and then dispatched person's to dig up the ground in Fazio's cellar; where finding the remains of Grimaldi's body, Fazio was seized in the arms of Adelaide, and carried to prison. At first, he denied the charge; but on being confronted with his wife, and she appearing as his accuser, he immediately exclaimed: "Wretch as thou art, had I loved thee less, thou wouldst not have been entrusted with my secret; I was weak

from my love towards thee, and thou hast brought me hither." The torture, which at that time was so dangerous to accused innocence, extorted from Fazio a confession of all he had done, and even of what he had not. He accused himself as the murderer of Grimaldi, although he was not; and was sentenced to forfeit his possessions, and to suffer death, at the place of public execution.

Valentina, on being dismissed, would have returned home to her habitation, but was not a little surprised at finding it beset with officers of justice, who had even turned her children out of it. No more was wanting than this fresh misfortune for completely rendering her a prey to despair. The stings of conscience already wrung her heart: for, her revenge being satiated, she had opened her eyes, saw the rashness of her conduct in all its extent, and had a full presentiment of her future misery. Pain and remorse now arose to their height. In frantic mood she ran about with dishevelled hair, and implored the judge to set free her husband, whom she herself had delivered up to the hangman. The sight of her children redoubled the pangs of her soul.

The whole city resounded with this melancholy event. Valentina, who was a horror to herself, had not even the poor consolation of exciting compassion. Relations and acquaintance hated and avoided her like a ravening beast.

Fazio, in the mean time, was awaiting his deplorable doom. He was led to the place of execution along the principal streets. He ascended the scaffold with great composure, avouched his innocence, and cursed the impetuous jealousy of his

his wife. He was executed; and his body, according to custom, was exposed on the scaffold as a terror to the beholders. Rage and despair had in the mean time transported Valentina to the dreadfulest of all imaginable deeds. She took her two children by the hand, and hurried them with hasty strides, and continually weeping, to the place of execution. She pressed through the crowd, who made way for her to pass, and loaded her with execrations.

But Valentina was deaf to all that passed. She reached the foot of the bloody scaffold, and mounted with her children the fatal steps, as though she would once more embrace the body of her spouse. Valentina led her children quite up to the bleeding corpse, and bade them embrace their deceased father. At this doleful sight, and at the cries of these poor children, all the spectators burst out into tears, when suddenly the raging mother plunged a dagger into the breast of one, ran upon the other, and stretched him dead beside his dying brother. An universal burst of horror and dismay ascended to the skies! The

populace ran to lay hold of her—but, already she had stabbed herself with the poignard, and fell lifeless on the bodies of her husband and children.

The sight of the two murdered children, and the mother wallowing in their blood, filled all that were present with detestation and terror. It was as if the whole city had met with some general calamity. Astonishment and dejection took hold of every mind and heart. The inhabitants roamed up and down the streets in gloomy silence, and the crowd was incessantly renewing round the scaffold where the blood of the children and the mother was mingling with the blood of the innocent father. Even the hardest hearts were melted into pity and compassion.

The judge, affected by the relation, granted leave to the family to inter the bodies of the father and mother in a place without the walls. The two children were buried in the church of St. Catharine. The tradition of this melancholy event has been preserved at Pisa to the present day, and it is still related there with visible concern,

P O E T R Y.

ODE for the NEW YEAR 1795. By HENRY JAMES PYE, Esq.
Poet Laureat.

I.

AGAIN the swift revolving hours
Bring January's frozen car;
Still discord on the nations low'rs,
Still reigns the iron pow'r of war.
Hush'd be awhile the tumult's storm;
Awhile let Concord's milder form
Glide gently o'er each smiling plain,
While as they weave the myrtle wreath
The sportive loves and graces breathe
The hymeneal strain.

II.

From Parent-Elbe's high-trophy'd shore,
Whence our illustrious chiefs of yore
Brought that blest code of laws their sons revere,
And bade the glorious fabric flourish here,
The royal virgin comes——Ye gales
Auspicious, fill the swelling sails;
And, while ye gently curl the azure deep,
Let ev'ry ruder blast in silence sleep;
For not from Afric's golden sands,
Or either India's glowing lands,
Have e'er the favouring Naiads brought
A prize to us so dear, a bark so richly fraught.

III.

Bright maid, to thy expecting eyes
When Albion's cliffs congenial rise,
No foreign forms thy looks shall meet,
Thine ear no foreign accents greet

Here shall thy breast united transports prove
 Of kindred fondness and connubial love.
 O that amid the nuptial flowers we twine,
 Our hands the olive's sober leaves might join,
 Thy presence teach the storm of war to cease,
 Disarm the battle's rage, and charm the world to peace.

IV.

Yet if the stern vindictive foe,
 Insulting, aim the hostile blow,
 Britain, in martial terrors dight,
 Lifts high the avenging sword, and courts the fight.
 On every side behold her swains
 Crowd eager from her fertile plains !
 With breasts undaunted, lo, they stand
 Firm bulwarks of their native land,
 And proud her floating castles round,
 The guardians of her happy coast,
 Bid their terrific thunder sound
 Dismay to Gallia's scatter'd host,
 While still Britannia's navies reign
 Triumphant o'er the subject main.

ODE for His MAJESTY'S BIRTH-DAY, 1795. By HENRY JAMES
 PYE, Esq. Poet Laureat.

I.

NOT from the trumpet's brazen throat
 Be now the martial measure blown,
 Mild concord breathes a softer note,
 To greet a triumph all her own ;
 Wafted on Pleasure's downy wings,
 nearer joy than conquest brings
 Now soothes the royal parent's breast ;
 By rosy wreaths of Hymen bound,
 A Nation's fervent vows are crown'd,
 A much-lov'd son is blest.

II.

While crowds, on this returning morn,
 Their willing homage pay,
 And shouts of heart-felt gladness born,
 O'ercome the Muse's lay,
 Amid the Pæan's choral sound,
 While dying faction's shrieks are drown'd,
 O Sovereign

O Sovereign of a people's choice,
 Hear, in that people's general voice,
 The noblest praise that waits a throne;
 Their surest guard thy patriot zeal —
 Thy public care their strength—they feel
 Thy happiness their own.

III.

O royal youth ! a king's, a parent's pride,
 A nation's future hope !—again the tongue,
 That join'd the choir, what time by Isis side
 Her tuneful sons thy birth auspicious sung,
 Now hails, fulfill'd by Hymen's hallow'd flame :
 The warmest wish Affection's voice could frame :
 For say, can Fame, can Fortune know
 Such genuine raptures to bestow,
 As from the smiles of wedded love arise,
 When heavenly virtue beams from blushing Beauty's eyes ?

IV.

Ne'er may the rapid hours that wing
 O'er Time's unbounded field their ceaseless flight,
 To grateful Britain's monarch bring,
 A tribute of less pure delight—
 Ne'er may the song of duty soothe his ear
 With strains of weaker joy, or transports less sincere.

EXTRACT from MR. MAURICE'S *Elegiac Poem on Sir WM. JONES.*

TO chase the tenfold gloom, my Jones, was thine,
 To cheer the Brahmin, and to burst his chains ;
 To search for latent gems the Sanscreeet mine,
 And wake the fervour of her ancient strains.

For oh ! what pen shall paint with half thy fire,
 The power of music on the impassion'd soul,
 When the great masters wak'd the Indian lyre,
 And bade the burning song electric roll ?*

* The impressive title of one of the most ancient Sanscreeet treatises on music is, "The Sea of Passions. See our author's animated account of the Indian music in the Asiatic Researches, vol. ii, p. 55.

The mystic veil, that wraps the hallow'd shrines
Of India's deities, 'twas thine to rend;
With brighter fires each radiant altar shines,
To Nature's awful god those fires ascend.

Sound the deep conch; dread Veshnu's power proclaim,
And heap with fragrant woods the blazing urn;
I see, sublime Devotion's noblest flame
'Midst Superstition's glowing embers burn!

'Twas thine, with daring wing, and eagle eye,
To pierce Antiquity's profoundest gloom;*
To search the dazzling records of the sky,
And bid the stars the sacred page illume.†

Nor did the instructive orbs of heav'n, alone,
Absorb thy soul 'mid yon ethereal fields;
To thee the vegetable world was known,
And all the blooming tribes the garden yields.

From the tall cedar on the mountain's brow,
Which the fierce tropic storm in vain assails,
Down to the humblest shrubs that beauteous blow:
And scent the air of Asia's fragrant vales.

But talents—fancy—ardent, bold, sublime—
Unbounded science—form'd thy meanest fame;
Beyond the grasp of death, the bound of time,
On wings of fire religion wafts thy name.‡

And long as stars shall shine, or planets roll,
To kindred virtue shall that name be dear;
Still shall thy genius charm the aspiring soul,
And distant ages kindle at thy bier.

* See the two profound Dissertations on the Indian Chronology in Asiatic Researches, vol. ii. p. 111, and 389.

† Consult various astronomical passages in the treatises above-mentioned, and the discourse on the Lunar Year of the Hindus, in the same publication, vol. iii. p. 249. They are all made subservient to the cause of the national theology, and the illustration of the grand truths delivered in the sacred writings.

‡ Alluding to some circumstances of devotion, which occurred in the moments of sir William's dissolution.

ODE to JURYMEN, by PETER PINDAR.

SIRS, it may happen, by the grace of God,
That I, Great Peter, one day come before ye,
To answer to the man of wig, for ode,
Full of sublimity, and pleasant story.

Yes, it may so fall out that lofty men,
Dundas, and Richmond, Hawksb'ry, Portland, Pitt,
May wish to cut the nib of Peter's pen,
And, cruel, draw the holders of his wit ;

Nay, Dame Injustice in their cause engage,
To clap the gentle poet in a cage ;
And should a grimly judge for *death* harangue,
Don't let the poet of the people *hang*.

What are my crimes ? A poor *tame* cur am I,
Though *some* will swear I've snapp'd them by the heels ;
A puppy's *pinch*, that's all, I don't deny ;
But Lord ! how sensibly a great man feels !

A harmless joke, at times, on kings and queens ;
A little joke on lofty earls and lords ;
Smiles at the splendid homage of court scenes,
The modes, the manners, sentiments, and words :

A joke on Marg'ret Nicholson's mad knights ;
A joke upon the shave of cooks at court,
Charms the fair muse, and *eke* the world delights ;
A pretty piece of inoffensive sport.

Lo, in a little inoffensive smile,
There lurks no lever to o'erturn the state,
And king, and parliament ! intention vile !
And hurl the queen of nations to her fate.

No gunpowder my modest garrets hold,
Dark-lanterns, blunderbusses, masks, and matches ;
Few words my simple furniture unfold ;
A bed, a stool, a rusty coat in patches.

Carpets, nor chandeliers so bright are mine ;
Nor mirrors, ogling vanity to please ;
Spaniels, nor lap-dogs, with their furs so fine :
Alas ! my little live-stock are—my fleas !

AN ANTIENT CATCH.

*From a MS. of the Time of Queen Elizabeth, in the British Museum.
(Vespasian, A. 25.)*

FYLL the cuppe, Phylippe, and let us drynke a drame,
Ons or twyse abowte the howse and leave where we
began.

I drynke to yow, sweteharte, soo much as here is in,
Desyeringe yow to followe me, and doo as I begyn :
And yf yow will not pledge [me], yow shall bere the blame,
I drynke to yow with all my harte, yf yow will pledge me the
same.

V E R S E S

Written by the late Earl of CHATHAM. From "SEWARD'S ANECDOTES," in which Work it was for the first Time printed. To the Right Hon. Richard Grenville Temple, Lord Viscount Cobham. INVITATION TO SOUTH LODGE. From "Tyrrhena Regum Progenios," &c.*

FROM Norman princes sprung, their virtues heir,
Cobham, for thee my vaults inclose
Tokay's smooth cask unpierc'd. Here purer air,
Breathing sweet pink and balmy rose,

Shall meet thy wish'd approach. Haste then away,
Nor round and round for ever rove
The magic Ranelagh, or nightly stray
In gay Spring Gardens glittering grove.

Forsake the Town's huge mass, stretch'd long and wide,
Pall'd with Profusion's sickening joys ;
Spurn the vain capital's insipid pride,
Smoke, riches, politics, and noise.

Change points the blunted sense of sumptuous pleasure ;
And neat repasts in sylvan shed,
Where Nature's simple boon is all the treasure,
Care's brow with smiles have often spread.

Now flames Andromeda's refulgent sire,
Now rages Procyon's kindled ray,
Now madd'ning Leo darts his stellar fire,
Fierce Suns revolve the parching day.

* A Seat of Mr. Pitt on Enfield Chace.

The

The shepherd now moves faint with languid flock
 To riv'let fresh and bow'ry grove,
 To cool retirements of high-arching rock,
 O'er the mute stream no zephyrs move.

Yet weighing subsidies and England's weal,
 You still in anxious thought call forth
 Dark ills, which Gaul and Prussia deep conceal,
 Or fierce may burst from towering North.

All-seeing Wisdom, kind to mortals, hides
 Time's future births in gloomy night ;
 Too busy care, with pity, Heaven derides,
 Man's fond, officious, feeble might.

Use then aright the present. Things to be,
 Uncertain flow, like Thames ; now peaceful borne
 In even bed, soft-gliding down to sea ;
 Now mould'ring shores, and oaks upturn,

Herd, cottages, together swept away,
 Headlong he rolls ; the pedant woods
 And bellowing cliffs proclaim the dire dismay,
 When the fierce torrents rouse the tranquil floods.

They, masters of themselves, they happy live,
 Whose hearts at ease can say secure,
 " This day rose not in vain : let Heav'n next give
 " Or clouded skies, or sunshine pure."

Yet never what swift Time behind has cast
 Shall back return ; no pow'r the thing
 That was bid not have been ; for ever past,
 It flies on unrelenting wing.

Fortune, who joys perverse in mortal woe,
 Still frolicking with cruel play,
 Now may on me her giddy smile bestow,
 Now wanton to another stray.

If constant, I caress her ; if she flies
 On fickle plumes, farewell her charms !
 All dower I wave (save what good fame supplies,)
 And wrapt my soul in Freedom's arms.

'Tis not for me to shrink with mean despair,
Favour's proud ship should whirlwinds toss;
Nor venal idols sooth with bart'ring prayer,
To shield from wreck opprobrious dross.

'Midst all the tumults of the warring sphere,
My light-charged bark may haply glide;
Some gale may waft, some conscious thought shall cheer,
And the small freight unanxious glide.

WILLIAM PITT, 1750.

PROLOGUE to the WHEEL OF FORTUNE.

A FARMER late (so Country Records say)
From the next market homeward took his way;
When as the bleak unshelter'd heath he crost,
Fast bound by winter in obdurate frost,
The driving snow-storm smote him in his course,
High blow'd the North, and rag'd in all its force:
Slow pac'd and full of years, th' unequal strife
Long time he held, and struggled hard for life;
Vanquish'd at length, benumbed in every part,
The very life-blood curdling at his heart,
Torpid he stood, in frozen fetters bound,
Doz'd, reel'd, and dropt, expiring to the ground.
Haply his dog, by wond'rous instinct fraught,
With all the reas'ning attributes of thought,
Saw his sad state, and to his dying breast
Close cower'd his devoted body press'd:
Then howl'd amain for help, till passing near
Some charitable rustic lent an ear;
Rais'd him from earth, recall'd his flitting breath,
And snatch'd him from the icy arms of death.
So when the chilling blast of secret woe
Checks the soul's genial current in its flow;
When death-like lethargy arrests the mind,
Till man forgets all feeling for his kind;
To his cold heart the friendly Muse can give
Warmth and a pulse that forces him to live;
By the sweet magic of her scene beguile,
And bend his rigid muscles with a smile;
Shake his stern breast with sympathetic fears,
And make his frozen eye-lids melt in tears;
Pursuing still her life-restoring plan,
'Till he perceives and owns himself a Man:

Warm'd

Warm'd with these hopes, this night we make appeal
To British hearts, for they are hearts that feel.

EPILOGUE *to the* WHEEL OF FORTUNE.

THERE are—what shall I call them? Two great powers,
Who turn and overturn this world of our's—
Fortune and folly—tho' not quite the same
In property they play each other's game;
Fortune makes poor men rich, then turns 'em o'er
To folly, who soon strips them of their store.

Oh! 'twas a mighty neat and lucky hit,
When Pat O'Leary snapt a wealthy cit,
For why? His wants were big, his means were small,
His wisdom less, and so he spent his all :
When fortune turn'd about and jilted Pat,
Was fool or fortune in the fault of that ?
—Sir Martin Madcap held the lucky dice,
He threw, and won five thousand in a trice :
Keep it! cried caution—no, he threw again,
Kick'd down the five, and cut with minus ten.
—Giles Jumble and his dame, a loving pair,
No brains had either, and of course no care,
Till (woe the day), when fortune, in her spite,
Made Giles High Sheriff, and then dubb'd him knight,
Up they both go; my lady leads the dance,
Sir Giles cuts capers on the Wheel of chance ;
Heads down, heels over, whisk'd and whisk'd about,
No wonder if their shallow wits ran out ;
Gigg'd by their neighbours, gull'd of all their cash,
Down came Sir Giles, and lo! with thund'ring crash.
Who says that Fortune's blind? she has quicker sight
Than most of those, on whom her favours light ;
For why does she enrich the weak and vain,
But that her ventures may come home again ?
Pass'd thro' like quicksilver, they lose not weight,
Nor value in their loco-motive state ;
No stop, no stay; so fast her clients follow,
Ere one mouth shuts, another gapes to swallow ;
Whilst like a conjurer's ball—presto! begone!
The pill that serv'd Sir Giles, now serves Sir John.

Sir Eustace had a fair and lovely wife,
Form'd to adorn and bless the nuptial life;
Fortune's best gift in her best giving mood,
Sir Eustace made that bad which Heav'n made good ;

Basely

Basely allur'd her into Folly's course,
Then curs'd his fate, and sued out a divorce.
Unjust at Fortune's cruelty to rail,
When we make all the miseries we bewail.

Ah ! generous patrons, on whose breath depends
The fortune of the muse, and us her friends ;
If, in your grace, this night you shall bestow
One sprig of laurel for your poet's brow,
Impart to me your flattering commands,
And sign them with the plaudit of your hands.

ADDRESS *spoken by* MRS. SIDDONS, *at her Benefit, and written by* Sam. Rogers, Esq. *Author of the Pleasures of Memory.*

YES, 'tis the pulse of life ! my fears were vain !
I wake, I breathe, and am my self again,
Still in this nether world ! no seraph yet !
Nor walks my spirit when the sun is set,
With troubled step to haunt the fatal board,
Where I died last—by poison or the sword ;
And blanch each honest cheek with deeds of night,
Done here so oft by dim and doubtful light.

—To drop all metaphor, that little bell
Call'd back reality and broke the spell,
No heroine claims your tears with tragic tone ;
A very woman—scarce restrains her own !
Can she, with fiction, charm the cheated mind,
When to be grateful is the part assign'd ?
Ah, No ! she scorns the trappings of her art ;
No theme but truth, no prompter but the heart.

But, Ladies, say, must I alone unmask,
Is here no other actress ? let me ask.
Believe me, those who best the heart dissect,
Know every woman studies stage-effect.
She moulds her manners to the parts she fills,
As instinct teaches, or as humour wills ;
And, as the grave or gay her talent calls,
Acts in the drama till the curtain falls.

First, how her little breast with triumph swells,
When the red coral rings its silver bells !
To play in pantomime is then the rage
Along the carpet's many-colour'd stage ;
Or lisp her merry thoughts with loud endeavour,
Now here, now there,—in noise and mischief ever !

A school girl next, she curls her hair in papers,
 And mimics father's gout and mother's vapours,
 Discards her doll, bribes Betty for romances ;
 Playful at church, and serious when she dances ;
 Tramples alike on customs and on toes,
 And whispers all she hears to all she knows ;
 Terror of caps and wigs and sober notions !
 A romp ! that longest of perpetual motions !
 —Till tam'd and tortur'd into foreign graces,
 She sports her lovely face at public places ;
 And with blue, laughing eyes, behind her fan,
 First acts her part with that great actor Man.

Too soon a flirt, approach her and she flies,
 Frowns when pursu'd, and, when entreated sighs !
 Plays with unhappy men as cats with mice ;
 Till fading beauty hints the late advice.
 Her prudence dictates what her pride disdain'd,
 And now she sues to slaves herself had chain'd.

Then comes that good old character a wife,
 With all the dear, distracting cares of life ;
 A thousand cards a-day at doors to leave,
 And in return, a thousand cards receive.
 Rouge high, play deep, to lead the ton aspire,
 With nightly blaze set Portland-place on fire ;
 Snatch half a glimpse at Concert, Opera, Ball,
 A Meteor trac'd by none, tho' seen by all ;
 And when her shatter'd nerves forbid to roam,
 In very spleen—rehearse the girl at home.

Last the grey dowager, in ancient flounces,
 With snuff and spectacles the age denounces ;
 Boasts how the Sires of this degenerate Isle
 Knel't for a look and duel'd for a smile ;
 The scourge and ridicule of Goth and Vandal,
 Her tea she sweetens, as she sips, with scandal ;
 With modern belles eternal warfare wages,
 Like her own birds that clamour from their cages ;
 And shuffles round to bear her tale to all,
 Like some old ruin, " nodding to its fall."

Thus woman makes her entrance and her exit,
 Then most an actress when she least suspects it.
 Each lesson lost, each poor pretence forgot ;
 Yet nature oft peeps out and marks the plot ;
 Full oft, with energy that scorns control,
 At once lights up the features of the soul ;
 Unlocks each thought chain'd down by coward art,
 And to full day the latent passions start !

But she, whose first best wish is your applause,
 Herself exemplifies the truth she draws.
 Born on the stage—thro' every shifting scene,
 Obscure or bright, tempestuous or serene,
 Still has your smile her trembling spirit fir'd !
 And can she act, with thoughts like these inspir'd ?
 Thus from her mind all artifice she flings,
 All skill, all practice, now unmeaning things ;
 To you uncheck'd, each genuine feeling flows,
 For all that life endears—to you she owes.

THE PURSUIT OF HEALTH. *From BELOE's Miscellanies.*

ONE April morn, reclin'd in bed,
 Just at the hour when dreams are true,
 A fairy form approach'd my head,
 Smiling beneath her mantle blue.

'Fie, fie,' she cried, 'why sleep so long,
 When she, the nymph you dearly love,
 Now roves the vernal flowers among,
 And waits for you in yonder grove ?

'Hark ! you may hear her cherub voice :
 The voice of health is sweet and clear ;
 Yes, you may hear the birds rejoice
 In symphony her arbour near.'

I rose, and hasten'd to the grove,
 With eager steps and anxious mind ;
 I rose the elfin's truth to prove,
 And hop'd the promis'd nymph to find.

My fairy took me by the hand,
 And cheerfully we stepp'd along ;
 She stopp'd but on the new-plough'd land,
 To hear the russet woodlark's song.

We reach'd the grove—I look'd around,
 My fairy was no longer near ;
 But of her voice I knew the sound,
 As thus she whisper'd in my ear :

'The nymph, fair health, you came to find,
 Within these precincts loves to dwell ;
 Her breath now fills the balmy wind ;
 This path will lead you to her cell.'

I bended to the primrose low,
And ask'd, if health might there reside?
'She left me,' said the flower, 'but now,
For yonder violet's purple pride.'

I question'd next the violet queen,
Where buxom health was to be found?
She told me, that she late was seen
With cowslips toying on the ground.

Then thrice I kiss'd the cowslips, pale,
And in their dew-drops bath'd my face;
I told them all my tender tale,
And begg'd their aid coy health to trace.

'From us,' exclaimed a lowly flower,
'The nymph has many a day been gone;
But now she rests within the bower
Where yonder hawthorn blooms alone.'

Quick to that bower I ran, I flew,
And yet no nymph I there could find;
But fresh the breeze of morning blew,
And Spring was gay, and Flora kind.

If I return'd sedate and slow,
What if the nymph I could not see?
The blush that pass'd along my brow
Was proof of her divinity.

And still her votary to prove,
And still her dulcet smiles to share,
I'll tread the fields, I'll haunt the grove,
With untir'd steps and fondest care.

O sprite belov'd! vouchsafe to give
A boon, a precious boon to me;
Within thy influence let me live,
And sometimes too thy beauties see.

So shall the muse, in nobler verse,
And strength renew'd, exulting sing;
Thy praise, thy charms, thy power rehearse,
And sweep, with bolder hand, the string.

A TALE; by the Rev. Mr. BISHOP.

Quod petis hic est.

NO plate had John and Joan to hoard,
Plain folk, in humble plight;
One only tankard crown'd their board,
And that was fill'd each night,

Along whose inner bottom sketch'd,
In pride of chubby grace,
Some rude engraver's hand had etch'd
A baby Angel's face.

John swallow'd first a mod'rate sup;
But Joan was not like John;
For, when her lips once touch'd the cup,
She swill'd till all was gone.

John often urg'd her to drink fair,
But she ne'er changed a jot;
She lov'd to see the Angel there,
And therefore drain'd the pot.

When John found all remonstrance vain,
Another card he play'd;
And, where the *angel* stood so plain,
He got a *devil* portray'd.

Joan saw the horns, Joan saw the tail,
Yet Joan as stoutly quaff'd;
And ever, when she seized her ale,
She cleared it at a draught.

John star'd, with wonder petrify'd,
His hairs rose on his pate;
And "why dost guzzle now" he cry'd,
"At this enormous rate?"

"O John," said she "am I to blame?
I can't in conscience stop;
For sure 'twould be a burning shame
To leave the Devil a drop!"

AN EPIGRAM; *from the Gentleman's Magazine.*

FR I A R Paul, in his cell, made his exit of late,
 Of the gravel some say; but no matter for that;
 He died, that's enough; and if the story say right,
 Arrived at hell gate in a pitiful plight,
 Who's there! cries the Dæmon on guard; Quoth the other
 A guilty poor priest, sir, a catholic brother,
 Halt, instantly halt, cry'd the sentry; stand clear,
 Go be damned somewhere else, for you sha'nt enter here.
 We admit no such savage, no wretch so uncivil;
 Who above ate his god, may below eat the devil!

HOPE PERSONIFIED. *From Lorenzo de' Medici. By WILLIAM ROSCOE.*

IMMENSE of bulk, her tow'ring head she shews,
 Her floating tresses seem to touch the skies,
 Dark mists her unsubstantial shape compose—
 And on the mountain's top her dwelling lies.
 As when the clouds fantastic shapes disclose,
 For ever varying to the gazer's eyes,
 'Till on the breeze the changeful hues escape:—
 Thus vague her form, and mutable her shape.

Illusive beings round their sovereign wait—
 Deceitful dreams, and auguries, and lies;
 Innum'rous arts the gaping crowd that cheat,
 Predictions wild, and groundless prophecies;
 With wond'rous words, or written rolls of fate,
 Foretelling (when 'tis past) what yet shall rise;
 And alchymy, and astrologic skill,
 And fond conjecture—always form'd at will!

THE HAPPINESS OF A COUNTRY LIFE. *By the same.*

THY splendid halls, thy palaces forgot,
 Can paths o'erspread with thorns a charm supply;
 Or, dost thou seek, from our severer lot,
 To give to wealth and pow'r a keener joy?

Thus I replied—"I know no happier life;
 No better riches than you shepherds boast:
 Freed from the hated jars of civil strife,
 Alike to treach'ry and to envy lost.

The weed ambition 'midst your furrow'd field
Springs not, and av'rice little root can find :
Content with what the changing seasons yield,
You rest in cheerful poverty resign'd.

What the heart thinks the tongue may here disclose,
Nor inward grief with outward smiles is drest ;
Not like the world, where wisest he who knows
To hide the secret closest in his breast."

The Author calls upon the Faculties of his own Mind to exert themselves to great and useful Purposes. By WM. ROSCÖE. From the same.

RISE from thy trance, my slumb'ring genius rise,
That shrouds from Truth's pure beam thy torpid eyes!
Awake, and see, since reason gave the rein
To low desire, thy ev'ry work how vain.
Ah think that bliss the mind explores,
In futile honours, or unbounded stores :
How poor the bait that would thy steps decoy
To sensual pleasure and unmeaning joy !
Rouse all thy pow'rs for better use design'd,
And know thy native dignity of mind :
Not for low aims and mortal triumphs given—
Its means exertion, and its object Heaven.
Hast thou not yet the diff'rence understood
"Twixt empty pleasure and substantial good ?—
Not more oppos'd, by all the wise confest,
The rising Orient from the farthest west.
Doom'd from thy youth the galling chain to prove
Of potent beauty and imperious love ;
Their tyrant rule has blighted all thy time,
And marr'd the promise of thy early prime.
Tho' Beauty's garb thy wond'ring gaze may win,
Yet know, that wolves—that harpies dwell within.

Ah think how fair thy better hopes had sped,
Thy widely-erring steps had reason led ;
Think, if thy time a nobler use had known,
Ere this the glorious prize had been thine own ;
Kind to thyself, thy clear discerning will,
Had wisely learn'd to sever good from ill.
Thy spring-tide hours consum'd in vain delight,
Shall the same follies close thy wintry night :
With vain pretexs of Beauty's potent charms,
And Nature's frailty blunting Reason's arms.

At length thy long-lost liberty regain,
 Tear the strong tie, and break th' inglorious chain;
 Freed from false hopes, assume thy native pow'rs,
 And give to Reason's rule thy future hours;
 To her dominion yield thy trusting soul,
 And bind thy wishes to her strong control,
 Till love, the serpent that destroy'd thy rest,
 Crush'd by her hand, shall mourn his humbled crest:

*On the Death of POLITIAN, occasioned by a fall from a Stair-Case, as he
 was playing on his Lute.*

AN ELEGY on the Death of his Friend LORENZO DE' MEDICI;
by the same.

WHILST borne in sable state, Lorenzo's bier
 The tyrant death his proudest triumph brings,
 He mark'd a bard in agony severe,
 Smite with delirious hand the sounding strings.

He stopt, he gaz'd : the storm of passion rag'd ;
 And prayers with tears were mingled—tears with grief!
 For lost Lorenzo war with fate he wag'd ;
 And ev'ry god was call'd to his relief.

The tyrant smil'd, and mindful of the hour,
 When from the shades his consort Orpheus led—
 “Rebellious, too, wouldst thou usurp my pow'r;
 “And burst the chain that binds the captive bed?”

He spoke, and speaking, launch'd the shaft of fate,
 And clos'd the lips that glow'd with sacred fire!
 His timeless doom 'twas thus Politian met—
 Politian master of th' Ausonian lyre!

Account of Books for 1795.

The Life of Lorenzo de' Medici, called the Magnificent. By William Roscoe, 4to. 2 vol. 1795.

IT was asserted, probably with justice, by Gibbon, that there is no scholar in Asia who might not receive accessions to his knowledge from the perusal of the work of d'Herbelot, a native of the remote and *unbelieving countries of the west. It might, perhaps, be affirmed, with equal propriety, that the most learned men of Ispahan and Constantinople would profit by the study of the oriental writings of Sir William Jones. We know with certainty that d'Anville was capable of instructing the inhabitants of the Banks of the Nile and the Euphrates, in the ancient geography of Egypt and Assyria.—None of these triumphs of learned industry, however, over the obstacles of a foreign language of dissimilar manners, and of distance both in time and place, are in our opinion so striking as that which is exhibited in the work now before us. In all the instances to which we have alluded, the nations which suffered themselves to be surpassed in their own national literature, by foreigners, had declined from their ancient splendour. In some of the

examples, those nations had become altogether rude and barbarous. It excites no wonder that the scholars of Oxford and Gottingen should be more familiar with the history of Pericles, and more conversant with the writings of Thucydides, than the wretched and ignorant inhabitants of modern Athens: but that discoveries should be made in the literature of one of the most polite and learned nations of Europe, by a foreigner who had never visited that country, who was not professionally devoted to study, who did not enjoy the ease of lettered leisure, but who was immersed in the pursuits of an active and laborious profession, is a circumstance so singular and so wonderful, as to be of itself sufficient to confer no mean degree of interest and importance on the work of Mr. Roscoe.

That Italian poems of the 15th century, unknown to the scholars of Italy in the present age, should be given to the public by an attorney of Liverpool, is a fact which we believe to be unparalleled in the history of literature.

The reader will naturally be curious to learn how a writer, in the circumstances of Mr. Roscoe, could have been encouraged to attempt a

* In the eye of Mahommedans—unbelieving.

work not implying merely the addition of elegance and philosophy to the narrative of facts already known, which a Hume, a Robertson, or a Gibbon, might have bestowed in their closets; but containing valuable and important accessions to the stock of our historical knowledge. This curiosity will be best satisfied by the author himself.—Speaking of the labours of his predecessors, he says,

‘Such being the attempts that had been made to exhibit to the public the life and labours of Lorenzo de’ Medici, I conceived that there could be no great degree of arrogance in endeavouring to give a more full and particular account of them: nor was I deterred from the undertaking by the consideration, that Providence had placed my lot beyond the limits of that favoured country.

“Ch’ Appenin parte, e’l mar circonda
el’ Alpe.”

‘The truth is that, in a remote part of this remote kingdom, and deprived of the many advantages peculiar to seats of learning, I saw no difficulty in giving a more full, distinct, and accurate idea of the subject than could be collected from any performance I had then met with. For some years past, the works of the Italian writers had amused a portion of my leisure hours; a partiality for any particular object generally awakens the desire of obtaining farther information respecting it, and from the perusal of the Italian poets, I was insensibly led to attend to the literary history of that cultivated nation. In tracing the rise of modern literature, I soon perceived that every thing great and estimable in science and in art revolved round

Lorenzo de’ Medici, during the short but splendid æra of his life, as a common centre, and derived from him its invariable preservation and support. Under these impressions, I began to collect such scattered notices respecting him as fell in my way; and the Florentine histories of Macchiavelli and Amirato, the critical labours of Crescimbeni, Muratori, Bandini, and Tiraboschi, with other works of less importance, of which I then found myself possessed, supplied me with materials towards the execution of my plan. I had not however proceeded far, before I perceived that the subject deserved a more minute enquiry; for which purpose it would be necessary to resort to contemporary authorities, and if possible to original documents. The impracticability of obtaining in this country the information of which I stood in need would perhaps have damped the ardour of my undertaking, had not a circumstance presented itself in the highest degree favourable to my purpose. An intimate friend, with whom I had been many years united in studies and affections, had paid a visit to Italy, and had fixed his winter residence at Florence. I well knew that I had only to request his assistance, in order to obtain whatever information he had an opportunity of procuring, from the very spot which was to be the scene of my intended history. My inquiries were particularly directed towards the Laurentian and Riccardi libraries, which I was convinced would afford much original and interesting information. It would be unjust merely to say that my friend afforded me the assistance I required; he went far beyond even the hopes I had formed, and

his return to his native country was, if possible, rendered still more grateful to me; by the materials he had collected for my use. Among these, I had the pleasure to find several beautiful poems of Lorenzo de' Medici, the originals of which are deposited in the Laurentian Library, although the former editors of his works appear not to have had the slightest information respecting them. These poems, which have been copied with great accuracy, and, where it was possible, collated with different manuscripts, will for the first time be given to the public at the close of the present volume. The munificence of the late Great Duke Leopold, and the liberality of the Marquis Riccardi had laid open the inestimable treasures of their collections to every inquirer; and under the regulations of the venerable Canonico Bandini, to whose labours the literary history of Italy is highly indebted, such arrangements have been adopted in the Laurentian Library, that every difficulty which might retard research is effectually removed. Unlike the immense but ill-digested and almost prohibited collections of the Vatican, the libraries of Florence are the common property of the learned of all nations; and an institution founded by Cosmo, and promoted by Lorenzo de' Medici, yet subsists, the noblest monument of their glory, the most authentic depository of their fame."

The first chapter of this valuable work is introductory. It contains a slight sketch of the history of the Republic of Florence and of the House of Medici, till the time of Cosmo de' Medici, the grandfather of Lorenzo, of whose life it presents us with a full and interesting account.

The History of Florence had indeed been delineated in a manner so masterly by Machiavel, that it would have been prudent in any modern author, to have abstained from it, even if it had a natural connexion with his subject. It is perhaps the most instructive work which has appeared in modern times, on the nature and causes of those convulsions that are incident to popular governments. If Tacitus be justly celebrated for having painted with so much force the excesses of regal tyranny, and the atrocious cruelty that lurks beneath the exterior of polished manners, among nations who are advanced from refinement into corruption, the Florentine History of Machiavel deserves similar praise for an equally admirable picture of the vices which belong to a different state of society, of the rage of faction and ferocity of civil dissension, which seem inseparable from extreme democracy, of the banishments, prescriptions, and confiscations, which have but too uniformly characterized that species of government.

The account of the House of Medici is scarcely interesting till, under Cosmo, the history of that family becomes the history of literature. From that period, indeed, the remark of Lipsius is justified, that they seem to have been a race particularly destined by Providence for the restoration and protection of polite letters. There is perhaps nothing more interesting in literary annals, than the discovery of ancient manuscripts by those learned men who were patronized by Cosmo de' Medici. What cultivator or admirer of literature will not, even now, feel some agitation, when he reflects that fifty years more of neglect might

might have destroyed the works of Lucretius and Quintilian; and who can help feeling the most poignant regret, when he considers that, at that critical and interesting period, a little more early or more fortunate search might have preserved the Decades of Livy? Though, however the more early history of the house of Medici does not possess so general an interest, it is not without important political instruction. We find that this family, which at length acquired absolute power in the republic of which they were citizens, paved the way to that despotic authority by being champions for popular privileges and leaders of the democratic party. This is the path which, in almost every age, has been trodden by those who have shackled the liberties of their country. It was from the shoulders of the rabble that Pisistratus, Cæsar, and Cromwell, mounted the throne: and the patrons of licentiousness have almost uniformly proved to be only candidates for tyranny. Far be it from us to make any inference from these facts which might discourage great and generous minds from exertions in the defence of liberty, the noblest exercise of the human faculties in the service of mankind; and equally distant is it from our wishes to impede the progress of such minds, and to defraud them of that glory which is their just reward, by diffusing a base, ignoble, and harassing distrust of their purity: but, if our voice could have any authority or effect, we should never cease to inculcate on the citizens of free states the necessity of suspecting the honesty of violent men, of detecting the tyrant in the disguise of the demagogue, and of perpetually distinguishing those who contend for the

laws, the constitution, and the liberties of their country, from those who would sacrifice that constitution and those laws under pretext of visionary philanthropy, but often merely for the purposes of interested ambition:—*Homines non tam commutandarum quam evertendarum rerum cupidi.*

The second chapter of Mr. Roscoe's work is employed in describing the early periods of the life of Lorenzo, and the administration of Piero de' Medici, who was inferior in abilities both to his father Cosmo and his son Lorenzo; and whose life is distinguished by little else than that patronage of literature which was hereditary in his family. In the third chapter, we find Lorenzo himself, as the first citizen of Florence, without any name or appearance of supreme magistracy, called to the administration of the affairs of the republic; with a singular and undefinable species of authority, somewhat similar to that which Pericles enjoyed at Athens, and which satisfied the ambition of Pompey, at Rome. The authority and ascendancy of a powerful citizen guided the public affairs, without violating the forms of a free constitution. *Salva Libertate Potens.*

Several curious subjects are treated in this chapter. The city of Florence is perhaps the only one of which the "Merchants" literally became "Princes." Mr. Roscoe has presented us with some very striking proofs of the wealth of the house of Medici. In a period of only thirty-seven years, they had expended, in works of charity or public utility, a sum of not less than 663,755 florins; and if we take into the account the value of money 360 years ago, this sum will appear

almost incredible. The inquiries of our author into the particulars of the traffic, which was the source of such enormous wealth, have not proved very successful; though it would have highly gratified our curiosity to have understood the commercial transactions of these illustrious merchants, who "corresponded at once with Cairo and London, and often imported a cargo of Indian spices and Greek books in the same vessel."*

The prevalence of the Platonic philosophy in Italy forms another subject of pleasing and interesting description. The amiable and sublime visions of Plato associated more easily with that polite literature which began to revive in the west, than the severe and harsh logic of his great disciple and rival. Even the adoption of new errors contributed to restore the activity and independence of the human mind, by delivering it from that bigotted adherence to the Peripatetic philosophy, which had for so many centuries shackled its powers and impeded its progress.

A review of the poems of Lorenzo, with ample remarks in general, forms the subject of the 5th chapter, in which the author is naturally led to an account of the rise of the Italian poetry in general.

The second volume of this history opens with some remarks on the vigilance with which Lorenzo de' Medici laboured to preserve that balance of strength, among the powers of Italy, which was so necessary to the security of every individual state; a principle of policy that was then perhaps for the first time regularly and systematically adopted, and which has continued to be the great hinge on which the

affairs of Europe have turned from that period, down to the commencement of those tremendous revolutions in our times, that threaten to bury all ancient systems and establishments in one common ruin. Our readers will peruse these observations with pleasure:

The situation of Italy, at this period, afforded an ample field for the exercise of political talents. The number of independent states of which it was composed, the inequality of their strength, the ambitious views of some, and the ever active fears of others, kept the whole country in continual agitation and alarm. The vicinity of these states to each other, and the narrow bounds of their respective dominions, required a promptitude of decision, in cases of disagreement, unexampled in any subsequent period of modern history. Where the event of open war seemed doubtful, private treachery was without scruple resorted to; and where that failed of success, an appeal was again made to arms. The pontifical see had itself set the example of a mode of conduct that burst asunder all the bonds of society, and operated as a convincing proof that nothing was thought unlawful which appeared to be expedient. To counterpoise all the jarring interests of these different governments, to restrain the powerful, to succour the weak, and to unite the whole in one firm body, so as to enable them, on the one hand, successfully to oppose the formidable power of the Turks, and on the other, to repel the incursions of the French and the Germans, both of whom were objects of terror to the less warlike inhabitants of Italy, were the important ends which Lorenzo proposed

posed to accomplish. The effectual defence of the Florentine dominions against the encroachments of his more powerful neighbours, though perhaps his chief inducement for engaging in so extensive a project, appeared, in the execution of it, rather as a necessary part of his system, than as the principal object which he had in view. In these transactions we may trace the first decisive instance of that political arrangement, which was more fully developed and more widely extended in the succeeding century, and which has since been denominated the balance of power. Casual alliances, arising from consanguinity, from personal attachment, from vicinity, or from interest, had indeed frequently subsisted among the Italian states; but these were only partial and temporary engagements, and rather tended to divide the country into two or more powerful parties, than to counterpoise the interests of individual governments, so as to produce in the result the general tranquillity.

The sixth chapter to which these remarks form the introduction, is employed in details of the public conduct of Lorenzo; and it concludes with an interesting account of the great reputation which he enjoyed throughout Europe, and of the high degree of prosperity that Florence, and indeed all Italy, in a great measure, owed to the wisdom and honesty of his counsels.

In the 7th chapter our attention is again directed to the more attractive subject of the progress of literature. From the crowd of interesting passages which obtrude themselves on us we shall select one which will tend to console the vanity of the unfortunate inmates of the gar-

ret, by the recollection of the greatness and importance which their predecessors enjoyed in former times.

"Such were the causes that in the fifteenth century concurred to promote the study of the ancient languages in Italy; but one circumstance yet remains to be noticed, which was perhaps more efficacious than any other in giving life and energy to these pursuits. An acquaintance with the learned languages was, at this period, the most direct path, not only to riches and literary fame, but to political eminence; and the most accomplished scholars were in almost every government of Italy, the first ministers of the time. This arose in a great degree from the very general use of the Latin tongue, in the negociations of different states, which rendered it almost impossible for any person to undertake the management of public affairs, without an habitual acquaintance with that language; but this was more particularly exemplified in Florence, where the most permanent officers were uniformly selected on account of their learning. During a long course of years the place of secretary, or chancellor of the republic, (for these terms seem to have been indiscriminately used) was filled by scholars of the first distinction. In the beginning of the fifteenth century, it was held by Colluccio Salutati, who had been the intimate friend of Petrarca and of Boccaccio, and is denominated by Poggio, "The common father and instructor of all the learned." He was succeeded by Leonardo Aretino, whose services to the republic were repaid by many privileges and favours conferred on himself and his descendants. After the death of Leonardo, this office was

given to Carlo Marsuppini, and was afterwards successively held by Poggio Bracciolini, and Benedetto Accolti; during a great part of the time that the affairs of Florence were directed by Lorenzo de' Medici, the chancellor of the republic was Bartolomeo Scala, whose life affords the best example of the honours and emoluments which were derived from the cultivation of literature. Scala deduced his origin from parents of the lowest rank, nor did he possess from his birth even the privileges of a Florentine citizen. An early proficiency in letters recommended him to the notice of Cosmo de' Medici, and it was the pride of Scala to avow the meanness of his birth, and the obligations which he owed to his earliest patron. The loss of Cosmo was amply compensated to Scala by the favour of his descendants, through whose assistance he gradually rose to honours and to affluence, and in the year 1472, was entrusted with the seal of the republic. In imitation of his predecessors in this office, Scala began a history of Florence, of which he lived to complete only four books. His apologues are highly commended by Landino and Ficino. Of his poetry, specimens remain both in the Latin and Italian languages, and the former have obtained a place in the celebrated collection of the Latin poems of his illustrious countrymen. Considering the proverbial uncertainty of public favour, the life of Scala may be esteemed a life of unusual prosperity. He transacted the concerns of the republic, with acknowledged fidelity, industry, and ability, arrived at the highest dignities of the state, amassed wealth, ranked with men of learning, and left at his

death a numerous progeny to inherit his riches and his respectability. In his controversy with Politiano, he appears however as a scholar to manifest disadvantage; but the impetuosity of his adversary hurried him into a contest which it is evident he would willingly have avoided, and in which every effort to extricate himself only brought down a severer chastisement.'—

‘If the circumstances before related were not sufficiently characteristic of the spirit of the times, we might advert to the other governments of Italy; where we should find, that offices of the highest trust and confidence were often filled by men who quitted the superintendence of an academy, or the chair of a professor, to transact the affairs of a nation. Alfonso, king of Naples, and Francesco Sforza, contended in liberality with each other, to secure the services of Beccatelli, Pontano was the confidential adviser, and frequently the representative to other powers, of Ferdinand, the son of Alfonso. The brothers of the family of Simoneta directed for a considerable time the affairs of Milan. Bernardo Bembo, and Francesco Barbaro, maintained the literary no less than the political dignity of the Venetian Republic, and left each of them a son who eclipsed the reputation of his father. When eminent talents were not engaged in public services, they were rewarded by the most flattering attention, and often by the pecuniary bounty of illustrious individuals, who relaxed from the fastidiousness of rank, in the company of men of learning, or have left memorials of their regard by their epistolary correspondence.

‘ Nor was it seldom that the characters of the scholar, and of the man of rank, were united in the same person. Of this Giovanni Pico, of Mirandula, to whom we have before frequently adverted, is perhaps the most illustrious instance. This accomplished nobleman, of whom many extraordinary circumstances are related, and who certainly exhibited a wonderful example of the powers of the human mind, was born at Mirandula in the year 1463, and was one of the younger children of Giovan-Francesco, Pico, prince of Mirandula and Concordia. So quick was his apprehension, so retentive his memory, that we are told a single recital was sufficient to fix in his mind whatever became the object of his attention. After having spent seven years in the most celebrated universities of Italy and France, he arrived at Rome in the twenty-first year of his age, with the reputation of being acquainted with twenty-two different languages. Eager to signalize himself as a disputant, Pico proposed for public debate nine hundred questions, on mathematical, theological, and scholastic subjects, including also inquiries into the most abstruse points of the Hebraic, Chaldaic, and Arabic tongues. This measure, which in its worst light could only be considered as an ebullition of youthful vanity, might, without any great injustice, have been suffered to evaporate in neglect; but the Romish prelates instead of consigning these propositions to their fate, or debating them with the impartiality of philosophers, began to examine them with the suspicious eyes of church-men, and selected thirteen of them as heretical. To vindicate himself from this dangerous imputation, Pico

composed a Latin treatise of considerable extent, which he is said to have written in the space of twenty days, and which he inscribed to Lorenzo de’ Medici, under whose protection he had sheltered himself from persecution at Florence. The character and acquirements of Pico afforded to his contemporaries a subject for the most unbounded panegyric. “He was a man,” says Politiano, “or rather a hero, on whom nature had lavished all the endowments both of body and mind; erect and elegant in his person, there was something in his appearance almost divine. Of a perspicacious mind, a wonderful memory, indefatigable in study, distinct and eloquent in speech, it seems doubtful whether he was more conspicuous for his talents or his virtues. Intimately conversant with every department of philosophy, improved and invigorated by the knowledge of various languages, and of every honorable science, it may truly be said that no commendation is equal to his praise.”

‘ The instances before given of the critical talents of Pico, whatever may be thought of their accuracy, will at least justify him from the reproof of Voltaire, who is of opinion that the works of Dante and Petrarca would have been a more suitable study for him, than the summary of St. Thomas, or the compilations of Albert the great. But the literary pursuits of Pico were not confined to commentaries upon the works of others. From the specimens which remain of his poetical compositions in his native language, there is reason to form a favourable judgment of those which have perished. Crescimbeni confesses, that by his early death the Tuscan poetry

etry sustained a heavy loss, and that his accomplished pen might have rescued it from its degraded state, without the intervention of so many other eminent men, whose labours had been employed to the same purpose. The few pieces which remain of his Latin poetry induce us to regret the severity of their author. These poems he had arranged in five books, which he submitted to the correction of Politiano, who having performed his task, returned them to their author, with an elegant apology for the freedoms which he had taken. Soon afterwards Pico committed his five books to the flames, to the great regret of Politiano, who has perpetuated this incident by a Greek epigram. If the works thus destroyed were equal in merit to his Latin elegy addressed to Girolamo Benivieni, posterity have reason to lament the loss.'

From the eighth chapter, we have already extracted the character of the celebrated Girolamo Savonarola; with whose eventful history most of our readers are probably acquainted.

The subject of the ninth chapter is the arts; of which Mr. Roscoe has deduced the history from their first rude beginnings in Italy, to the commencement of the golden age of Leo.

The tenth and last chapter contains an account of the death, and a review of the character, of Lorenzo; a narrative of the expulsion of his son from Florence, and of the convulsions which agitated that republic; and a brief history of his descendants, till the house of Medici at length acquired the sovereign authority in that country of which they had been so long the first citizens;—a revolution which was ac-

complished by Cosmo de' Medici, who became the first grand duke of Tuscany.

We have now presented to the public such ample extracts from this valuable work, that they will be able to form their own opinion both of its general excellence and its distinguishing qualities.

It must be no inconsiderable consolation to the lovers of literature, to observe that, in the midst of these furious political animosities which threatened to banish every mild sentiment and elegant pursuit from among us, there should still remain a sufficient portion of calm literary taste to render a work like the present so generally acceptable and popular. Solid and permanent reputation the intrinsic merit of the work itself must in time have secured: but it was scarcely to have been hoped that it should have acquired such rapid fame, without treating any temporary topic, or adopting any temporary fashion; without stooping to the meretricious allurements of style which seduce a depraved taste; and without either flattering or provoking any of the passions which divide an agitated public. It is not often at any time, but it is very seldom in such times as the present, that the means of obtaining early popularity are the same with those of securing a lasting reputation.—We congratulate the author on having combined both these objects, without having debased the dignity of history so far as to minister to any of the reigning prejudices of the age. He has obtained public applause, without any sacrifice either of the purity of his taste or of the independence of his principles. He has paid no court to the prepossessions of that body of Englishmen, among whom the

the very name of liberty seems in danger of becoming unpopular ; nor does he betray the slightest taint of those extravagant and chimerical opinions concerning government, which have infected another part of his countrymen. We may say that of him which cannot always be said of historians of great name, that, as an instructor in morals and politics, he is uniformly safe. Justice, humanity, liberty, and public tranquillity have in him an enlightened and inflexible advocate. Faithful to these—the invariable interests of mankind—he pronounces with rigid impartiality the judgment of history on all their enemies, whatever pretext they may assume by whatever motives they may be instigated, and under whatever disguises they may appear.

The success of such a work, we hope, will stimulate and encourage those scholars and philosophers, who have perhaps too hastily supposed that politics had absorbed every other sentiment, and whom that apprehension has hitherto induced to withhold their works from the public. Some such we ourselves have, the honour of knowing; and many more, we have no doubt, are actuated by similar apprehensions. The example of Mr. Roscoe is sufficient to prove to them that all taste for scientific discussion and literary research is not extinguished, and that the public still feel an interest in the history of Poggius and Politian, of Michael Angelo and Raphael; and even if the world were more exclusively occupied by politics, it would be worthy of men of genius to attempt to soften the harshness of a political temper by the infusion of elegant literature into the mind. We should be far, indeed, from

wishing that the people of England were more employed even in the most delightful amusements that letters can afford, than concerned about the great interests of their country: but it is the nature of well-directed literary pursuits to calm and mitigate the animosity of faction, without extinguishing or even enfeebling public spirit.

An Enquiry into the Foundation and History of the Law of Nations in Europe, from the Time of the Greeks and Romans to the Age of Grotius. By Robert Ward, of the Inner Temple, Esq. Barrister at Law, 2 vols. 8vo.

IT has been a frequent reproach to English lawyers, that, however profound and extensive may be their knowledge of the laws and constitution of their own country, they are remarkably ignorant of the laws and constitutions of other countries, and are little acquainted either with diplomatic jurisprudence, or with the law of nations. In almost every other art and science, England has produced authors whose works hold a distinguished rank in the republic of letters: but she has scarcely given birth to one writer on general law, whose works are cited out of her own courts of justice, or read by the learned of other nations. Lord Bolingbroke, who sometimes took a pleasure in exposing the defects of his countrymen, has, on more than one occasion, made this remark in his writings.

We have now before us, however, a work on the law of nations that may, perhaps, contribute much towards redeeming us from this reproach.

Mr. Ward

Mr. Ward commences his labours by endeavouring to settle the exact import of the expression, *the law of nations*, and by pointing out the real foundation of that law. The author admits that the law of nature forms a part of it: but, observing (to use his own expressions) 'how discordant the opinions of many are, upon the ramifications of the law of nature, he concluded it to be necessary, that the foundations of the law of nations should be something more fixed and definite; and therefore in addition to the law of nature, not with a view to reject it, he holds revealed religion, and the moral system engrafted upon it to be the surest foundation.'

The author then treats of the law of nations, as it is observed by the Christian world. This is the subject of the first three chapters. In the fourth, he endeavours to shew that the law of nations is not to be considered as the law of the world, but only as the law of particular classes of nations, united together by similar religious and moral institutions. In the fifth chapter, which closes this part of his publication, he shews how different classes of nations may be distinguished; this chapter is, in our opinion, the most important of this part of the work: for, though we think that the author has discovered great ingenuity and ability, in his inquiry into the foundation of the law of nations, yet the principles both of the law of nature and of the law of nations are necessarily so broad, that it is extremely difficult, and sometimes impossible, to express them in such a manner as to give perfectly distinct and exact notions of the ideas which they are designed to convey; and in this respect, writers on municipal law

have greatly the advantage. On this imperfection of the law of nations, Mr. Ward has the following pertinent remark:

'As the principles of all civil and municipal laws must be founded in natural reason, but derive the form and manner in which they are brought into use from positive institutions; so also the law of nations must put in force the dictates of nature, in some known mode agreed upon by all who conform to them. The only difference is, that in the one case, it is individuals who are called upon to settle the mode; in the other, it is whole nations acting through the organs of their government; that in the one, almost every thing that can exercise the judgment of an individual in his various relations, is settled for him by written law, or by precedent; while among states, (from their comparatively little intercourse and the want of a common sovereign,) much is left without precedent, wavering, as accident, or whim—or the varying ideas of natural justice, may direct.'

He then proceeds to give a chronological account of the law of nations as it has been observed in Europe: of the strange ideas that were formerly entertained of it; of the gradual changes which took place in those ideas, and the causes of those changes; together with the improvements which were given to them, so as to elevate the law into the rank of the sciences. He begins with the history of the law of nations in Europe as observed by the Greeks and Romans. After having remarked, in general terms, the high eminence which they attained in arts and arms, he thus continues:

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‘ One thing however was wanting to the perfection which, had they possessed it, they would probably have acquired; and that was the knowledge of the doctrines of a religion which, whatever may be its points of controversy, has had the uniform effect, wherever it has taken root, of producing a more equitable notion of things, and a milder system of manners.

‘ Accordingly, from the want of this great advantage, we may observe that the people in question, while they were in the first scale of eminence in almost all other respects, fell far short of their posterity in their ideas of the law we treat of. The want of a principle sufficiently binding in their schemes of morality, had a palpable effect upon their characters in private life; and, as might be expected, it transferred itself into the spirit of their law of nations. However, therefore, we may be accustomed to hear of their politeness, their arts, their refinements in elegance, or their knowledge of laws, we find, upon inquiry, that their politeness, while it sharpened their understandings, had no effect upon their hearts; that their refinements were for the most part sensual; and when we come to contemplate the general scope of their laws of war and peace they will be found too often to resemble the barbarians they despised.

The author then comes to the period at which Rome,

‘ With heaviest sound, a giant statue fell;’

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and he draws an interesting, but frightful, picture of that calamitous time. After having given a succinct account of the maxims and morals of the northern nations, he

observes that, with such morals and maxims, their law of nations must have been far different from that comparatively regular one of the Romans. These rules of right, far from checking their dreadful and murderous inclinations, were themselves so warped and adapted to them, that they gave them fresh force.

He then gives the history of the law of nations in Europe, from the above period down to the eleventh century; and he afterwards pursues it to the 15th. He shews the influence of the feudal law, and afterwards that of chivalry, on the law of nations; and he points out the regularity and improvements which it received from the institutions of chivalry: institutions, (he says,) which have long gone by, and faded before the general improvement of manners which time had brought on. In the ages however when they flourished, they were of essential consequence to the well being of the world, and as far as they went supplied the place of philosophy itself.*

A considerable portion of the work is employed in shewing the influence of Christianity, and the ecclesiastical establishments, on the law of nations.

Mr. Ward then proceeds to discuss the influence of treaties and conventions; and this we consider as the most useful part of his work. It is followed by an entertaining account of the rank and claims of the nations of Europe: but we do not find that he takes any notice of one of the most curious events in the history of the rank and precedence of the English nation, viz. the dispute for precedence between the French and English, at the council

council of Constance. A short account of it may be found in L'Enfant's history of that council : but the best relation of it is in the 8th vol. of Vanden Hardt's collections. If the author should publish a second edition of his work, which we think its merit makes highly probable, we hope he will give the particulars of this curious event in our diplomatic history.

Mr. Ward now pursues his subject from the 15th to the 17th century, and concludes with the age of Grotius. He pronounces a high eulogium on the celebrated treatise, *de Jure Belli et Pacis*, of that amiable man and universal scholar. He mentions Puffendorf with praise, and Vattel in terms of the greatest commendation : but he observes, in conclusion, that his treatise does not appear, by any means, to preclude the necessity of studying the works of his masters.

From the persual of this publication we have derived great pleasure. We think that it is written with method and clearness ; that it is replete with various and extensive erudition ; and that it bears throughout unequivocal marks of industry and ability.

An Inquiry into the Duties of Man, in the higher and middle Classes of Society in Great Britain, resulting from their respective Stations, Professions, and Employments. By Thomas Gisborne, M. A. 4to.

IT has been objected to moral writers, from Plato and Aristotle down to Puffendorf and Grotius, that their systems are too scientific and refined for the ordinary occurrences of life ; for how shall abstract

principles repel a present and strong temptation ? More modern authors have delivered their rules of ethics with a closer attention to practice, but they have usually comprehended too wide a range, and have described the general duties of man, while those of the different ranks and professions in society have been passed in silence. Indeed, to trace out minutely the different habits and obligations of all the different orders in civil life, might be too much to expect from an individual writer ; it would be considered as sufficient, if he should explain clearly the particular duties of that class of persons whose pursuits and avocations were allied to his own. Sorel, the historiographer of France, published, about the middle of the last century, in his " *Bibliothèque François,*" a long account of authors in the French language who have treated of the conduct of life in public, or of what are called the homiletical virtues ; but it should seem that their precepts referred to behaviour rather than to morals, and were directed chiefly to the higher orders in society. This last observation applies to a very ingenious little pamphlet, entitled, " *Thoughts on the Manners of the Great,*" of which elegance and force are its least recommendations ; and which appears to have suggested the hint of the work before us. The author of this has indeed extended his plan over a much more ample and useful field of enquiry, and has rendered by it a very eminent service to his country and to mankind. That he has been able to treat minutely and correctly of the habits, pursuits, and occupations of the different ranks and professions into which the higher and middle classes of society are in
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this country distributed, is owing, as he informs us in a short preface, to his having been favoured with the unreserved advice and animadversions of persons severally occupying the station, or belonging to the profession in question, and accustomed to consider its duties in a conscientious light.

The work is divided into fifteen chapters. The first contains the plan of the work; and in the course of this chapter the author gives his reasons why no part of the work has been appropriated to those who are placed in the lowest ranks of society. By them argumentative and bulky treatises of morality will not be read. The careful perusal of their Bible, and the study of short and familiar expositions of its precepts, aided by the public and private admonitions of their pastors, are to them the principal sources of instruction.—The second chapter contains general remarks on the first principles of the British constitution. Chapter the third explains the duties of the sovereign. Chapter the fourth, the general duties of Englishmen, as subjects and fellow-citizens. Chapter the fifth is on the duty of peers. Chapter the sixth is on those of members of the house of commons. Chapter the seventh treats on the duties of the executive officers of government. Chapter the eighth is on the duties of naval and military officers. Chapter the ninth on the duties of the legal profession. Chapter the tenth on those of justices of the peace and municipal magistrates. Chapter the eleventh on the duties of the clerical profession. Chapter the twelfth on the duties of physicians. Chapter the thirteenth on the duties of persons engaged in trade and

business. Chapter the fourteenth on the duties of private gentlemen. In the fifteenth and concluding chapter, considerations are submitted to persons who doubt or deny the truth of Christianity, or the necessity of a strict observance of all its precepts. In a work, the obvious intention of which is to be useful rather than amusing, much novelty ought not to be expected; we will, therefore, content ourselves with passing cursorily over the work, selecting such passages from each chapter, in its order, as shall appear to us most original or important.

Our author's observations, in the second chapter, on the privilege of voting for members of parliament, are of this description:

"It is undoubtedly true, that a very large majority of the inhabitants of this kingdom has no elective voice in the appointment of the members of the house of commons; in other words, most of the people of Great Britain have no suffrage in the nomination of the persons who are to enact the laws by which non-electors, in common with the rest of the nation, are to be governed. But the limited diffusion of the elective franchise cannot fairly be affirmed to be a breach of justice. The right of voting for a member of parliament is a public trust; it is as truly a civil office as the most conspicuous employment in the state; and, humble as it may seem, is a civil office of considerable importance. All public offices and trusts being constituted in this kingdom for the general good of the whole; it is just that they should be conferred on such political conditions as the general good may demand, and be devolved on those persons alone who possess the political qualifications

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tions deemed essential to the proper discharge of the duties attached to them. Of these conditions and qualifications the nation is to judge; and when it has fixed, according to its best views of public utility, the terms on which each public office shall be conferred, and the description of persons to whom it shall be entrusted, no man who is destitute of the civil qualifications prescribed, has any plea for complaining of injustice in being precluded from filling the post. It would be as unreasonable in a person thus disqualified, to contend that he is treated with injustice in not being permitted to be an elector, as it would be to affirm that he is unjustly treated in not being permitted to be king. The king and the elector are alike public officers and the nation has the same right to appoint citizens of a particular description to choose members of parliament, as it has to appoint a particular family to occupy the throne." In a subsequent part of the same chapter, the author considers the expediency of the limitation of the right of voting for members of parliament; and concludes with the following observations: "The grand object to be had in view in imparting the elective franchise is, to secure, as far as may be possible, the choice of proper representatives. By this consideration alone the number and description of electors ought to be regulated. And if this consideration undeniably requires, on the one hand, that the whole number of electors in the kingdom should bear an adequate proportion to the amount of the inhabitants, it seems equally to require, on the other, that the right of voting should be confined to men competent and

likely to discharge the trust committed to them, in a manner conducive to the public good. If we reflect on the uninformed condition of multitudes in the lower ranks of society; on the blind deference which they commonly pay to the will of their immediate superiors; on the temptations they are under of being corrupted by bribes; on the facility with which they may be deluded by artful misrepresentations and inflammatory harangues; on the difficulty of preventing confusion and riots in popular assemblies, spreading over the face of a whole kingdom; on the rapidity with which tumults excited by design or accident in one assembly would be communicated by contagion to another, until the country would be agitated with general convulsions; if we reflect on the dangers to be dreaded from these and other circumstance which would attend the plea of universal suffrage, we shall probably see great reason to rejoice that the elective right is limited under the British constitution. And we are not to forget, that if any inconveniences and hardships are to be apprehended, in consequence of limiting it, they are necessarily much diminished, if not altogether removed, by the very small share of property requisite to procure the privilege of voting for county members.

From chapter the third, which treats of the duties of the sovereign, we shall make no selection; not that we think it inferior in excellence to the other parts of the work; but as we cannot quote from every part, we would wish to conform to the intention of the worthy and patriotic author, of extending to the widest circles the benefit of his labours.

labours. We shall pass over likewise the fourth chapter for the same reason, observing only that Mr. Gisborne contests in it, but we do not think with success, the claim of the sovereign to natural, perpetual, and indefeasible allegiance; though he is supported in his opinion by Sir W. Blackstone, and other writers of high repute.

The chapter on the duties of peers has a very just and important observation on the custom of voting by proxy.

“A considerate nobleman will make a very sparing and cautious use of his privilege of voting by proxy; and will be scrupulous in receiving the proxy of another peer. Indeed, the idea of a person giving his vote in the decision of a question which he has not heard debated, and may never have considered, in enacting or rejecting a bill with the nature and object of which he is unacquainted, at a time too, perhaps, when he is in another quarter of the globe, and unable to learn the present posture of affairs and circumstances either at home or in the rest of Europe, is so plainly repugnant to common sense, is capable of being so easily and grossly perverted to the manœuvres of private interest, or of party, and so nearly resembles the Popish plan of putting one man’s conscience into the hands of another, that the surrender of this privilege would, apparently, be at once honourable to the house of lords, and beneficial to the nation.”

Among the benefits resulting from the house of commons, as it is at present constituted, the following deserves to be recited from the sixth chapter:

“It furnishes the means of a pa-

tient and safe discussion of political grievances and popular discontents, before they are grown to such a magnitude as neither to be tolerated with safety to the state, nor removed without the risk of dangerous convulsions. The beneficial effects of a representative house of commons, in this point of view, are not to be described. In despotic governments, from the want of similar institutions, the smothered embers accumulate heat in secret, until they burst into a general flame. The people, impatient at length of enduring the wrongs over which they have long brooded in silent indignation, seek redress by open rebellion, as the only method by which they can hope to obtain it. In the ancient democratic states, in which the principle of representation was not adopted, endeavours to redress glaring defects in the constitution were usually productive of ferments, tumults, and factious disorders, which rendered the attempt abortive, or terminated in hasty and impolitic resolves. But in Great Britain, the house of commons serves as a conductor to draw off the lightning by a noiseless and constant discharge, instead of suffering it to collect until the cloud becomes incapable of containing it, and by an instantaneous flash to level to the ground a fabric, which ages had been employed in erecting.”

The three following chapters we shall pass over in silence, remarking only, that the eighth, which relates to the duties of naval and military officers, contains in the notes several important and striking facts derived from the best authority, and contributing very much to diversify and to enforce the reasoning. The same observation applies also to the thir-

teenth chapter, and indeed, in writings of the didactic kind, examples can hardly be too often employed.

The recital occurring in the tenth chapter, of the temptations which assail a justice of the peace is forcibly expressed :

“Every situation and employment in life influences, by a variety of moral causes, the views, tempers, and dispositions, of those who are placed in it. The justice of the peace can plead no exemption from this general rule. The nature of his authority, and the mode in which it is exercised, have an obvious tendency to produce some very undesirable alterations in his character, by implanting new failings in it, or by aggravating others to which he may have antecedently been prone. His jurisdiction is extremely extensive, and comprises a multiplicity of persons and cases. The individuals who are brought before him are almost universally his inferiors, and commonly in the lowest ranks of society. The principal share of his business is transacted in his own house, before few spectators, and those in general indigent and illiterate. Hence he is liable to become dictatorial, brow beating, consequential, and ill-humoured ; domineering in his inclinations, dogmatical in his opinions, and arbitrary in his decisions. He knows, indeed, that most of his decisions may be subject to revisal at the sessions, but he may easily learn to flatter himself, that he shall meet with no severe censure from his friends and brethren on the bench, for what they will probably consider as an oversight, or, at the most, as an error easily remedied, and therefore of little importance. He knows too, that he may be called to account

before the court of king's bench ; but he is also aware that great tenderness is properly shewn by courts of law to the conduct of a justice, unless a culpable intention on his part is clearly proved, and that the objects he may be tempted to aggrieve are usually too humble, ignorant, and timid, to think of seeking redress, except in very palpable and flagrant cases, and frequently too poor to be able to undertake the task of seeking it in any. In consequence, moreover, of being perpetually conversant in his official capacity with the most worthless members of the community, destined as it were to register every crime perpetrated within many miles of his habitation, and witnessing petty acts of violence, knavery, and fraud, committed by men who had previously maintained a tolerable good character in their neighbourhood, he may readily acquire the habit of beholding all mankind with a suspicious eye ; of cherishing sentiments of general distrust, and of looking with less and less concern on the distresses of the common people, from a vague and inconsiderate persuasion that they seldom suffer more than they deserve. Against these snares and temptations which beset him on every side, and will infallibly circumvent him in a greater or less degree, if he rests in heedless inattention, or in false ideas of security, let him guard with unremitting vigilance. If they are suffered to undermine those better resolutions, and supplant those better purposes with which he entered upon his office ; let him not think that he shall escape from the circle of their influence, when he quits the limits of his justice-room. They will follow him into every scene of private and domestic

mestic life. The habits of the magistrate will infect the conduct of the husband, the father, the friend, the country gentleman; they will render him arrogant and over-bearing, sour and morose, impatient of contradiction, obstinate in his designs and undertakings, gloomy, suspicious, and unfeeling; uncomfortable to all around him, and more uncomfortable to himself."

The next chapter treats of the clerical profession, for the principal materials of which our author acknowledges his obligations to bishop Burnet and archbishop Secker. We shall make no quotations from this part of the subject; for, with whatever faults the clergy may be charged, it will hardly be said, generally, that they have no knowledge of their duty; nor can those to whom the censure may be justly applied, attribute their ignorance to the want of instruction.

On the chapter concerning the duties of physicians we shall make but one remark. Mr. Gisborne is of opinion that avarice is a vice imputed, justly or unjustly, to that profession. We have always understood the exact contrary to be the case; and that no class of men whatever in the exercise of their art shew greater liberality. Dr. Samuel Johnson was of this opinion, and we believe it to be true (in cities and great towns) of persons of that faculty, with very few exceptions. In less populous situations the physician is very rarely applied to but by the wealthy; and towards them generosity is out of the question.

The following quotation from the thirteenth chapter recommends equity and steadiness of conduct to persons engaged in trade and business.

"It frequently happens that men

over-rate the good which they have done, and perhaps it is equally common for them to have considered too little the good which they might have done. The services which a person engaged in a liberal line of trade or business may render to the public, by an upright discharge of the duties of his occupation, and a diligent attention to the opportunities of usefulness which it affords, are not sufficiently regarded. He who pursues his employment for its proper ends, and conducts himself on principles of equity and benevolence; who scrupulously obeys the precepts of religion and the laws of his country; who seeks no unfair or unreasonable advantages, nor takes them even when they obtrude themselves upon him for acceptance; who withstands pernicious combinations, and dares even to set the example of breaking dishonest and disingenuous customs; who joins openness to prudence, and beneficence to frugality; who shews himself candid to his rivals, modest in success, and cheerful under disappointments; and who adorns his professional knowledge with the various acquisitions of an enlarged and cultivated understanding—is a benefactor to his country and to mankind. His example and his influence operate at once on the circle in which he moves, and gradually extend themselves far and wide. Others, who have been witnesses of his proceedings and his virtues, imitate them both, and become the centre of improvement to additional circles. Thus a broad foundation is laid for purifying trade from the real stains which it has contracted, and of rescuing it from the disgraceful imputations with which it is undeservedly charged. And thus

a single individual may contribute in no small degree to produce a moral revolution in the commercial character."

The rules which our author gives for the regulation of paper credit are very judicious:

"The fundamental principle to be insisted on, with respect to contracting engagements of the nature in question, is that which should regulate every engagement of every kind: namely, that they who promise should know themselves to be able to perform. It is manifestly not enough that he who signs or indorses a bill (for the same general principles attach to both) should know that he is able ultimately to pay it; he should know that he is able to pay it, that is to say, to find means of paying it at the time when it becomes due. In this latter particular, however, some latitude of interpretation is allowable. He is not bound to be morally certain that he shall be able to pay it in every possible emergence which may arise. The possibility of a great political convulsion, of a general stagnation in mercantile credit, or of some very extraordinary loss of his own; though any one of these events might disable an individual from paying his bill, should not prevent him from giving a bill, these not being events reasonably to be calculated upon. And the *concurring* demands of a very large number of holders of his notes are no more to be calculated upon than the cases above-mentioned: indeed, they commonly imply the existence of one of those cases, namely, a general stagnation of mercantile credit. Neither a banker, therefore, nor any other person, is bound in conscience to limit his signature and indorsement of bills to

the sum which he knows he may by possibility be required to pay; nor to that which he may have literally bound himself to pay; but to the sum for which he may reasonably expect that he shall, in consequence of those engagements, be called upon. Care, however, is to be taken, and in the case of a banker especial care, that he keeps on the prudent side."

Our author's caution to merchants against the practice of covering ships, as the term is, in time of war, or making them over by a fictitious transfer to the subject of some neutral power, that by means of the papers procured through the pretended sale they may appear to be neutral property if taken by the enemy, is well worthy their attention.

"It may be urged, perhaps, in behalf of this proceeding, that it is confessedly allowable to impose on an adversary; that the art of war consists of stratagems and feints; that no moralist was ever rigid enough to condemn the admiral or the merchantman for hanging out false colours; and that it is absurd to maintain that it is lawful to deceive an antagonist by fictitious flags, yet unlawful to delude him by fictitious papers. This is not the place for examining how far and on what grounds it may be justifiable for open enemies to impose on each other; nor is the proceeding under consideration to be tried or justified by those rules; for here is a third part introduced, the inhabitant of the neutral state, a state in profound peace with both the contending nations; who deliberately suffers himself to be bribed by a subject of the one to practice an artifice on those of the other, which no plea, but that of being himself engaged

engaged in avowed hostilities with the latter, could possibly have justified. And if it be thus criminal in the Austrian to become an accomplice in the plot, it is at least as criminal in the British merchant to tempt him to accede to it, or to avail himself of his concurrence.”*

The following note is subjoined to the same passage which we have just quoted.

“ In the late war it was very common for British merchants to procure Austrian papers for their vessels, especially for those destined for the Mediterranean; and during the same period many British ships were nominally rendered Russian property in a similar way.

“ A similar mode of proceeding, though directly contrary to the laws of Great Britain, as well as those of morality, prevailed to a great extent during the existence of the late charter of the East India-Company, which prohibited the sending of any commodities from England to the British dominions, in the East, except through the medium of the company. But the English merchant often saw great advantage to be derived from transmitting them through another channel against the company’s consent. He therefore loaded his ship, and ordered it to Ostend to be covered. Being thus made in appearance Austrian property, it was enabled to land its cargo in Hindostan. The changes made in the charter on its late renewal have taken away the temptation to such frauds, but the remembrance of them may be useful; and as the recital of a distressing event

resulting from an immoral practice proves sometimes an effectual method of deterring men from proceedings of the same nature, I am induced to relate, though without naming the parties concerned, a circumstance which lately took place. The laws, designing to throw obstructions in the way of those who might endeavour fraudulently to send goods to the East Indies, had disqualified every tradesman who sold any articles to a merchant, and knew they were smuggled thither, from recovering the price by a legal process. A London dealer furnished a merchant with a large quantity of goods, being conscious that they were to be sent to the East Indies by means of Ostend papers. Soon afterwards distrusting the responsibility of the purchaser, he thought it prudent to sue out a commission of bankruptcy against him; and in the capacity of petitioning creditor took an oath of the reality of the debt. The other party retorted his attack, by threatening to prosecute him for perjury. The tradesman finding that the law would not recognize such a debt, and that he should certainly be outwitted, shrunk from the impending disgrace and shot himself.”

The following advice is given to the manufacturers. “ To have recourse to every reasonable precaution, however expensive, by which the health of the workmen may be secured from injury, and to refrain from prosecuting unwholesome branches of trade, until effectual precautions are discovered, is the indispensable duty of the proprietor

* Probably too, in case of capture, an oath would be necessary to authenticate what the papers falsely averred; and there is much danger that it would not be scrupled to procure the release of the ship. The merchant’s criminality is increased by his being aware of such a temptation.

of a manufactory. Let him not think himself at liberty to barter the lives of men for gold and silver. Let him not seek profit by acting the part of an executioner. Let him station his workmen in large, dry, and well ventilated rooms. Let him constantly prefer giving them their work to perform at home, whenever it can be done with tolerable convenience, to collecting them together in the same apartment. Let him encourage them, when opportunity offers, to reside in villages and hamlets, rather than in a crowded town. Let him inculcate in them * in how great a degree cleanliness contributes to health, and impress them with the necessity of invariably observing those many little regulations,† which though singly too minute to be noticed in this place, have collectively much effect in preventing disease. Where his own efforts seem likely to fail, let him lay the matter before the ablest physicians, and steadily put in practice the instructions which he re-

ceives; and finally, let him exert his utmost abilities to discover innoxious processes which may be substituted for such as prove detrimental to the persons who conduct them; and direct by private solicitation, and on proper occasions by public premiums, the attention of experienced artists and manufacturers to the same object. The success of his endeavours may in many cases be found highly advantageous to him, not merely by preserving the lives of his most skilful workmen, but by saving some valuable material ‡ formerly lost in the operation. But, whether that be the case or not, he will at least reap a satisfaction from them which he could not otherwise have enjoyed, that of reflecting on his profits with a quiet conscience.

In the chapter on the duties of private gentlemen, there is the following passage :

“ The weight which a wealthy land-owner, resident in the country, possesses in the place where his pro-

* “ The proprietor of a great manufactory, established near a large inland town, told a person of credit, from whom I heard the fact, that on approaching his workmen he could discern by the smell proceeding from their clothes, whether they lived in the town or on a neighbouring common. This circumstance also might point out the comparative healthfulness of the two situations.

† “ The latter of the two gentlemen mentioned in the preceding note informed me, that having observed some young persons in his own manufactory to be affected, by being employed on a preparation of lead, he had completely remedied the evil, by appointing an old workman constantly to attend them with water and towels on their leaving their work at meal-times, and oblige them thoroughly to wash their hands and faces before they ate; and also prohibiting them from playing, or using any strong exercise, until they had pulled off their coats and aprons, which were sprinkled with lead. It appeared from experience, that if they used any considerable exercise, without taking the latter precaution, the dust proceeding from their clothes was inhaled by them, and produced very prejudicial effects.

‡ “ Bishop Watson, after speaking in a passage which has been recently quoted of the young man rendered paralytic, by fixing an amalgam of gold and silver on copper, says, ‘ A chimney, I believe, has of late been opened at the farther side of the oven, into which the mercurial vapour is driven; and thus both the mercury is saved, and the health of the operator is attended to.’ Chemical Essays, vol. 4. p. 255. In the same volume, p. 275—277, the almost universal adoption of the cupola instead of the hearth furnace for smelting lead is shown to have been attended with great advantages to the proprietors, as well as with the most salutary consequences to the workmen.”

perty is situated, is usually so great as to give him a preponderating influence in the management of all parochial concerns. This influence ought never to be employed by him directly or indirectly for the attainment of selfish or improper ends. What epithets, for example, would his conduct deserve, if he should procure the levies and the statute labour of the parish to be expended in making or repairing roads contiguous to his own house, or beneficial chiefly to himself and his tenants; while others, of far more importance to the inhabitants in general, are left year after year almost impassable!

“What if, in order more effectually to accomplish his plans, he should cause himself to be appointed surveyor of the highways? what if, instead of fixing a watchful eye on the proceedings of public houses, and endeavouring to abolish such as are disorderly or needless, he should connive at their irregularities, or even promote an augmentation of their number, for the purpose of serving some partizan or dependent of his own? Far from exposing himself by such practices to the contempt of the neighbourhood, and the reproaches of his conscience, let him consider the influence he enjoys over others as a trust for the exercise of which he is responsible; and exert it, without grudging the trouble, in maintaining their rights, composing their differences, increasing their comforts, and improving their morals. Let him devote, where it is necessary, some portion of his time and attention to the inspection of parochial accounts. Let him not tolerate the abuse of charitable bequests either in land or money, left for the benefit of the poor, by suffering them to be consigned into unsafe hands, or to be

let out on too low terms; or by allowing their produce to be misapplied to save the purses of the rich. By his readiness to listen to well-founded complaints, let him keep the different parish officers to their duty. The inhabitants of the workhouse will then be treated with humanity, fed and clothed sufficiently, and furnished with necessary books of religion; and will neither be oppressed with immoderate labour, nor yet permitted, when able to work, to loiter and become vicious through idleness. Due assistance will not then be refused in fit cases to the sick and indigent in their own houses. Doles and donations will be distributed, not according to sect and party, but according to desert and necessity. The situation of the certificated poor, too frequently excluded from any share in such relief by those who are enjoying the benefit of their labour, will not be disregarded; nor will they be unnecessarily hurried away to their places of settlement by vexatious or malicious removals.”

The following advice to those who undertake the important office of sheriff well deserves to be considered:

“Among the different public offices, which private gentlemen are called to undertake in their respective counties, may be noticed those of sheriff, deputy-lieutenant, grand or special jurors, and commissioners of taxes, roads, and canals. Of these, that of sheriff is the most eminent. The sheriff is the first civil officer, as the lord-lieutenant is the first in a military capacity. But let him not be vain of his temporary rank, or solicitous to out-vie his predecessors, and dazzle the eyes of the gazing multitude by the splendour of his equipage, and the number of his attendants. Let him be

impartial in his conduct at elections of members of parliaments, coroners, and verderors. Let him be ready to convoke, on proper applications, county meetings, for the purpose of addressing any of the branches of the legislature, or the consideration of local business: but let him not promote such assemblies, for the purpose of displaying his own importance, of facilitating party views, of gratifying a minister, or of being advanced to knighthood. In summoning grand-juries, let him not pass by or postpone particular individuals, in consequence of private disputes or political differences. As so large a share of the original duties of a sheriff is now performed by his deputy, the qualifications, and above all the integrity of that officer, ought to be severely scrutinized by his principal. And he who recollects that the first incident which turned the thoughts of Mr. Howard to the subject of prisons, was the insight he obtained into the state of them in his official capacity as sheriff, will scarcely want additional arguments to convince him of the benefits which would result, were sheriffs* in general to bestow a little more attention than is usually given to the condition of gaols and to the conduct of those whom they appoint to govern them."

In the last chapter of this inquiry considerations are submitted to persons who doubt or disbelieve the truth of Christianity, or the necessity of a strict observance of all its precepts. It opens in the following manner:

"When I explained, in the introductory chapter, the plan of the present work, I stated that it was my purpose to combine on every occasion, as far as the nature of the subject might admit, the conclusions of reason with the dictates of religion. I have accordingly endeavoured, throughout the foregoing chapters, to establish moral duties on Christian principles, and to enforce the performance of them by Christian motives. This conduct has evidently proceeded on the supposition that such principles would be deemed obligatory, and such motives recognized as powerful, by the greater part of my readers. I cannot, however, be ignorant, and I think it would be wrong to dissemble my conviction, that if this book should be fortunate enough to obtain the attention of those classes of society to which it is addressed, it will not unfrequently fall into the hands of persons who deny or doubt the truth of the Christian revelation; or who alledge that a strict observance of its precepts is incompatible with

* "For a detailed account of the duties of sheriffs, see Blackstone, 5th edit. vol. 1. p. 343, 344, 346; and of under-sheriffs, p. 345. Under-sheriffs are prohibited by the statute of the 23d of Henry VI. under a very heavy penalty, from acting as attorneys during the time they are in office, lest they should be guilty of partiality and oppression in discharging the functions of it. In the present state of things, attorneys of credit would not undertake the office on these terms; knowing that if their private business went for a year into the hands of their competitors, much of it would never return to themselves. And the law has long been avowedly and universally evaded. Sir William Blackstone however shews, that he considers the law as not obsolete, by styling the evasion of it 'shameful,' vol. 1. p. 345. As the habitual evasion of laws gradually impairs the sense of right and wrong, it is much to be wished that the statute in question, 'if it be salutary,' as Sir William Blackstone pronounces it to be in the place already cited, were enforced; or otherwise openly repealed. Under-sheriffs are likewise forbidden, and to as little purpose, to continue in office more than one year together.

their political or professional duties, and is not required from them in the existing state of the world."

To infidels and sceptics, of whose errors he briefly enumerates the causes, he refers it to be considered, whether in so weighty and solemn a question as a divine revelation, if it be not improbable, or even not impossible, they are not bound by the highest obligations to examine with fairness into the validity of its claims. He then states the circumstances of the first establishment of the Christian faith—the humble origin of its author—the difficulties he had to encounter, and the prejudices to overcome—the constant opposition he experienced—the innocent and useful life he exhibited—the ignominious death he underwent—the firmness and constancy of his first disciples, though they had nothing to expect for that constancy in the present life, and in fact experienced nothing but troubles and persecutions. Yet from these unpromising beginnings did Christianity make its way so successfully, that within three centuries from the first preaching of Christ, it penetrated to the remotest extremities of the Roman empire. He concludes, that a religion thus destitute of all worldly means of support, could not have thus obtained belief and acceptance, if its pretensions had not been founded on irresistible truth. For a more detailed account of this most important of all inquiries, he refers the reader to Mr. Paley's *Views of the Evidences of Christianity*, Dr. Beattie's *Treatise on the same subject*, and Mr. Paley's *Horæ Paulinæ*.

The plea of those who contend against the necessity of a strict observance of all the precepts of Christianity in the existing state of

the world, he examines both by reason and Scripture.

With respect to the first he argues, that if custom is to determine how far we must obey the rules of the Gospel, it will follow, that if it should be the general custom utterly to disregard those rules, no individual would be under any obligation to observe them. But an argument like this, which strikes directly at the root of all religion, cannot be maintained by those who believe in Christianity.

From the Holy Scriptures many texts are cited, demonstrating the necessity of a perfect obedience; and in a long note there is an ingenious, and, we think, a just exposition of one text, 2 Kings, ch. v. 18th and 19th verses, which seems to countenance the practice of deviating from the line of strict duty in compliance with existing circumstances, but which may be very fairly otherwise explained.

He concludes his work in the following words:

"It is impossible to conceive that he who knowingly deviates from the path of moral rectitude and Christian duty, because most others in the same rank and profession with himself deviate from it, and because, by forbearing to deviate, he should incur embarrassments and losses, odium and disgrace, is, in that instance, acting consistently with the letter or the spirit of the various scriptural injunctions which have been quoted. Let those, who find themselves tempted to such deviations, consider whether it is not probable that the Supreme Being, on whose providence the success of every undertaking depends, will prosper those who scrupulously observe the laws which he has pre-

scribed for their conduct, and leave the issue in his hands, rather than those who manifest their distrust of his care, by resorting to arts and practices which he has forbidden ; whether those, who are injured in their worldly prospects by their conscientious adherence to the line of rectitude, are not entitled to the full benefit of the scriptural consolation. "If ye suffer for righteousness sake, happy are ye ;" and whether it is not the part of wisdom as well as of duty, whatever be the event at present, to regulate every action by that rule, according to which it will be judged at the last day."

We here close our account of this valuable book ; from which, though we have taken copious extracts, we have omitted, on account of their length, several passages, which it was originally our wish to have inserted. For those selections which appear, we shall make no apology ; the public are obliged,

by every sincere effort, to promote their benefit : and the author, if his character may be collected from his writings, will be highly gratified by any circumstances which may render his exertions more extensively useful. In this inference we can hardly be mistaken ; as one prevailing feature in the composition is an energy, and indeed exuberance of style, arising evidently from his zeal and earnestness in favour of the cause he has undertaken. We heartily wish the work, what the author cannot command, though he deserves it, the best success. But whatever reception the labours of his pen may experience from his countrymen, for whose happiness he is ardently solicitous, he may rejoice in the full possession of rewards far surpassing literary praise, and which mortals can neither diminish nor augment ;—the secret applause of his own heart, and the approbation of his Maker.

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